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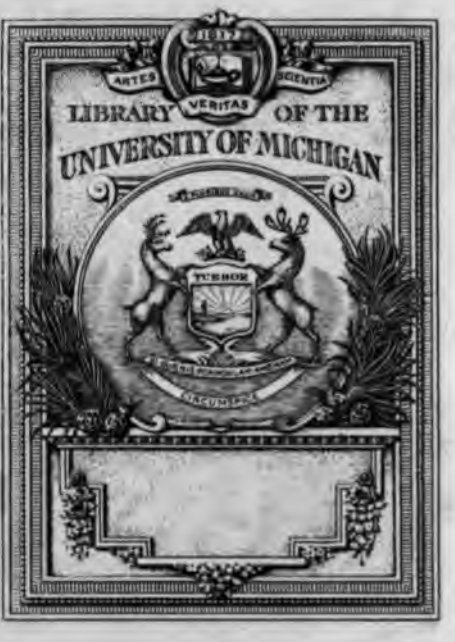
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ECLECTIC REVIEW

MDCCCXLII.

JULY — DECEMBER.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ *φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.* — CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

NEW SERIES.

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the clergy and laity of his own communion to the dangers and errors of the system which he opposes. But it certainly alters the nature of his work, and forces us in part to look upon it with different eyes. We do not wish to retract or to modify the high satisfaction with which we welcomed its appearance. We hope that it will be productive, if not of all the good which the author might desire, yet still of great and important good; and that it will force our ministers and people also to a study of ecclesiastical history, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen.* In bringing the whole series to the notice of our readers, we are oppressed by feeling the vast extent of the subject. Having our eyes and emotions fixed on the events themselves, to which the author points us, our own impulse is, so to dwell on the substance of things as to forget the peculiarities and minor infirmities of the writer, as likewise the matters in which we differ from him. Yet we are checked by the apprehension, that this might seem like indiscriminate panegyric, especially since so many of his opponents have called his facts into question; and some readers might imagine that our blindness to his failings indicated a strong predetermination to agree with his conclusions.

In the treatment of historical, as of legal, evidence, it often happens that our opinion of the strength of the case, and of the ability of the reasoner, are in a sort of inverse ratio. Considering how many learned men have explored the field of ecclesiastical history, and that not all were fettered by church Articles or by strong prejudice, it would indeed be a powerful objection to any modern investigations, if it could be said that the broad facts possessed much novelty. Now, on the contrary, Mr. Isaac Taylor's facts are on the surface of various preceding histories. Most of them are in substance found in Mosheim; they gave edge to the sarcasms of Gibbon; they are freely exposed in the downright and racy reasonings of Conyers Middleton; are feebly acknowledged, or virtually implied, in some of the biographical narratives of Milner. We formerly had occasion to refer to Bishop Newton's honest and straightforward denunciation of the Nicene church, as the proper and adequate fulfilment of Paul's prophecy concerning demonolatry, false miracles, monkery, and other asceticism. Mr. I. Taylor has now, judiciously, as we think, made this prominent, by adjusting his sixth number, in great measure, to accord with Bishop Newton's remarks. It is thus manifested, that he is maintaining *no novelty;*

* The recent appointment at Oxford of *two* new Divinity Professors, one for Pastoral Theology, and one for Ecclesiastical History, is perhaps a sign of the times. It looks as if *even* Oxford were about to study Divinity. But Professors are often no mark of pupils.

that the reader has little to take on the personal responsibility and trustworthiness of the author; that if the argument is strong, it is so because the facts themselves are abundant, and not because of Mr. Taylor's abundant ingenuity. The truth is rather, that men of superior education have long taken as proved the very early corruption of the church. Divines held a prudential silence; dissenting ministers, who dipt into the writings of the 'Fathers,' shrank back with disgust at that which is so opposed to unsophisticated Christianity; Unitarians, who coolly discussed such matters, either gained no hearing, or were supposed to be desirous, at any expense, of disparaging Nicene worth, from dislike of the Nicene Trinity; finally, learned laymen generally looked on the whole with a political eye, perhaps also with high contempt. The Protestant world has been taken by surprise, to hear teachers from Oxford allege, that the church system of the fourth and fifth centuries possesses, *presumptively*, truth and authority; that the doctors of those ages have a *quasi*-inspiration, so that to differ from them, when they agree, is an awful matter, scarcely to be justified (it would seem) at the end of a long life of learning, spent in the leisurely perusal of forty or fifty thousand folio pages. Should a new race of teachers declare the prophets of Thor and Odin to have been *quasi*-inspired, refutation would be a tedious task, if political events emboldened them to make the cool assumption, that the pretensions of the Scandinavian bards were to be acknowledged *until* disproved; and that, in the mean time, the soul must be bowed in mysterious reverence, ready to interpret every doubtful fact in their favour, and to make light of every argument against them, unless it were absolutely demonstrative.

Such nearly appears now to be the posture of mind, with a majority of the followers of the Tractarians. To convince men who have taken up with an unfair position of the argument, and who shudder to hear plain facts, calling them profanity and ribaldry, is a hopeless task; yet, for the sake of those not yet seduced, labours such as Mr. Taylor's are highly valuable. Irksome indeed it must be (we sympathize keenly with his complaints) to undergo the drudgery of reading such writers. Most ecclesiastical historians, at least among Protestants, have, no doubt, evaded it. A few references, gathered from other compilations, enable them to dip upon critical passages, and obtain important extracts; but unless forced to the tedious task of thoroughly perusing what has so little intrinsic merit, who can expect them to volunteer it? The praise of *superior learning* is thus awarded to the Oxford divines. Their followers virtually demand that no one shall claim to be heard against them who has not bestowed the same amount of attention as they, on

authors whom *others* neither revere nor admire; and if an able and clear-minded Professor of Geometry expose the tendencies of their system, it is, with many, a sufficient refutation to say, *He does not pretend to be a learned man;* that is to say, he does not think a study of 'the Fathers' to be worth any great fraction of human life. Truly, in this way it would be hard to refute the claims of Chinese or Hindoo mythology.

Before entering further into Mr. Taylor's work, we think it best to dispatch at once what we have to say concerning its faults; faults, some of which, in any other work, would seem to us not small; but in this, to be quite swallowed up by the general importance of the controversy, and by the positive value of his contributions.

First: we will place that which we care least about, yet which it would seem like affectation to omit, the petty discharges of occasional guns against the voluntary system,* especially in his earlier parts. We are quite aware that this system was the only one which was or could be acted on, during the whole of the second and third century, as well as during the first. The Romanists of Ireland live under it, equally as do the congregational churches of England and America. It would be a clear infatuation to imagine, that the voluntary system will either compensate for a want of the spirit of Christ, or will effectually generate his influences. It is surely *one* thing to say, that a pure church of Christ is likely to be injured by receiving state patronage; that it ought not to desire others to be taxed for its enrichment; and that it ought not to barter away its discipline and its order for rank and money; and quite *another* thing to believe, that a church which has the voluntary system has all that is requisite for life and godliness. We feel, therefore, as free to comment on the errors of the ancient churches, as on those of Romish Ireland, although neither the one nor the other have the support of the civil power: nor can we imagine that this in any way affects our consistency as upholders of the voluntary system.

But it is surprising to us that Mr. Taylor can take so perverted a view of history, as to allege that the system of National Religion commenced at the Reformation. The assertion appears so amazing, that we must give his own words:—Vol. i. p. 447.

* In vol. i. p. 9, the author speaks of *the swamps of dissent*, a phrase which we do not understand, except that it was meant to insult us, and to propitiate the clerical reader of his work. In the same page he says, that 'the assumptions on which the modern congregational system rests,' will soon be 'shifted [sifted?] anew, and brought to the test of Scripture.' We do not know what 'assumptions' he means, but we think that his candour ought to allow, that congregationalists are uniformly far more desirous than those whom he has joined, to bring their church practices to the test of Scripture.

'Then *the full corn in the ear*. The gradual developement (commenced at the Reformation) of the genuine principle of NATIONAL RELIGIOUS EXISTENCE, which is just now struggling through its crisis, as well of argument as of political strife, but is destined to come out, shall be understood at length, and gratefully acknowledged and submitted to, as the true and only foundation of just, peaceful, beneficent, and *permanent* government. Then shall the meek inherit the earth.'

If any principle of government stands out on the surface of all ancient history, it is assuredly this; that all the nations of the world held religion to be a matter of national concern and control; and if there be any principle wholly new, introduced by Christianity, it is, that religion is primarily and essentially the concern of individual consciences, and must not be given up at the bidding of the state. The precepts of Christ are full of injunctions to disobey man rather than God, and of warnings to his disciples, that they must be ready to endure all things at the hands of rulers, rather than forfeit their faith in Him. The apostolic doctrine and practice followed in the same track, and exhibited to the world for the first time a religion dissociated from all bonds of state and country, and therefore capable of becoming truly Catholic. Is it possible that Mr. Taylor is blind to these facts? Quite impossible, we think; yet how he could write the above passage, with the knowledge of them, we cannot conceive. But in another point of view, it is full of implied error; for, from Constantine downward, the National Church* was efficiently established, and persecuted both dissenters and unbelievers with abundant activity. At all events, the fact is clear, that this 'development' of national religion, which our author so commends, is a movement in precisely the reverse direction to everything introduced by the Lord and his apostles. So far from being the carrying forward of a principle sanctioned by them, it is a working back into heathenism, and a virtual sanctioning of the tyranny which gave the bodies of saints to the executioner. But we shall have other opportunities of unfolding and establishing this truth.

Secondly: a considerable drawback against this work on ancient Christianity, viewed argumentatively, is, the apparent vacillation of the writer in his estimate of characters. This has been often urged against him, but after considering his defence of himself, we cannot admit its validity. He says that he attacks only the Nicene system, and not the individuals who constructed the system; and that he may consistently apply honourable epithets

* It was strictly *national* until the Roman empire fell in pieces; as it did not include the Christians of Armenia, Babylonia, India, Abyssinia, &c., which were exterior to the Roman empire.

to the men. Yet he distinctly prefers the morality of Plato or Cicero to that of St. Jerome; contrasts the Nicene fathers, as a body, with the Pharisees, and pronounces them to be decidedly worse than the latter, because the Pharisees did but corrupt a ritual religion, while the others corrupted a spiritual and a holier one.—(Vol. i. p. 429.) He arraigns them, in one out of several passages, in the following words: vol. i. p. 121. (The italics are his own.)

'I shall, as I confidently hope, succeed in affording the most convincing proof of the fact, that the Christian teachers, *from the very first*, and while they held the formal elements of truth, or, as it is called, orthodoxy, grossly misapprehended the genius and purport of Christianity; and, as a consequence of this misapprehension, turned out of its course every Christian institute, and placed on a false foundation every principle of virtue; and thus transmuted the Christian system into a scheme which could find no other fixed form than that of a foul superstition and a lawless despotism.'—[We shall presently remark on the words, *from the very first.*]

Once more; p. 441, he says,—

'No men of these times were better learned, none were more eloquent, than were many of the bishops and orators of the church; yet . . . . . *every* man of that critical era lent his utmost endeavours to the work of urging forward what should have been checked and repressed; and while struggling to correct certain palpable abuses, yet every one fomented the very principles and cherished the institutions, whence, manifestly, these abuses had sprung.'

He elsewhere discusses the opposition offered to the superstitions of the day by Vigilantius, as likewise by Jovinian; and laments the fact, that all such men were instantly set down as heretics, and denounced in the grossest and most violent language. Every Christian father of those ages signalizes himself in this course when opportunity offers, Augustine being neither last nor least in the same wretched work; (see vol. i. p. 445;) so that, in short, the fathers, according to our author, were so far from rising above their age, as to be besotted in their attachment to its worst elements, and unflinching in their bigotry against the few who would have stayed the plague. If we saw the leaders struggling against the stream, we might think that the age declined *in spite* of them; but the admired and revered spokesman of a declining age must surely be pre-eminent in its errors. With the Scripture in their hand, they deliberately went back into darkness. Under these circumstances, we think he has no right to attach honourable epithets to their names, such as must, in any case, at least imply that they were moving, foremost of their age, towards truth, instead of being foremost towards superstition and despotism;

sometimes dragging the age after them, with violent vituperation, if it did not go fast enough to ruin. More especially, it is unjustifiable to be lavish of respectful titles, when he is so keenly sensible of the mischief of over-esteeming these personages, as to write a book avowedly intended to brush away the halo from their forms.

Thirdly, while we desire not to assume the tone of superiors, we cannot but feel that there is a certain crudeness and indecision in the ground which he himself has occupied concerning TRADITION. If, without impertinence, we may freely express our opinion, it is this—that Mr. Isaac Taylor has been disgusted by finding the cry of 'the Bible only' applied to prove that all ecclesiastical history is useless; has then somehow imagined that such a view is essential to Dissenters; and has proceeded to select for himself an untenable and scarcely intelligible position between that of the Tractarians who plainly acknowledge, and that of Dissenters, who plainly deny, *authority* in the ancient Christian fathers as witnesses to the book of Holy Writ. In his long discussion of eighteen pages, entitled, 'The Dependence of the Modern Church upon the Ancient Church,' which is meant as a polemic against Dissenters, we must think that he laboriously misses the mark. He talks much of the TESTIMONY and JUDGMENT of the early church, and declares, among other things, that the observance of the first day of the week rests on a WELL-CONFIRMED TRADITION.* Yet if the matter be followed a single step farther, he will be forced to descend into 'the swamps of dissent.' For who tells him that this is a *well-confirmed* tradition? it is only his own judgment on a point of historical criticism. And what induces him to lay more stress on the testimony of Justin to the second epistle of Peter, than on the testimony of the same writer to the verses of the Sibyl and of Hystaspes?† The case must surely be plain, that it rests with the modern critic to decide what weight is due to the 'testimony' (improperly so called) of these ancients; and Mr. Isaac Taylor has no ground for imputing it to 'the modern spirit of self-sufficiency,' that we think it necessary to rejudge these judgments. Such language is a weapon which not only cuts both ways, but is far sharper in the hands of his adversaries than in his own. How fairly might they in turn declaim against the modern spirit of self-sufficiency in one who declares that 'venerable antiquity' is a 'gay bubble,' who thinks most meanly of the apostolic (or earliest) fathers, and who fearlessly asserts that their successors, with scarcely a single exception,

* The small capitals are his own.

† We take this as he states it, though we are not able to make out the *fact*, that 'this epistle is quoted by Clement, Hermas, Justin, Athenagoras.'

misapprehended the genius and purport of Christianity. *We* do not tax him with self-sufficiency in thus rejudging the ancients; but we complain that he does not wholly give to us the liberty of thought which he so amply uses himself. In short, we unwillingly confess that there breathes through all the book an atmosphere of dogmatism, which is at once inconsistent and unbecoming. However, we must avow, that in vol. ii. p. 22—25, &c., he appears to have become a mere Biblican Dissenter again.

Fourthly: a reader of his book needs to pay great attention to the use which our author makes of the phrase 'Ancient' Christianity, as opposed to that of the 'Apostolic' times. By the term Ancient, or Nicene, he denotes the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. *It is within these limits that the fathers live, on whom the new Oxford school lays all its stress.* Presuming, if we rightly interpret him, that his reader will never forget of what period he is speaking, he often employs vague expressions which seem to have misled even candid opponents. We have already quoted a passage, in which he uses the phrase, 'the Christian teachers, *from the very first*,' words by which we cannot question that he meant, 'from the very beginning of the period which I am discussing with my opponents,' for any other interpretation would include Paul and Timothy, Clement and Linus, under the term 'Christian teachers.' Such and similar loose phrases have been (as we think) misunderstood, and severely animadverted upon, of which we will give one instance, somewhat different in kind from the former. Vol. i. p. 62: 'Had it been possible, *at any moment during the first five centuries*, to have withdrawn this opinion [of the angelic excellence of virginity] from the ecclesiastical system, the entire structure of polity and worship must have crumbled to the dust.' A respectable and moderate writer, the Rev. James Beaven, who quotes this with much surprise, evidently supposes Mr. I. Taylor to assert nothing less, than that the fabric of church worship in the *first* century was based on the doctrine of the merit of virginity. The extreme absurdity of it, from a writer who rejects the doctrine as unapostolic, satisfies us that his sentence is to be interpreted as follows:—'Had it been possible, at any moment of the first five centuries, *during which it can be proved that the Hierarchical* system existed*, to withdraw this opinion, &c., that system would forthwith have crumbled to the dust.' But we do feel, that in a matter so eminently cri-

* In fact, the Episcopal, as opposed to Presbyterian authority, appears practically prominent for the first time in Cyprian's controversy; and Cyprian's date and locality undeniably furnish proof of both celibacy and its abuses. As for the Episcopal pretensions advanced in Ignatius's epistles, they were at any rate words without act; nor can any just confidence be attained that they are not later interpolations, where so much is undoubtedly interpolated.

tical, he is to blame for allowing the possibility of mistake; and there certainly are many awkward phrases of this kind which produce a paradoxical effect, which ought to be removed in a second edition: nor does it appear to us that his second edition of the first number has at all received, in these respects, the verbal improvements which might have been cheaply bestowed upon it.

That he has been misunderstood in other matters is perhaps imputable chiefly to the extreme difference of mind between himself and his opponents. Of this also we will give one specimen. The following sentence is quoted, as containing his opinion of the moral and spiritual condition of *every unmarried man*, p. 393:—'The meagre, heartless, nerveless, frivolous, or abstracted and visionary *cælebs*, make him a bishop! The very last thing he is fit for; let him rather trim the lamps and open the church doors, or brush cobwebs from the ceiling! How should such a one be a father to the church?' Now in fact Mr. I. Taylor most distinctly declares his belief that there are high services, for which unmarried men, *by reason of their external disembarrassments*, are far better suited than the married; and to this effect he formally expounds the well known decision of our Lord on this very matter; and yet there are honourably minded readers of his work, who seem unable so to understand the above sentence as not to make him directly contradict himself. For ourselves we must say, it had never occurred to us to interpret the *cælebs* as being any other character than the person on whom our author so dilates; i. e., the man who dedicates himself to virginity against his inclinations, under the idea that such abstinence is a high spiritual merit, a sacrifice of some wonderful unknown delight, which in consequence pesters his imagination in a way that monks know too well; who, farther, after the universally prescribed practice, betakes himself, *not* to active occupation, cheerful company, and virtuous female society, the obvious and only effectual help, but to severe fasting and solitary meditation. This is, we confidently say, an admirable *recipe* for producing an unearthly, unnatural, unwise, visionary, or abandoned man. But that is a totally different thing from the false and absurd imagination, that such is the character generated by abstinence from marriage, under the circumstances in which, for instance, English Protestants abstain from it; i. e., from outward causes, or from want of inclination. Nor can we conceive that Mr. Isaac Taylor has for a moment confounded the two things.

We turn gladly to the part of his work which, while containing little or nothing positively new even to the English tongue, has had all the effect and value of originality; because our standard works either do not develope in combination the various phenomena of the Nicene and ante-Nicene age, or shrink from dwelling on them, and deducing practical conclusions. Our

author has here drawn out various lines of thought, and has presented certain principles of investigation and tests of his assertions, which instantly commend themselves to the unsophisticated judgment; and which, to no small extent, show how any future historian of these times ought to approach the subject.

The Germans have plenty of works which furnish the modern reader with the *materials* of history; but the thing needed here is, so to fill out the picture of those times as rightly to impress the imagination; which certainly has been little done hitherto. But we shall perhaps best give our readers a conception of his fulness of discussion, by putting before them the headings of a series of chapters.

Page 56. A Test of the Moral Condition of the Ancient Church, [i. e. of the third, fourth, fifth, &c. &c. century.]
— 67. The Celibate—Earlier and Later.
— 104. Antiquity of the Opinions concerning Religious Celibacy.
— 145. Connexion of the Ancient Celibate with the Notions entertained of the Divine Nature in the Nicene Theology.
— 175. Its Connexion with the Notions entertained of the Scheme of Salvation.
— 226. Some special Methods of estimating the Quality of the Nicene Theology.
— 277. The Rule of Religious Celibacy, as laid down in the New Testament.
— 299. The Ascetic Apostasy predicted in 1 Tim. iv.
— 313. The Extent of the Ascetic Institute, and the Sanction it received from the Nicene Church.
— 333. The Opposition made to the Ancient Ascetism—Jovinian and Vigilantius [the Reformers overpowered by Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine.]
— 347. Monkery and Miracle.
— 357. Moral Quality of the Ascetic Institute, as it affected the Monks themselves.
— 371. Necessary Operation of an Ascetic Institute on the Mass of Christians.
— 379. The Indirect Influence of the Monastic Institute on the Position of the Clergy.
— 388. The Direct Influence of the Celibate on the Clergy.
— 397. Connexion of the Ascetic Institute with Ritual Notions and Practices.
Vol. ii. p. 173. Christianized Demonolatry in the Fourth Century.
— 233. The Nicene Miracles determinative of the Present Controversy.
— 242. The Unknown Martyrs of Milan.
— 272. The Bleeding Relics of St. Euphemia.
— 277. The Invention of the Cross, and the Miracles therewith connected.
— 316. Relics of St. Stephen, Proto-Martyr.
— 356. Reasons for rejecting the Nicene Miracles.

The only instructive, as the only fair way of reading or writing ecclesiastical history is, to look through the whole mind of the times which we are surveying, and ascertain not only what the age thought upon one or two isolated subjects, but why it held them, and in what relation to other views, and what was the entire texture of its moral and spiritual sentiment, the nature of the arguments which convinced it, and the effects of its creed on its practice; how its institutions sprang out of (and bear witness to) the principles then at work, and in turn affected those principles. All these topics are but so many axioms in what is called 'profane' history: unfortunately, however, the application of them to ecclesiastical history is thwarted by sinister and base interests. Anglican divines, who desire to appeal to 'the ancient church' in defence of their own peculiarities, would fain represent the monkery, the celibacy, and the false miracles of the fourth century as isolated facts, which no more affect the soundness of mind of the church at large, than does Irvingism or (may we add?) Puseyism in the present day. And herein they are assisted by the assumed analogy of that time to this; as it is easy to persuade readers that things went on then as they do now. But an honourable or a judicious historian will investigate the fact; and in the case before us, the very reverse is to a great degree true. Christianity now runs in numerous channels, for the most part separate, and by no means parallel to each other; so that the eccentricities of one school or sect may indicate nothing concerning the rest. But in the third and fourth century, the Church Catholic, so called, (for we neglect the *heretics* who contentedly remained outside her pale, as either not numerous or not noticed), the Church Catholic, we say, did not then boast causelessly of her Catholicity, if we expound the word to mean *homogeneity of doctrine and sentiment* through her whole body. Our author most distinctly sees, and powerfully sets forth, that this Ancient Church, from the third century downward, adopted as her own, and became thoroughly pervaded by, the feelings, doctrines, and practices which her Anglican admirers have generally been ashamed of, and have tried to throw into the background. Now that a school has arisen, which asserts that we are bound by the judgment of the ancient church, he most justly insists that we must take that authority as a whole, and must not hide that which in fact pervaded them. He has caused so great an outcry against himself, precisely by that which is his merit,—namely, that he has had the moral courage to dwell upon unpleasant topics, and by repeated recurrence to them, take care that they shall be remembered. He might, like Mosheim, have stated the same fact, once for all, and no one would have much cared, because it would pass by and be for-

gotten. His real offence consists, in being resolved that both the facts themselves, and their practical bearing, shall be steadily kept in view. At the same time, we have no doubt that thousands will prefer to receive monkery and monkish miracles, rather than get into 'the swamps of dissent' by falling back unreservedly on really apostolic Christianity; and therefore, in a controversial sense, we should be sorry to be shut up entirely into that one line of argument which Mr. I. Taylor has adopted; and we regret that he has thought it requisite to cast some slight on the various methods of dealing with the adversary which others have chosen.

But we must avow, it is by no means in a controversial point of view that we chiefly value his labours; indeed we have already shown, that as a controversialist, we do not regard him as very invulnerable. But we do form the hope that, aided by the excitement of the controversy, his work will really lead to a more thorough and searching treatment of ecclesiastical history. It is not any deep or dark fact, however dark divines may be about it, that each age has its own atmosphere, through which it sees truth, distorted into various forms, so that the divine reality is always more or less disfigured, though never entirely destroyed. Now of all human experience, no points of detail can be so important as this general result; and to warn us against errors of 'private judgment,' (for we are as keenly sensible of their existence as any Puseyite can be,) nothing is so valuable, as a clear perception of the source of the errors of 'public judgment.' Error in the mass, and developed on a large scale, becomes palpable and clear. Nor does any intellectual exercise so conduce to true candour, and so save us from unkind and stupid bigotry, as the habit of looking at the same objects from different points of view, not as we and our contemporaries or associates habitually view them, but as other men, equally sincere with ourselves, once viewed them.

Our author takes some pains to show how the Gnostic doctrine affected the church, and what was the source of its seductive power. We have no doubt that he is right in calling it a splendid theory, addressed to the imagination, and pretending to no argumentative proofs. Such a system, of course, has peculiar charms for ardent minds, who conceive that for the investigation of truth a pure soul is all and everything, and that experience and argument have no place in the higher region of theological thought. To a great extent, it must have appeared an appeal to grounds of faith closely similar to those on which the claims of Christianity were habitually based; its beauty as a divine philosophy, its purity, its adaptation to the most elevated feeling and sublime devotion. An age of argumentative

evidences, like the present, may naturally feel it hard to conceive how the monstrous absurdities, called Valentinianism and Gnosticism, in our ecclesiastical histories, ever succeeded in attracting attention; much more, how they became dangerous rivals to orthodox Christianity; and this feeling often inspires a suspicion, that these old fathers have grossly misrepresented the notions which they oppose. We doubt not that they have drawn them with a coarse pencil; in short, have put everything in its least lovely light; but that is compatible with formal veracity. Mr. Taylor believes the Christian fathers, while opposing Gnosticism, to have involuntarily imbibed a Gnostic spirit, inasmuch as it is necessary to reason with an adversary from some common ground, and by methods of argument acknowledged on both sides. Whether this be admitted or not as the explanation, the fact appears to us undeniable, that there is a striking and alarming community of genius and feeling between the fathers of that age and their avowed adversaries. Without rejecting Mr. Taylor's hypothesis, we believe it rather to be a partial statement of a more general proposition. We would not so much say, that the Christians learnt Gnostic feeling *from controversy* with Gnostics, as that the intellectual genius of the age itself was Gnostic, and that Christian teachers partook of it, in proportion as they were capable of intellectual effort, and disposed to philosophic thought.

The history of Christianity shows with peculiar vividness that there is a most intimate connexion (for good or evil) between the higher philosophy of every age, and the creed of its more cultivated minds. Platonic views had, beyond a doubt, effected a lodgment in the church, even at the beginning of the second century; but it was not until its close, when the fame of the church of ALEXANDRIA began to spread, that the union became active and fruitful between philosophy without, and philosophy within the church. Strong and unchangeable as is our belief in the benefits of sound intellectual culture, we feel persuaded, not only that the church gained great mischief from *that* intercourse, but that the doctrines which she imbibed were in substance the very errors against which St. Paul warned the Colossians. She imbibed them at first the more unconsciously, because they had then so little definite shape, being often not so much defined doctrines as tacit fundamental assumptions, or as Mr. I. Taylor expresses it, a Gnostic *feeling*. Such was the first wide-spread corruption of Christianity, which our Author ably developes under many of the heads above noticed. But as his opponents have denied, and even derided his statements, as too absurd to need formal disproof, and have seemed to deserve credit themselves by pointing out some exaggerations on his part which do

not substantially affect his cause, we must dwell on this part of the subject. It indeed strikingly shows how great is the prevalent ignorance of ecclesiastical history, that it is possible to debate questions of so great magnitude concerning matter of fact; and we must confess that we have ourselves read professed refutations of our author, written with so much simple energy and hearty sincerity, with such an air of honest inquiry and moderation, as to stagger our own judgment. But as our opinion that he is nevertheless substantially right, must in itself be worthless to our readers, and as, within the limits here allowed, it is utterly impossible to offer any valid reinforcement of his statements, we have felt some hesitation what course to pursue. Our conclusion has been, that there is a great propriety in appealing in this matter to the testimony of Mosheim, and that for the following reasons.

No one can pretend that Mosheim is a new-fangled or light-minded writer. He has long been the favourite ecclesiastical historian of our high church divines, almost the only one recommended at our Universities by professors of divinity and bishops. Not only is his formal orthodoxy unimpeached; not only did he write before Rationalism was heard of, but—whatever plain truth he may himself tell against the Fathers and their times—he has yet anything but a leaning toward their opponents; on the contrary, he always shows extreme coldness, and, as many think, often undue asperity towards all whom the Fathers vituperate. In the later history, his authority is naturally less to be rested on; but as he dedicated a separate work to the affairs of Christians before Constantine the Great, on which he lavished prodigious care, examining details with a minute industry quite wonderful, we may rest assured that he is not likely to make rash and sweeping assertions without any evidence, in regard to the second and third century. He has never been a favourite with the English public; nor is it wonderful. The very qualities which have recommended him at our Universities,—his calm and solid learning, his cold orthodoxy, his systematic minuteness, his unbiographical generalizations,—have all forbidden that he should be interesting and popular. Moreover, the Latin language in which he wrote, has given to his style a Pagan tinge, wholly un-Hebraical and un-Pauline, which alienates the sympathies of Christian readers; and as if to make bad worse, his translator, Dr. Maclaine, has expanded it very injudiciously into what is yet more tumid and heartless. These things are unfortunate, for they have greatly conduced to make his history a sealed book to the public, abundantly accessible as it is. Nevertheless, as most of our readers who choose to refer to it, will doubtless have the opportunity, this is yet another reason with us for selecting

Mosheim rather than Milman, or any more recent German historian, to compare with Mr. I. Taylor.

The importance of the subject may justify us in abridging here (so as to let the reader see the substance or tendency of their contents) a large part of Mosheim's chapters concerning the internal state of the church in the *second* century. Our words are, as nearly as may be, taken from the text and margin of Maclaine's translation, that we may introduce as little as possible of our own.

Century II., Chap. 3.—'1. *Primitive* Christianity was extremely simple. The public teachers confined themselves to the Apostle's Creed for subjects, and avoided all that was beyond common capacities. —2. This did not last long; for a chimerical philosophy was imprudently incorporated with Christianity. This is to be ascribed, partly to an ambition to present the precepts of Christ in a form acceptable to philosophers and rabbins, partly in order to reply to infidels and heretics.—3. By way of illustration: one Platonic doctrine which in this century came in, is, the belief that *only martyrs* entered upon bliss immediately after death.—4. There was indeed laudable zeal for diffusing and interpreting the Holy Scriptures.—5. Yet we know with certainty that their expositions were very fanciful. They attributed a double sense to all the words of Scripture; treated the obvious and literal sense with the utmost neglect; and were more studious to darken the Holy Scriptures with their idle fictions, than to investigate their true sense. Clement of Alexandria is said to have been the first who perverted sacred writ to the support of the philosophy of the times.*—6. It is not possible to give any systematic account of the theological views prevalent in this century.—7. The controversial writers were less successful in unfolding the true nature and genius of Christianity, and in demonstrating its truth, than in overturning Paganism.—8. Though *pious frauds* had not yet become habitual, as afterwards, yet the arguments current were void of all solidity, proper only to dazzle the fancy. Instead of appealing to the Scriptures, they appeal to the decisions of bishops, or to the antiquity of a doctrine, or to the imaginary powers of mystic numbers. Nor do they seem to err, who allege that the vicious 'Economical' system of disputation dates from this century'—[i.e., to use arguments adapted to convince the hearer, without any regard to the real validity of the argument, or truth of the facts assumed.]—'9, 10. As to the merit of the fathers as moral writers; if by a bad director in morals is meant *one who has no determinate notion of the nature and limits of the duties incumbent upon Christians, no clear and distinct ideas of virtue and vice, who has not penetrated the* SPIRIT *and* GENIUS *of those sacred books, to which alone we must appeal in every dispute about* CHRISTIAN *virtue, and who consequently fluctuates often in uncertainty, or falls into*

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error in explaining the divine laws, though he may frequently administer sublime or pathetic instructions; it must then be confessed that this title belongs to many of the fathers.—11. Morality and Christianity suffered deeply by a capital error unawares brought in in this century,—viz., *a double rule of sanctity and virtue,* as though Christ had *one* law for common men, *another for those, who in a sacred retreat aspired after the glory of a celestial state.*—12. This double doctrine produced numbers of ascetics, who professed to abstain from wine, flesh, matrimony, and commerce; to macerate the body by watchings, labour, and hunger; to live in privacy, and by meditation to raise the soul above external objects. Yet in this century they did not as yet retire into deserts, nor organize themselves into fraternities, though they wore a peculiar garb.—13. These absurdities were closely connected with principles of the Platonics and Pythagoreans, and flowed out of ideas adopted from them by the Christians concerning *the nature of the soul, the influence of matter, the operations of invisible beings* or demons, *and the formation of the world.*—14. This morose discipline had its rise in Egypt, thence passed into Syria, till in process of time, its infection reached Europe.—15. The Platonists and Pythagoreans held it to be even praiseworthy to propagate lies in the cause of truth and piety. The Jews who lived *in Egypt,* had received this maxim from them before the coming of Christ, as appears incontestably from a multitude of ancient records. From the same source flowed the great number of *spurious books* which were spread abroad in this and the following century; in the countenancing of which, it cannot be affirmed that true Christians were innocent.—16. Heinous crime kept increasing among professed Christians, in spite of church-censures.—17. Abandoning the simple primitive method, the bishops now new-modelled their rules of discipline after those of the heathen mysteries, adding a vast multitude of rites, so as apparently to sanctify a heathen superstition.'

Chap. 4.—' 1. The Christian worship was in this century corrupted by the addition of many needless ceremonies to increase its pomp.—2. Partly from a desire to allure into the church Jews and heathens, who were accustomed to pomp in religious services.—3. Partly to refute the calumny of their being atheists.—4. Partly, from an abusive application of Jewish analogies.—5. Partly from an imitation of the heathen mysteries.—6. Also from adopting the *symbolic* method of teaching so common in the East, and more especially in Egypt.—7. Lastly, by continuing practices which had been habitual to them as heathens,' &c. &c.

We need not quote any farther here; but we beg to call particular attention that all the above refers to the *second* century, and refers to matters which lie within one hundred years after the death of the last apostle. It is impossible to admit the facts without seeing how deep an inroad the Neo-Platonic philosophy was making on Christian sentiment; that it had pervaded the moral and spiritual feeling of the Christian leaders, and, in

short, that it was *the movement* of the age. The excellent Dionysius of Corinth quietly dissuaded his brother bishops from an *enforcement* of the law of celibacy; and Clement of Alexandria upheld the claims of married life; but such remonstrances barely touched the surface of things. The mischief was this. The pagan idolatries alluded to in the standard classics led to a prohibition of their perusal, so that the Christians were debarred from the free and healthy exercise of mind which we now know how to value; on the other hand, those who aspired to be teachers, feeling the need of *some* intellectual cultivation, sought for it in what appeared to be the purest school,—viz., in those pagan philosophers who seemed to have a sort of spirituality. Thus the Neo-Platonic writers were fostered as a pet literature, specially edifying to the saints, just as 'Rollin's History,' 'Plutarch's Lives,' and Mrs. Hannah More's Dramas, to some young lady at a boarding-school. It is not wonderful that neither Ignatius nor Dionysius foresaw the mischief which was to come from this source; while as for Clement, he was second only in time to Justin, but hardly second in influence even to Origen, in spreading an esteem and love of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, out of which flowed a result which he deprecated. Seeing now the clear testimony of Mosheim, that even in the second century the doctrine was so widely spread, surely there is no cause to charge our present author with maintaining paradoxes or novelties, when he states that in the *third and fourth* centuries the evil had mounted to such a height, that the soundness and simplicity which characterize the apostolic notions of holiness were lost, and were replaced by a factitious sanctimoniousness.'

His statements on the subjects are diffused over so wide a surface, that we feel it hard to please ourselves in extracts, yet the reader may have satisfaction in the following specimens:—

Vol. i. p. 146, &c. 'Apart from an acquaintance with the history of that awful mistress of the ancient world, the ORIENTAL THEOSOPHY, which, under a thousand changeful colours, held the religious mind in thrall during a period of two thousand years,—apart from this history we are neither qualified duly to estimate the divine excellence and purity of the Christian system, nor to render full justice to the orthodox early writers on account of their resistance to this captivating illusion, &c. This oriental theosophic sentiment consisted in, and produced *a fatal misapprehension of the divine nature*, or moral attributes of God; and its consequence was, to give a totally wrong direction to everything in theology or in worship that might come within its reach.' P. 150. (It taught,) 'That the visible world, with its material elements and organized . . . . races,—is altogether unworthy of the Supreme and Infinite Power, or, as he was called, the Father Unknown, who is

the source of minds, human and angelic. . . . . That this material world was in fact the work of inferior and imperfect beings, or of one such being,' &c. . . . . P. 151. On the contrary, Christianity 'exhibited the Supreme Being' . . 'as *the antagonist neither of matter nor of the visible world*, nor of what is simply finite and corruptible, but as the enemy of that only, which is morally evil. . . . . But in the other system, the antithesis of the infinite perfection, was the finite and corruptible material world. . . . . The course, therefore, to be pursued by man in extricating himself from his luckless position, and in getting clear of its accident, sin; was, by lofty contemplation, by habitual mental abstraction, and *by disengaging himself*, as far as possible, *from the humiliating conditions of animal life*, to facilitate, and in a sense *to anticipate, his relapse into the infinite nature.*'

The last sentence contains the principle, which appears to have been widely diffused among philosophic Christians in the third century, and which bore fruit a hundred fold and a thousand fold in the fourth and fifth. When the idea crept in, that God was *the antagonist of matter*, it was unavoidable to infer that animal existence was in itself a pollution; that fasting and abstinence from everything in which the flesh can have pleasure, had an intrinsic virtue and value; in short, that by ceasing to be a man, and becoming a shaggy brute or a withered bag of bones, great approximation was made to the divine nature.

We have seen from Mosheim that these ascetic delusions were already spreading considerably in the second century; and as Egypt was their principal focus, the mischievous results were naturally manifested first in the African churches. Those who choose to refer to Mosheim's second chapter, sixth section, under the head of the third century, will find that he states even more broadly than Mr. Taylor does, that the fanatical or immoral union (whichever it was) between celibates and nuns had become a custom difficult to extirpate. In fact, it is long after complained of by Jerome, as existing at Rome in his own day, and was so deeply rooted as to be several times forbidden in synods. This fanaticism probably prevailed among the African churches *first*, but it was not confined to them; in fact, it is alluded to as something well known, and without disapproval, in Hermas (III. 9 Simil. ii.), where the virgins say to him, 'Thou shalt sleep with us as a brother, not as a husband,' &c. &c., which Gieseler (third edition of the *German*) regards as the first notice of the practice. He observes, also, that the Catholics are distinctly accused of it by Tertullian, De Jejuniis, c. 17, (which he quotes.) Having referred to Gieseler, (whose able work, at least in its American translation, is sufficiently well known in this country,) we may add his testimony from § 46, that the violent

opposition made in Asia Minor to the Montanist doctrine, was probably among the causes which led to its spreading so widely among the churches of the West. Montanism was a particular form of the ascetic opinions; and (says Gieseler) '*after all, it was only the church doctrines carried out to their full extent.*'

At what era a belief in the merit of celibacy, and the comparative degradation implied by matrimony began to spread, it is undoubtedly difficult to say; but the great reputation which (as Gieseler observes), although a Montanist, Tertullian obtained in all the Latin church (i.e., wherever his writings could be understood), shows that the soil was already prepared for receiving his harsh asceticism. Indeed we may go higher. The work which we have just quoted, called 'The Shepherd of Hermas,' enjoyed an extraordinary reputation in early times, and is quoted as canonical Scripture by fathers of the second and third century; yet it is of so* puerile a character as to throw much discredit on an age which could admire it; moreover, it contains numerous superstitions, and is wholly destitute of evangelical savour. This appears in itself to testify to the melancholy truth, that the doctrine of Paul, viewed spiritually, and not formally, took no deep root in what was called Christendom. It is farther manifest, as well by the events in the churches of Galatia, as by his warnings to the Colossians and his prophecies in the epistles to Timothy, that this leaven of self-righteous asceticism was already beginning to work. The earliest positive notice with which we are acquainted, of a band of church virgins, is contained in the (shorter) epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, in which he salutes 'the virgins who are called widows.'† Of all the epistles bearing the name of Ignatius, perhaps none has been less questioned than this; and the phrase before us is so peculiar, that we think it must have been from Ignatius's own pen. It also appears to show how the abuse had advanced since the time of Paul. In his first epistle to Timothy, the apostle forbids the practice already prevailing of taking into the company of church widows women young enough to be liable to marry again, contrary to their promise ('incurring judgment for breaking their original promise,'—or vow?—1 Tim. v. 12); but in Ignatius's last year,—i.e., B.C. 107, they had reached the farther point, of giving the name and place of widow to young women who had never been married; nor does Ignatius reprove it. This, however,

* Gieseler believes it to be a spurious production of the second century. In this country, however, it generally passes as genuine, and Dr. Pusey quotes it as authoritatively deciding an important doctrine.

† The reading of the larger copy, 'The perpetual virgins (*αειπαρθενους*) and the widows,' appears like a later correction.

in part, makes against Mr. Taylor's assertion, that 'the very worst abuses' of religious celibacy existed 'from the very beginning' of the practice itself; at least he has not attempted to trace them so high, and we think such a course of events is scarcely credible. The institution could never have taken so deep a hold on men's hearts and judgments, unless it had for a long while preserved a fair exterior, and earned a reputation for sanctity. We may here add our strong dissent from his judgment, that the later cruelty, by which the church of Rome sought with more or less success to stifle the outward abuses of professed celibacy, was a great improvement on the wantonness of the Nicene period. In which of the two states there was more real impurity, perhaps it is vain for man to speculate; but the Romish system first allured her victims into temptation; then, if they fell into the snare, cruelly murdered them, to redress her own credit. This is one of the paradoxes, or *crotchets* of our author, by which he does damage to a cause substantially excellent.

To close the evidence as to the general condition of the church in the third century, we will present some passages from Mosheim, which will show that that writer did not regard the rest of Christendom to be then in a much better state than the African churches.

'Century III., Chap. 2.—3. The government of the church degenerates into a monarchical form.—4. This was followed by a train of vices in ecclesiastics. For though several yet continued to exhibit illustrious examples of primitive piety and Christian virtue, yet many were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, &c. *This is testified so amply, that truth will not permit us to spread the veil which we should otherwise be desirous to cast over such enormities in an order so sacred.* . . . . The bishops assumed a princely authority, ... their example was ambitiously imitated by the presbyters, who, neglecting the sacred duties of their station, abandoned themselves to indolence and luxury, &c. . . . . A corrupt ambition was spread through every rank of the sacred order.

'5. Many additional orders were now created. . . . . The institution of *exorcists* was a consequence of the doctrine of the New Platonists, which the Christians had adopted; and taught that evil spirits were continually hovering over human bodies, towards which they were carried by a natural and vehement desire, &c. . . . . 6. [Then follows about celibacy and its abuses.]

'Chap. 3.—1. Christian doctrine is grievously corrupted by philosophy, especially by the *Egyptian* fathers. Origen set up Platonism as the test of all religion; and though he handled the matter with modesty and caution, set a most pernicious example.—2. The *mystic* theology advanced at the same time. Its votaries condemned the use of the logical faculty and the understanding, but sought for perfection

in silence, inactivity, and solitude, which, with the help of all sorts of bodily mortification, were believed to excite the hidden and internal word within the soul.—3. Hence the rise of monks and hermits. It was not so much persecution as fanaticism, which drove Paul, the first hermit, to live for ninety years the life of a savage animal.—4. There was great zeal for spreading abroad the Scriptures, Origen surpassing all in diligence.—5. Yet his fanciful mode of expounding them was such as wholly to destroy their meaning. . . . . 10. The Christian teachers, educated in the schools of the rhetoricians, wrote for victory, not for truth; and this disingenuous method *was almost universally approved*, in consequence of the prevalence of the Platonic doctrines.

'Chap. 4.—1. All the records of this century mention the multiplication of rites and ceremonies in the Christian church. A principal cause of this was, *the passion which now reigned for the Oriental superstition concerning demons, adopted by the Platonists, and borrowed*, unhappily, *from them by the Christian teachers*. For there is not the least doubt, that ***hence*** arose the use of exorcisms and spells, the frequency of fasts, and ***the aversion to wedlock.***'

We have perhaps quoted more from Mosheim than was strictly needed; but we have been anxious to show, that in the whole substance of his statements concerning the doctrine of celibacy, its connexion with Neo-Platonism, and the moral corruption which simultaneously advanced, Mr. Taylor is fully justified by that learned and moderate writer. We trust our readers will not think we have overdone this part of our subject (for it is that on which our author has been most severely attacked); and we must now touch more concisely on what remains.

As the whole of our author's work is avowedly controversial, and directed against the doctrine of the Oxford Tracts, we ought, while considering whether he makes good his case *against them*, to remember that their favourite divines, on whom alone they rest with pleasure or satisfaction, come partly indeed from the third, but chiefly from the fourth and fifth centuries; and that their argument from any doctrine drawn from its 'universality,' &c., is practically confined to this period. If, therefore, he can prove that the doctrine of the merit of celibacy is *equally* universal, it is all that his argument needs; and he is overdoing his work in undertaking to prove that its worst abuses were contemporaneous with the practice itself. But it is strictly within the line of his argument to maintain that the credit of the Nicene fathers is knit up with the high praises of the Nicene monkery, and this last with that of demonolatry and of the monkish miracles; and on all these points he has opened doors of investigation which will not be shut again in England. It is easy here to reply, that he improperly quotes as authentic, 'the Life of St. Anthony, by

Athanasius,' &c. Such a remark is fair enough from a bystander and an historian, and it deserves investigation; but the Pusey school, and indeed the clergy of the high church generally, have no right to make this retort on our author. He has to deal with divines who practically treat as genuine, and press on others as authoritative, the mixed mass of writings called 'the Fathers.' So little fastidious is their criticism, that we have not only the Recognitions of Clement, but even the Liturgy* of St. Peter, quoted by one of their most eminent leaders, as if it were genuine. In this point of view, however, Mr. Taylor's labours can only be looked on as a resting-place for the mind in the course of its inquiries. The progress of sound knowledge concerning spurious and genuine works may lead to a modification of some sentiments which he has advanced; but *no* progress is *possible* while the mind is enslaved to an insane belief of the quasi-infallibility of the 'ancient' church. To dispel this infatuation is a matter of first necessity, to which he has made a useful contribution. When he addresses himself to expound the Scripture, we do not always agree with him; on two occasions, especially, we think he is unfairly biassed by his immediate argument. First, when he alleges that St. Paul forbids an unmarried man to be made a bishop, he appears to us obviously to overstrain the apostle's words. Secondly, we cannot be persuaded that in Rev. xiv. 4, the words have the sense which Mr. Taylor argues,—viz., freedom from *idolatry*. We cordially agree with the Rev. Mr. Beaven, that such an interpretation is so far from being supported by, as to be utterly opposed to the whole analogy of scriptural figurative language; and that no one could take such a view of it, except to support a hypothesis. On the other hand, it is quite undeniable, that *if* it speaks of marriage

* Upon this the Rev. J. H. Newman makes the following statement, in defence of Mr. Froude's wish to replace the Anglican communion service by a translation of it:—'The *original* eucharistic form is with good reason assigned to the apostles and evangelists themselves. *It exists to this day* under four different rites, which seem to have come from *four different apostles and evangelists*. These rites differ in some points, agree in others. Among the points in which they agree, are of course those in which the essence of the sacrament consists. At the time of the Reformation, we, in common with all the West, possessed the rite of the Roman church, or *St. Peter's* Liturgy. This formula is also called the Canon of the Mass, and, except a very few words, appears, even as now used in the Roman church, to be free from interpolation; and thus is distinguished from the Ordinary of the Mass, which is the additional and corrupt service prefixed to it, and peculiar to Rome. *This sacred and most precious monument*, then, *of the apostles*, our Reformers received whole and entire from their predecessors, and they mutilated the tradition of 1500 years.'—*Letter to Dr. Faussett*, p. 46.

as a *pollution* (and it certainly does this, if it has a literal sense at all), it is wholly opposed to all the rest of the Old and New Testament.

In the whole of this article we have kept almost entirely on the ante-Nicene part of the work before us, for it is impossible to enter on all the questions which he brings forward, as to the doctrine of the church of England, the predictions of Christ, &c., to say nothing of the church of the fifth century. We can on the last point only observe in passing, that he appears to us unduly to set down the universal grossness of immorality at that time, to the discredit of the Nicene doctrine, without making allowance for Roman despotism. It is sufficiently certain, that if neither Christianity nor Gnosticism had ever existed, extreme dissoluteness would have marked the declining empire. To give comparative credit, therefore, to the *modern* church of Rome, because she would not *now* introduce, if she could, anything so bad into England, seems to us an unfairness to the Nicene divinity. The real fault here was, that the church, thirsting after power, sucked in the world with it. As to the question, What is the doctrine of the church of England? we presume that most of our readers will regard it as too plain to need argument, that it is decidedly protestant in spirit and intention, and that the points in detail, where an unhealthy policy dictated the preservation of Romish (or to speak popularly), popish peculiarities, constitute only exceptions to the general rule. Such are the formulas of ordination and absolution, as also the receiving of *Romish* clergymen without re-ordination, while *Lutheran* ordination is counted as nothing. Baptismal regeneration is a far more serious blot, or rather, deeply-seated sore, on which we cannot now enlarge. To dissenting readers, however, it is a great inconvenience that so large a portion of what is now become a large book, is occupied with subjects in which they can take comparatively little interest. At present, the second, third, and seventh numbers, and the latter half of the sixth, are those which are most likely to repay *our* readers for their money and time; and we have no doubt, that although our author imagines that he needs to correct in dissenters an extravagant application of the cry, 'The Bible alone!' he will confirm in the minds of his readers the only application of it which is received in any intelligent circles.

Art. II. *Memoirs of Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.* By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. With Notes. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell. Royal 8vo. 1841.

If an argument were wanted against the alliance between church and state, as manifested in this or the sister kingdom, we might point to those numberless instances of notoriously improper persons, obtruded into the offices of the sanctuary, which disgraced the last, or even the present century. Amongst them, however, no example can well be more striking than the subject of the following pages. He was at once the wittiest writer of his age, and perhaps the most staunch defender of what are called the rights of the clergy. Born under the profligate reign of Charles the Second, the indecency of that day, in connexion with its exclusive maxims, grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. And yet with all this, there were elements of better things worked up in his extraordinary character so that he appears on the page of history as a combination of paradoxes. We might imagine, if we were telling a fairy tale that the Seven Mortal Sins had surrounded his cradle, and each breathed some vestige of its respective and peculiar iniquity into the development of his subsequent fortunes; whilst a few of the virtues also kindly attended on the same occasion, to neutralize rampant vices, or even illuminate the future Rabelais of an English generation. He fought his way to fame through poverty neglect, oppression, misfortune, and obscurity. He lived to be the adviser of a Jacobite ministry, and yet a supporter of the house of Hanover. Abhorring both popery and nonconformity with nearly equal bitterness, the exertion of rarely parallele talents degraded, and yet defended that church, in which he was no less a dignitary than Dean of St. Patrick's. He detested Ireland and the Irish, whilst earning matchless fame and popularity as their advocate against all antagonists. His prolific pe spawned upon the public lampoons and fugitive pieces, too lew and filthy to be now tolerated; yet they are interspersed wit solemn sermons, and such affecting offices of devotion for dying lady, that the somewhat doubtful taste of his biographe on all such matters, is ravished into ecstasies of admiration! Th latter rather too frequently, indeed, exacts our attention to th marvellous piety of his hero, who contrived to have an intimat guest in his ecclesiastical residence for several months, witho letting him discover that he had regular family prayers; wh through a morbid fear of hypocrisy, made his oratory an inacce sible garret; who, after officiating at his cathedral service in th

morning, would devote the rest of his day to practical jokes, and indelicate compositions; who 'was a devout believer in the truths of Christianity,' and the warmest friend and admirer of Lord Bolingbroke; who, according to Sir Walter Scott, was at the same time liberal and parsimonious, revengeful and forgiving; 'a constant observer of the rules of religion, and zealous, even to slaying, in the cause of the church of England,—although assuming such levity of writing, speaking, and acting, as caused him to be branded as an infidel, a contemner of public ordinances, and a scoffer at ecclesiastical discipline.' How singular an assemblage of anomalies! We shall now proceed to sketch their outlines for our readers, who, with ourselves, will award general assent to such statements as the following:—

'From the life of Swift may be derived the important lesson, that as no misfortunes should induce genius to despair, so no rank of fame, however elevated, should encourage its possessor to presumption. And those to whom fate' (Providence) 'has denied such brilliant qualities, or to whom it has refused the necessary opportunities for displaying them, may be taught, while perusing the memoir of this illustrious man, how little happiness depends upon the possession of transcendent genius, of political influence, or of popular renown.'—p. 2.

Jonathan Swift was descended from the younger branch of the Swifts of Yorkshire, and was born on the last day of November, 1667. His immediate ancestor was the Rev. Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, and proprietor of a small estate in that neighbourhood. At the beginning of the civil wars, this worthy gentleman distinguished himself by extraordinary sacrifices for the sake of a worthless monarch, whose son and successor, soon after his accession, forgot both friends and enemies, remembering only himself. The Earl of Stamford commanded a regiment on the borders of South Wales, which seems to have committed all manner of enormities. They broke repeatedly, under the personal auspices of one Captain Kyrle, into the vicarage of Goodrich, and after plundering Mrs. Swift and her ten children, even to their very clothes, only one loaf was left in the house for the support of the poor mother and her family. The youngest of all was a naked infant, squalling in its cradle, being almost starved with cold, until its parent wrapped it up in a petticoat, taken off from her own person. This destitute boy, however, lived to grow up, and depart this life just before he would have otherwise become the father of the celebrated Dean; dying the same year that his son saw the light, as abovementioned, at a small house, No. 7, Hoey's Court, Dublin. The nurse to whom the young Jonathan was committed, happened to be a native of Whitehaven, whither being recalled rather sud-

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of logic and Aristotle. His spirit seemed both beyond his own years, as well as the slavish habits of his contemporaries. Tradition affirms, that a rough sketch of his 'Tale of a Tub,' was put by himself into the hands of an early friend. Meanwhile Godwin Swift died, and transmitted his thankless nephew to his younger brother and executor, Dryden William Swift. If Jonathan found, in this second uncle, not a more opulent patron than in his former protector, the manners of the new one were at least more agreeable to his taste: he has recorded him as 'the best of his relations.' Nor may we doubt, but that the most exalted generosity will ever derive considerable enhancement, when exercised in combination with genuine delicacy and magnanimity. The future wit was neglecting his regular studies, and diligently following his desultory ones. Poverty, too, worked with him at his elbow; and as necessity is not merely the mother of invention, but of much practical wisdom also, a severe system of economy became, from this period, a prominent characteristic in his habits. It is conceived, from many of his journals still existing, that he could have accounted for every penny of his expenditure during any year of his life, from the time of his being at college until the total decline of his faculties. On one occasion, his cousin Willoughby, settled in Portugal as a Lisbon merchant, assisted him with the remittance of 'a large leathern purse, full of silver coin,' through the hands of an honest sailor. Part of this treasure seems to have been unworthily expended at taverns and coffee-houses; yet, upon the whole, he already began to love money, either for its own sake, or the power which he perceived it to confer. His proud soul chafed against the injunctions of his superiors, as well as against the regulations of the university; whilst, at the same time, it needed constant employment. One of his comrades compared him to an evoked demon, which must be occupied, and that, too, generally in doing mischief.

The spirit and genius of satire had stamped him for their own, from the commencement of his career. No better objects for many a sarcastic effusion could well have been found, than the Fellows of Trinity College. These had no humility, and their tormentor shewed them no mercy. Hence arose implacable animosity between certain academical authorities and their rebellious subject. In going through his preliminary dissertation, he resisted even the necessary syllogistic forms. His degree of Bachelor was therefore conferred with a sign of disgrace attached to it. In less than two years, he incurred seventy penalties for non-attendance at chapel, neglect of lectures, absence from the roll-call, and sundry minor irregularities. Public punishments soon ensued. When just arrived at the age of manhood, he was convicted of insolence towards the junior dean, whose pardon he

was sentenced to crave in full consistory. He was not expelled; but as the war of the Revolution now broke out in Ireland, he came over into England, and travelled on foot to the residence of his mother, in Leicestershire. Being herself in a dependent situation, she could do nothing more for her son, than cordially solicit on his behalf the patronage of Sir William Temple, who knew her family, and was connected with one branch of it. That accomplished statesman listened to her request, and Jonathan Swift became an inmate at Moorpark for two years. It was long, however, before his patron thoroughly liked him; but as both knew gradually more of each other—as the prejudices of Temple diminished, and as the powers of pleasing increased in Swift, through observation, study, and society, the two great men drew nearer together. Swift frequently read and wrote at the rate of eight hours a-day; besides enjoying and improving his various advantages, in mingling familiarly amongst the leaders of the age; even with King William himself, on several occasions, at their head. His Majesty had conceived the highest regard for the contriver of the Triple Alliance, from his conduct in Holland; and whenever the gout confined Sir William to his apartment, during any of the royal visits, the duty of attending his sovereign devolved upon the private secretary. William is said to have paid Swift the personal compliment of offering him a troop of horse, and shewing him how to cut asparagus, in the Dutch fashion. Neither seemed so much to his taste, as a prospect now opening before his ambition of taking orders, and rising in the church. At this crisis, a bill for triennial parliaments was agitating the nation, and Temple did his best to render the crown favourable to the measure. Swift strengthened him in this constitutional effort, adducing several arguments from English history, and undertaking the delicate office of waiting upon William the Third, with the judgment of one of the best statesmen of his reign on the subject. Thus introduced at court, he witnessed for himself some of those secret mainsprings, which move the governments of the earth. From thence, he went to Oxford, where he was handsomely received; his name having been already recognised as that of a person of intelligence and learning. Here he took his degree of Master of Arts, brushed away any sense of slight which might have haunted him at Dublin, translated successfully an ode of Horace, attempted Pindarics on his own account, and received, with respect to these last, the sentence of John Dryden—'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet!'—a dictum, by the way, which that cousin never afterwards either forgot or forgave. In fact, Swift was the very essence of unamiableness. Long before this, he adopted the custom of observing his birthday, not as an anniversary of joy,

but of sorrow; and of reading, when it recurred, that stirring passage of Scripture, in which Job laments and execrates the hour wherein it was announced, 'a man child hath appeared!'

His first residence at Moorpark now drew to a close, through Swift thinking Temple slower than he ought to have been in advancing his interests, and Temple considering Swift's impatience little else than ingratitude. Sir William offered him a civil employment in Ireland worth £100 per annum, which his dependent declined, conceiving better hopes from ordination in the established church. He therefore quitted his patron in dudgeon; but on applying to the Irish bishops for the fulfilment of his purpose, they required some certificate of his good conduct whilst under the roof of Sir William Temple. For this testimonial, therefore, he had to apply in 'a penitentiary letter,' which, whilst it cost him months of suffering before he could bring down his haughtiness to the task, nevertheless so well succeeded in the end, that a complete reconciliation ensued. Swift was ordained a deacon in October, 1694, and a priest in January, 1695; almost immediately afterwards obtaining the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor. Its income was sufficient to render him an independent country clergyman; but although he had solemnly avowed that he was moved by the Holy Ghost to assume his sacred offices, their dulness in an obscure parish became utterly intolerable, and he returned to his former situation at Moorpark before the close of the year. Here he remained, upon a much more confidential footing than before, until the decease of his illustrious friend, on the 27th of January, 1699. Probably these years were amongst the happiest of his life. He had before his eyes a noble example of public and private virtue; an object both to love and to fear. His faculties were devoted to the service of one, whom he has himself described as 'universally esteemed the most accomplished writer of his time.' The literary controversy had then set in, concerning the superiority of ancient or modern learning, out of which was generated a still more celebrated contest about the Epistles of Phalaris. Swift drew up his 'Battle of the Books' in support of Temple, Boyle, and Oxford, against Wotton and Bentley, although it was not printed for years. He also now revised and perfected his 'Tale of a Tub,' wrote a copy of nervous verses on the conflagration of Whitehall, expended several shafts of ridicule on the common-place topics of general society, and formed his acquaintance with Esther Johnson, better known subsequently by her poetical name of Stella. Sir William bequeathed him a legacy of £100, and the editorship of all his works. They were dedicated to King William, whose memory was jogged at the same moment with regard to preferment at Canterbury, or Westminster, which he had

once promised the proprietor of Moorpark, for his confidential secretary. That promise, if ever made, now produced nothing; and Swift, with more qualifications for the place of a buffoon, than that of a clergyman, had to content himself with accepting an invitation from the Earl of Berkeley, one of the lord-justices of Ireland, to accompany him to that country in the joint capacity of chaplain, and private amanuensis. The rich deanery of Derry was there offered him, upon his paying a thousand pounds for it! He indignantly refused the bribe, but claimed the preferment; and on being refused both by Lord Berkeley and his secretary, he consigned them to righteous infamy 'as a couple of scoundrels.' A breach appeared inevitable, since Swift quitted the castle forthwith, to load the artillery of his revenge against its occupants. But the noble justice, who had smarted already in his reputation, from one or two cutting satires, preferred pacification to warfare, and at last effected something like a return to friendship. His lady was the daughter of the Baptist Noel of that day, Viscount Campden, and sister to the first Earl of Gainsborough. She and her daughters befriended their angry chaplain, induced him to retain his office, and keep up his intercourse with their family. The earl, moreover, presented him with the rectory of Agher, the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, and the prebend of Dunlavin. The produce of all these benefices united, amounted to an income under £200 a-year, but equivalent to about £600 per annum at present. Sir Walter Scott seems remarkably inaccurate in such matters, having stated his revenues at this period as between £350 and £400 a-year. The account-books of the Dean are still in existence, and the fact is ascertainable to a fraction, that in 1703, his professional returns came to exactly £197 16*s*., of which, to his honour, he expended more than one-tenth in acts of benevolence and liberality. He was, however, already a rich man, in the sense of being able to procure everything which his circumstances required, with a handsome surplus over, through adherence to his rigid economy.

None could deny that his habits all along presented a tissue of oddity and peculiar humour. At the vice-regal court of Dublin, he was a clerical wag, most suitable to the society in which he found himself, had there been no eternity before him. But what shall we say to his 'Meditation on a Broomstick,' composed and read with infinite gravity, as an existing portion of a pious work by the Honourable Robert Boyle, 'which it seems Lady Berkeley used to request Swift to read aloud more frequently than proved quite agreeable to him'? It was, nevertheless, amongst the most innocent of his jocular exploits, in utter disregard as a clergyman of the apostolical injunction against that

'jesting which is not convenient.' He began to reside at Laracor in 1700, where his life shone out, according to his biographer, as sufficiently 'regular and clerical: he read prayers twice a-week, and generally preached upon the Sunday,' probably in the morning and afternoon alternately. 'Upon the former occasions, the church was thinly attended; and, it is said, that the ludicrous and irreverent anecdote of his addressing the church service to his parish clerk, occurred when he found the rest of his congregation absent upon such an occasion. The truth of the story has been disputed,' although Swift was far more likely to do such a thing, than Lord Orrery to invent it. Who can feel surprised at the Anglican episcopacy having so little laid hold of an augmenting Irish population? Yet the parish and rector of Laracor continue to derive some advantages from its having once been the abode of Jonathan Swift. 'He increased the glebe from one acre to twenty,' and the tithes of Effernock, purchased with his own money, were by his will settled for ever on his successors, with the curious and sagacious addition to the form of devise, that they should be enjoyed only 'so long as the established church lasted!' He made it a principal care to repair the dilapidations which the church and vicarage had sustained, through the carelessness of former incumbents. The external walls of the sanctuary had fallen into disgraceful decay, requiring a large sum out of his tithes for their restoration. On this trying point he shewed himself the reverse of being parsimonious. Everything was put perfectly to rights at his own costs and charges. He even added to his residence a pleasant garden; smoothed the banks of a rivulet into a canal, and planted willows in regular ranks by its side. 'These willows, so often celebrated in his Journal to Stella, are now decayed, or cut down; the garden cannot be traced; and the canal only resembles a ditch.' *Sic transit gloria mundi;* nor can it be declared, that their fate was not most richly deserved. Whatever relates to Swift, has acquired a sort of interest, through his literary rank as one of our British classics; but there is, of course, no reason which could justify us, as reviewers, in failing to mark with the brand of reprobation the many heinous irregularities of his character. Esther Johnson had now removed to Laracor. Swift had no sooner fairly settled in Ireland, than he commenced arrangements for rendering her also an inhabitant of that kingdom. She was her own mistress; and under such plausible pretexts as being able to procure higher interest for her money there, and being also 'near the friend and instructor of her youth,' she chose for her companion a Mrs. Dingley, and made her general home in lodgings at Trim, no great distance from Laracor. Whenever Swift forsook his parsonage, these ladies occupied it

as his tenants. Scandal was hushed or prevented through extreme caution. 'It is, however, highly probable, that between Swift and Stella there existed a tacit understanding that their union was to be completed by marriage, whenever his income, according to the prudential scheme which he had unhappily adopted, should be adequate to the expenses of a matrimonial establishment.' The young lady, being about eighteen only, with raven black hair, beautifully expressive features, a form of perfect symmetry, and possessing various talents and accomplishments, very soon had an admirer, in the person of Doctor William Tisdal. He was a neighbouring clergyman of high respectability, in habits of friendship with the vicar of Laracor, through whom, supposing him to be legal guardian to Miss Johnson, he honourably made his proposals. Swift had thus no other virtuous course open to him, than to state his own attachment to Stella, or resign her at once to another. He had the inconceivable baseness to do neither; but acting the part of a dog in the manger, he barked away his rival, without having the manliness to marry the object of his attentions himself, or let an end be put to that misery and mystification which, with all his worldly wisdom, was ultimately destined to involve the peace and reputation of both parties. From the time that Doctor Tisdal withdrew his addresses, Esther Johnson considered her destinies united with those of Swift. She never encouraged another suitor, nor ever quitted Ireland, except on a brief visit to England for five or six months, in the year 1705. It must be mentioned, and remembered also, that the subject of this paper was by no means insensible, by nature, to the influences of female attachments. He had already trifled with the happiness and fame of a Miss Jane Waryng, from whom he separated, after correspondence with her for four years. She appears in his works under the soubriquet of Varina. But the scene must now shift from love to politics.

His 'Tale of a Tub' made its earliest public appearance in 1704, of which the main purport is to trace the gradual corruptions of Romanism, and exalt the English Reformation, at the expense of both Popery and Presbyterianism. It was written to serve the high-church party, by gaining the laughers to its side; in which it undoubtedly succeeded; and which, in the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, is an object of first-rate importance. It might, perhaps, have been so in the reign of Queen Anne; but would assuredly not turn out so under that of Queen Victoria. Even a century and a half ago, the raillery incurred just reproach, as being far too light and lascivious for ecclesiastical, not to say religious discussion. Swift himself refused to own it, until, in an unconscious soliloquy, amidst the decline of his faculties, he was overheard to ejaculate, with an oath, after reading several

pages of the piece, 'What a genius I had when I wrote that book!' It wonderfully displays his whole mind as a Whig in politics, and a Tory in church principles; that is to say, such a Whig in the first, and such a Tory in the last, as the contemporaries of Harley and Bolingbroke alone ever saw on an expanded scale. Pure, or rather impure, selfishness lay at the bottom of the entire affair. His genius carried the sign of a spread eagle, wearing its claws and wings for both sides of that rampant aristocracy, which then, and for more than a hundred years afterwards, trampled under foot, and fattened on, the spoils of the liberties of three kingdoms. 'A Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons at Athens and Rome,' had attracted much attention in 1701; when Lords Somers, Oxford, Halifax, and Portland, were impeached by the House of Commons for their share in the partition-treaty. In the following year, Swift being in London, avowed himself the author of this popular pamphlet, which at once renewed his familiar intercourse with the highest circles. But it must also not be forgotten, that when he announced his attachment to civil liberty, as only second to that which he maintained for high-church views, these last involved then, which they do not now, an adherence to the principle of religious establishments. The vicar of Laracor could very well have written the leading articles in the 'Record' or 'Times' newspapers, on such subjects, had he been alive in our own days. He would have abjured the 'British Critic.' His notions of Christianity were essentially secular; although, whilst in the meridian of his reputation, all parties refused to recognise the existence of such an anomalous Centaur as a high-church Whig! 'He saw and felt the difficulty of preserving consistency in the eyes of the public, and busied himself, according to his own account, with projects for the uniting of parties, which he perfected over night, and destroyed in the morning.' One tract, however, escaped this condemnation, and 'The Sentiments of a Church-of-England man with respect to Religion and Government' appeared in 1708. Its fury in favour of the penal laws against nonconformity procures for it no slight praise from our gifted, but most prejudiced, biographer. Worldly writers can have no sympathies except with worldly affairs and worldly motives. The idea of religion being altogether a matter of the heart, and having no more need of assistance from earthly governments than the pillar of fire and cloud had from the Israelites in the wilderness, would have thrown poor Swift into one of those violent fits of vertigo in the head, to which he was so frequently liable, and which he attributes to a surfeit of stone-fruit at Moorpark. We regret having to record it, yet true it is, that this unhappy clergyman, rich in talents, and wretched in his

abuse of them, really seems to have *abhorred* dissenters. In 1708-9, he published his 'Letter upon the Sacramental Test,' opposing, by every argument of reason and ridicule 'which his prompt imagination could supply, any relaxation of this important legal disability.' The honourable Whigs of course began to look cool upon him, as well they might, when they had discovered the author of so bitter a philippic. It was not known at first from whose pen it had proceeded; for an unfortunate parallelism existed between the authors of 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'Waverley,' with regard to the depth and extent of falsehood, intrigue, equivocation, and chicanery, in which both indulged, for the sake of literary concealment. Their imaginations had gathered around them such an atmosphere of illusion, that the outlines even of moral truthfulness were sometimes with difficulty to be discerned—an awful penalty, exacted from almost every mind which wilfully consents to waste or misapply its powers, in violating virtue, or invading the rights of mankind.

Swift displayed his zeal for the temporal interests of his order, by his actions, as well as his writings. At the suggestion of Bishop Burnet, her Majesty had granted the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical preferments to augment the maintenance of the poorer incumbents throughout England and Wales. The clergy of Ireland wished for a similar boon; but their applications having been rejected, Archbishop King in 1708 employed the vicar of Laracor, who had been an active member of convocation, to solicit this favour from Queen Anne. He did his best; and although failing in his object at that time, he succeeded, as is well known, on a subsequent occasion. Meanwhile, having thus acted as solicitor and agent for the church of God, he remembered, like Richard Moneyplies, in the Fortunes of Nigel, that he 'had a sma' sifflication o' his ain!' In fact, he ventured to intimate to the magnates with whom he was in almost daily intercourse, that he considered himself nearly useless in Ireland, 'with an audience in a poor parish of half a score;' so that he felt willing to offer his services, as secretary to an embassy,—as Bishop of Virginia, with metropolitan authority over the colonial clergy,—as successor to the facetious Doctor South, whose speedy dissolution was then expected, which would have vacated a valuable prebend,—or even as an occupant of the sinecure post of royal historiographer. None of these plans answered the wishes of their framer; and it is said, that when Lord Somers wrote to the Earl of Wharton, the new Whig lord-lieutenant at Dublin, warmly recommending Swift for immediate advancement, his excellency forthwith replied, 'O my lord, we must not prefer or countenance such a fellow; *we have not character enough ourselves!*' Swift must have got some scent of this

answer, for the authenticity of which, besides the direct assertion of Doctor Salter that he saw the correspondence with his own eyes, there is the unappeasable animosity ever afterwards manifested towards Wharton, by the disappointed satirist. His visit to the British metropolis nevertheless produced a certain amount of good, in serving the cause of common sense; for it was the era of his celebrated attack upon astrology. One John Partridge, if that were his real name, was the editor of an Almanack, under the title of 'Merlinus Liberatus,' besides having published a variety of treatises to uphold the fabric of astrological imposture. To cure the evil, our author, under the signature of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., presented the world with his Predictions for the following year; in which, amongst other prognostications, 'with the most happy assumption of that mixture of caution and precision affected by these annual soothsayers, he announced an event of no less importance than the death of John Partridge himself, which he fixed to the 29th of March, about eleven at night.' The wrath of the Francis Moore of that day may be better conceived than described. An amusing controversy arose, which vastly entertained all classes, and rendered the assumed title of Isaac Bickerstaff so popular, that the Tatler was established under its shadow, to which Swift, amongst others, contributed; whilst Steele enjoys the honour of having been its projector and editor. It was the morning star, also, to the Spectator; so that from this period a warfare of wit commenced against coarseness and vulgar superstitions. Wizards from that time forward were starved out from at least the upper and educated classes; and their subsistence amidst the lower ones has been becoming year after year only more and more precarious. Early in the summer of 1709, he returned to his vicarage, sick of courts, saloons, and antechambers, 'dissatisfied with the inefficient patronage of those ministerial friends from whom he had only received compliments, promises, and personal attentions.' What else he could expect it was difficult to conceive, since those who knew him best had seen the seed of their suspicions already sprouting up from the black soil of greediness cooling over the lava of malevolence and slighted talents. Whiggery, in its own mind, wrote him down as an apostate. The snakes which Mrs. Masham and her coterie were about to hatch into vitality out of the compost of corruptions over which the last of the Stuarts brooded and reigned, might reckon on him, as they shortly demonstrated before the whole world, as their ablest coadjutor and advocate. His mother died, after a long illness, in May, 1710; on which he remarks, with an expression for him unusually pathetic—'I have now lost my barrier between life and death; God grant I may live to be as well prepared for it as I con-

fidently believe her to have been. If the way to heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there!' It would have been more satisfactory had we discovered that the purse and glebe of the popular author and beneficed divine were conscious of having contributed towards the relief of parental necessities.

After no very protracted interval, these kingdoms underwent one of those extraordinary political revolutions, which seem to stir up society from its depths, through a chain of causes, each more potent than its predecessor, but of which the incipient link appears out of all proportion, in its minuteness, as contrasted with the ultimate results. In fact, the increment of the momentum, as it passes forward, although it may be from a mere seeming trifle at the commencement, is in geometrical rather than arithmetical progression. Sacheverel, within a few months, was in his glory. The Whigs never have known how to treat the domineering church establishments of Great Britain and Ireland. They alternately coax and scold,—court and insult,—soothe and inflame,—flatter and abuse a system, which should be dealt with in a spirit of mingled caution and firmness. Their platform of political action never having been as yet sufficiently elevated to enable them to perceive that an alliance between church and state is what both Providence and Christianity have forbidden, they are always in a false position for taking their ecclesiastical measures. They either do too much, or too little, or nothing at all; which last was, we believe, the grand catholicon of Lord Melbourne, our late premier. The next phase of liberalism, when it comes into power, which will be the principle of reform in an advanced stage of development, may possibly know better, from past experience, how to proceed. Whiggism, which is in the way of being blown or snuffed out, has generally wanted either the courage of philosophy or the philosophy of courage. On taking the helm of the state, Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland, discovered, just as their party always seem to discover it, as if not at all cognizant of the fact before, and therefore not being prepared for it, that the government has a termagant consort, who must be propitiated, supported, respected, sometimes almost worshipped, and at all times treated with the greatest delicacy. Thus it must at least be, if they expect any peace in the house during their inhabitation. It would at any period have thrown Whiggery into a catalepsy, to suggest a secret yet firm inquiry into the legitimacy, *ab origine*, of this infelicitous politico-ecclesiastical marriage. Lord Somers, who was one of the greatest sages of his day, never dreamt such a dream. He and his colleagues, constituting a perfect constellation of Whig leaders, the very Orion of the social firmament at

the commencement of the eighteenth century, with the customary ignorance and presumption of their party about all such matters, actually ventured, in the year 1710, to lay their irreverend hands upon the tail of the church establishment. The touch was immediately taken up, not as a blow, but as an insult. There was nothing about the measures of these men to cow the prelacy, but everything to arouse the insolence of the clergy, whose kingdom of Christ upon earth comprehended the loaves and fishes of ten thousand five hundred parishes south of the Tweed! An obvious and immediate consequence was, that Queen Anne, gouty and feeble, naturally allied to Toryism, and in her own proper person and habits the preciscst type conceivable of an established or secularized church, waxed exceedingly irate and alarmed. The interests of religion were in her mouth; the expulsion of the Whigs was at her heart. The impeachment of a contemptible preacher, like Sacheverel, became a blunder, in the chapter of accidents, almost approaching the sublime! He had brayed a discourse of nonsense, which would have died away upon the ears of a few hearers or readers, when the ministry of that day so enacted the part of enchanted folly, that they turned the bray into a blast, which echoed over all Europe, and changed their entire power and authority into 'the baseless fabric of a vision!' Swift caught the signal, even in his retirement at Laracor; whence, with some awkwardly expressed regrets that his political friends were to be depressed, and some ill-concealed joy that his ecclesiastical ones were to be elevated, he flew like a vulture to the battle-field, arriving in London about the 9th of September, 1710.

Prepossessed, as he already was, with strong resentment at having been neglected, however reasonably, by the outgoing administration, he, nevertheless, resumed his intimacy with Addison and Steele, although refusing to pledge Lord Halifax, when he proposed as a toast, 'The Resurrection of the Whigs,' unless he would add, 'and their Reformation.' His old friends generally appeared ravished to see him; 'offered apologies for the mode in which he had been treated; and caught at him as a twig when they were drowning.' We should say, that had they clutched him, they would have found him a stinging-nettle for all future generations! He now knew his own value, and with his innate love of sarcasm, his genius might have gloated, and probably did so, on the many grimaces, and 'longing, lingering looks behind,' which the associates of the great Godolphin cast back upon the palace they were leaving. In fine, as they had treated Swift, so he now treated them. He had lampooned the late lord treasurer before the first of October, and on the 4th of that month was presented for the first time to Harley. By the

latter he was introduced to St. John; 'and the intercourse he enjoyed with these ministers approached to intimacy with a progress more rapid than can well be conceived in such circumstances.' His assistance could not be dispensed with by these two wicked statesmen, and ample, even almost humiliating, confidence constituted the only terms on which it could be procured. Political writers in that day were what leading journals are now, and the engagement of the vicar of Laracor, the author of the 'Tale of a Tub,' on their side, was the same sort of transaction, in its kind, though far more important in its consequences, than securing the support of the 'Times' would be amongst ourselves. The new ministers were wafted into power and office by the followers and abettors of Toryism, whilst Harley and St. John were afraid of being supposed, from having been a sort of hollow Whigs in their earlier career, to have rushed all at once, *per saltum*, as it were, to the furthest extremes of passive obedience and divine hereditary right:—

'Still they were under the necessity of availing themselves of the drift of popular opinion, as a boatman benefits by the current which bears him towards his haven, managing meanwhile, by sail and oar, so to moderate and control its impulse, that it shall neither hurry him beyond the point proposed, nor dash him against the adjacent cliffs. Under such difficulties, the talents of Swift to mould and moderate the tone of public feeling became of the last importance to the new rulers; and hence Harley laid aside his reserve, and St. John his levity, to vie in courtesy towards an author, whose principles in church and state had hitherto been those of moderation (qy?), and who combined the power of expressing and supporting his sentiments in a manner at once forcible and adapted to the capacity of the public. Swift, on the other hand, beheld the triumph of the church establishment, and saw with pleasure, that the affairs of state were now to be conducted by men whose tenets were ostensibly' (and as hypocritically) 'as favourable to liberty as his own. He saw, besides, an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on those by whom he had been overlooked in the plenitude of their power; and from the influence of those mixed motives enlisted himself, with heart and hand, under the banners of the new ministers.'—p. 21.

What a picture, drawn by the able pen of a flattering biographer, of a genuine political clergyman, having left his cure of souls to the care of Satan, and come into the vortex of secular affairs, as the advocate of church establishments. He immediately undertook the conduct of the 'Examiner,' which St. John, Prior, Freind, King, and other Tory writers, had already commenced as the organ of Harley and his cabinet. The thirteenth number contained an avowed and violent defence of hereditary right in its most absurd extent. Addison had started an oppo-

sition periodical called the 'Whig Examiner,' from which he withdrew three weeks before the fiery zealot from Ireland entered the lists. The last was not long in falling most foully upon his former associates, whilst in tearing to pieces Sunderland, Cowper, Walpole, Marlborough, and Wharton above all, he disgraced himself and human nature, by heaping reproaches upon the virtuous Somers, whose old kindnesses towards his earlier fortunes were all forgotten, and even his undeniable public services held up to ridicule and scandal. Walter Scott, in the sweeping range of his charity for the criminalities of Toryism, surrenders his hero at this point, in the gentle admission that 'here he is least justifiable.' Meanwhile Swift did all that his patrons required of him. He was the Ajax of their phalanx, amidst the rancour, clamour, and inkshed, that ensued. His pen proved an invincible spear; and upon the brazen shield of what his biographer styles courage, but which we call shamelessness, he bore the main brunt of the conflict. Whatever vigour of attack and dexterity of defence could effect, he marvellously performed. His influence became a pervading mind, soul, and will, to his wretched party for the time being. With a readiness and versatility scarcely imaginable, he assumed every shape and suggested every manœuvre which could rally, organize, or inspire his friends, and at the same instant perplex or annoy their opponents. Not at all blind to the fact, that having the world, the flesh, and the devil, on his side, he must of necessity wield their weapons, he nevertheless wrote, printed, and published, with all his might and main, as if the existence of the religion which he thus professed and dishonoured had really turned upon every effort he made. 'His ready talent for popular poetry was laid under liberal contribution;' and the 'Rod of Sid Hamet,' which censured Lord Godolphin, seemed only the precursor of a cloud of lampoons, falling like poisoned arrows into the hearts of his antagonists. The 'opportunity of wreaking his vengeance,' which Scott mentions, must have been enjoyed by him, in a length and breadth of realization such as those only can estimate who have tasted the venom of his 'Short Character of Lord Wharton,' or the volumes of spleen and ire which his fearful temper and inexhaustible talents produced. His powers helped mightily to establish Harley in the good opinion, and almost in the affections, of his royal mistress, amidst the intrigues of a rotten aristocracy, the applauses of a drunken squirearchy, the benedictions of well-beneficed divines, and the shouts of an ignorant, misguided multitude. In return for such services he exacted wages, such as few would receive, and still fewer pay. For the mitre which he anticipated, and the deanery which he obtained, the vicar of Laracor appeared in no immediate hurry; but whilst his passions

revelled in literary and political revenge upon his foes, his pride demanded compensation and homage from his haughty, ambiguous, and reckless masters. He treated them, as every Mephistopheles or Allecto is supposed to act towards those who have summoned them from the pit—that is, with mingled servility and disdain. He appeared ready to take umbrage at the slightest shadow of caprice, disrespect, or restiveness. His manners with the most exalted noblemen or courtiers, wore the affected air, not merely of intimate familiarity, but domineering patronage. He once sent the prime minister into the House of Commons to call out the first secretary of state, 'only to let him know that he would not dine with him, if he dined late.' He, on another occasion, insisted that a certain duke should make him the first visit, just because he happened to hold the highest place in the peerage! None who know us will lay to our charge any aristocratic tendencies; but we feel, with every person of common sense, that such despotism over the usages of society betrays neither philosophy of mind nor genuine force of character. When Swift ostentatiously avowed that he despised high station, or adventitious advantages, his conduct proved that his needless avowal was to be read backwards. Bishop Kennet mentions the future dean of St. Patrick's in his diary, incidentally, but with great effect. We wish we had room for the extract, which exactly demonstrates what passed between Plato and Diogenes, when the latter, alluding to the carpet of the former, cried out, 'I am trampling upon the pride of Plato.' 'Yes,' said Plato, 'and shewing a far greater pride in doing so!' Swift was, of course, a loser in every way by this foolish conduct, and we consider the remarks of Lord Orrery respecting him to have been more accurate than those of the laird of Abbotsford.

'He was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow; the substance was detained from him. He was employed, not trusted; he imagined himself a subtle diver, who dexterously shot down into the profoundest regions of politics; but he was suffered only to sound the shallows nearest the shore, and sometimes scarcely admitted to descend below the froth at the top. Perhaps the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inspection.'—p. 30.

Some of these 'deeper bottoms and muddy waters' might have involved designs for restoring the Stuarts, in which Swift appears to have had no direct participation, beyond his ardent friendship for Bolingbroke, which terminated only with death. He must have known enough, moreover, with regard to the results of any such restoration in Ireland; and that amongst them would be the cessation of his own dignity and preferments. The

grand palpable charge against him is, that with his eyes open, and in the teeth of former opposing associations, he had cast in his lot with bad men, who made worse ministers. On their behalf his best gifts were strained to the uttermost. When discontents were shaking the very foundations of Harley and St. John's conservatism, just as will soon be the case with our own present cabinet, the artfulness of Swift appeased the incipient mutiny, by his 'Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club.' In this masterpiece of political craftmanship, the dust of certain proportions of truth and falsehood, skilfully compounded together, blinded the vision of those who might have seen too far, and flattered the hopes of others, who magnified little matters into worlds of consequences, existing nowhere else than in their prurient imaginations. Then as to foreign policy, his pamphlet on the journey of Prior to Paris, his 'Conduct of the Allies,' his 'Remarks upon the Barrier Treaty,' were all first-class specimens of their respective kinds. These pamphlets passed through the land, as so many talismans of error, which made the worse appear the better cause, by putting bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. Four editions of the second production were devoured by the public in a single week. It formed the text-book for the debates in the House of Commons, on the ministerial side. Its author was threatened with impeachment. His celebrated 'Representation of the Lower Chamber on the State of the Nation,' and the subsequent 'Address of Thanks to the Queen,' were his next ablest papers. His 'Examiners' meanwhile worked wonders. If he entered a coffee-house, he had a profound obeisance from all present. One may forgive his vanity for entertaining no less a project than the improvement of the English language, to which his own pungent, perspicuous, and idiomatic style, far more contributed, than all his recommendations of the scheme to Lord Oxford, or than could have been done by any society resembling the French Academy. He had already obtained the first-fruits and twentieths for Ireland, and protected or advanced several eminent literary men, for the general welfare. It seemed high time that he should secure for himself something more solid than bows in antechambers, and invitations to dinners, where he might say what he liked, and eat what he could get. Missiles also, something like his own, began to whistle about his ears. 'I will contract,' he says at length to the lord treasurer, on the 26th December, 1712, 'no more enemies till *I have got under shelter:*' and on another occasion he quotes an axiom of his grandmother, 'More of your lining, and less of your dining.' Now then came the trial as to how far his noble, affable, and right honourable masters felt *really* disposed to serve him. He struggled earnestly

for a bishopric, and failed. The Queen possessed just so far a sense of decency, that her mind revolted against any connexion being effected between the 'Tale of a Tub' and lawn-sleeves. Furthermore, her third grand favourite was the Duchess of Somerset, whom Swift, in a lampoon entitled the 'Windsor Prophecy,' had reproached for her having red hair, and being privy to the murder of her first husband. She could have forgiven the second offence; but the first inflicted a wound for which there was no atonement: so that when Lord Oxford and Mrs. Masham were about to confer the then vacant see of Hereford upon the exulting satirist, the duchess, summoning to her aid her friend the Archbishop of York, threw herself in tears upon her knees before Anne, and destroyed every chance of his obtaining English preferment. The crosier of Hereford went into other hands; not even a stall at St. George's could be procured; so that nothing remained but the deanery of St. Patrick's, for which the warrant was signed the 23rd of February, 1713. The post was both dignified and valuable, although he always pretended to consider it an honourable exile, since, relying upon his presumed indispensability to government, he had formerly and repeatedly declined an elevation to the Irish prelacy. In one word, he was more admired than loved, and discovered, rather late, that he had few real friends!

In an epic on the 'Miseries of Vanity,' the memoir of Swift might form a felicitous episode. We shall not dwell on his having to chew the cud of disappointment, amidst the desolations of a large unfurnished house at Dublin, where he describes himself 'as living in one corner of it.' He soon quarrelled with his archbishop and chapter, besides feeling grievously troubled at having to incur an outlay of about 1000*l.* sterling, before he could take full possession of the deanery, repair and furnish the house, and settle some necessary arrangements with his predecessor. For this necessary sum of money, he applied incessantly, both now and afterwards, to his intimates at the Treasury. We may feel certain, that however highly they appreciated his services, they remembered his eccentricities, to give them no harder name, and so they put him off with promissory notes, until their bubble burst, and left them bankrupt of all power and reputation. He was recalled to England, not long before that disaster, to reconcile Harley and St. John, increasing in the good graces of both, so far as words went; whilst Bolingbroke, in the royal closet, was gradually, though secretly, eclipsing Oxford. Once again he engaged in political controversy. His treatise on the 'Public Spirit of the Whigs' maddened that respectable section of society into some needless acts of anger; and as it reflected upon the Duke of Argyle, on Scotland generally, and on the

Union, such an impression came to be produced in the House of Lords, that a reward of 300*l.* was offered for the discovery of the author, whilst his bookseller and printer were solemnly ordered into the custody of the Black Rod. Jacobitism now getting the better at Court, Swift retired into the country and composed his 'Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs.' The remainder of the political drama develops a painful page in our national annals. Yet it ended in the death of Queen Anne, and the enthronement of George the First. Swift adhered magnanimously to the charlatans whom he had espoused. All fell: some fled; others plunged into the abysses of oblivion, or were thrown into prison; whilst a few were to be tried for their lives before an indignant people. Aristocracy and prelacy triumphed, as usual, notwithstanding the agitations of the Scotch rebellion. Swift settled himself in his ample preferment, amidst the execrations of Whigs and Dissenters, both then pretty numerous at Dublin. He encountered the tempest of his temporary unpopularity, partly with scorn, partly with indifference, and partly with defiance or hostility, until, in the course of a few years, the tide of affairs again turned, so that he became, from a singular series of circumstances, more influential than ever. Opulence, moreover, began to shower into his lap its cornucopia of dubious advantages. He made up matters also with his ecclesiastical superior and inferiors, so that the sun of prosperity, after all, seemed to shine upon his head, and envy overawed itself into at least respectful silence.

Yet, from his own account, as well as that of others, there lived not a more miserable being. Milton has well said, that 'the mind is its own place;' and though externally his talents and position were drawing round him the homage of his contemporaries, the bitterest enemy he had ever made, could the hell within him but have been unveiled, must have relented into compassion, if not into tears. His selfishness proved an hourly tormentor, impaled as his poor heart was upon the points of bitter and ungratified passions! In other terms, he reaped as he had sown:

'He possessed, in an eminent degree, many of the qualities which are the surest passports to female favour. He was not only a man of the highest talents, but he enjoyed in full extent all the public notice and distinction which the reputation of such talents can confer. He moved in the highest circles, had been concerned in the most important business of the time, and had all the advantage of a name blown wide abroad in the world. In private society, the varied richness of his conversation, the extent of his knowledge, his unequalled powers of wit and humour, even the somewhat cynical eccentricities of his temper, joined to form a character, equally interesting from its intellectual merit and originality. His manners, in these his better days, were but slightly tinged with the peculiarities which afterwards marked them

more unpleasantly, and his ease and address were such as became the companion of statesmen and courtiers.'—p. 33.

The individual thus gifted had a person tall, strong, and well-formed, a dark complexion, but with blue eyes, and black, bushy eyebrows. An aquiline nose, with features somewhat stern and haughty, expressed that dauntlessness of character which the fairer sex certainly admire, and often love. Yet he was never known to laugh; so that no wonder his gentle followers rather dreaded, as well as admired. Amongst various ladies who sought their chief happiness in his company, Esther Johnson has been more than once mentioned in this article; a most attractive creature, who considered the vicar of Laracor, with the greatest justice and propriety, as entirely her own. For him, and at his suggestions, she had quitted her country, declined another suitor, and almost perilled her reputation. With her he perpetually corresponded, and to her the celebrated and familiar journal, known under the title of that to Stella, was regularly addressed, from Swift when absent in England. Yet throughout a large portion of this period, his heart was rotten to its core. He had seen in London a second Esther, whose surname was Vanhomrigh, better recognised, perhaps, under her fanciful appellation of Vanessa. Our clerical Adonis, according to his wicked custom in such cases, attached himself to her as an intellectual Mentor, if one might believe his hollow professions, he being on the shady side of forty, and the young lady not more than twenty. Her personal and mental attractions quickly made him feel that he could never prosecute the intimacy without cruel injustice to Miss Johnson. Vanessa, altogether ignorant that the object of her sincere selection lay under a prior engagement, let her affections go in the flowery but certain road to ultimate misery and disappointment. Not a shadow of blame can attach to her, or her rival. An atrocious traitor to both played them off, one against another, for his own gratification and pleasure. The romance which ensued would be deemed hardly suitable to our general taste, or that of our readers. All parties discovered that 'love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave; the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame.' According to one account, he went through the ceremony of a private marriage with Stella, to preserve her life, upon conditions unjust to the lady, and revolting to nature. Walter Scott receives this statement; although there occur many things to make it doubtful. In fact, clouds of mystery overhang every chapter in the dark story. Nothing appears certain but the extreme culpability of the dean—the misery and agony of the injured females—the premature death of Vanessa from a broken heart—the lingering anguish, terminated only by her dissolution, of Stella—

the remorse, through a protracted life, of Swift himself—and the bitter, yet pathetic memorandum, which he made on a ringlet of Esther Johnson, always kept by him, 'Only a woman's hair!' About the time when the clandestine nuptials were imagined to have occurred, Doctor Delaney observing Swift very gloomy and dejected, went to Archbishop King to mention his apprehensions. On entering the library, the very object of his fears rushed past him, with a countenance full of distraction, and without speaking. He found the Archbishop in tears, and upon asking the reason, he replied, 'You have just met the most unhappy man upon earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness, you must never ask a question!' His doggerel verses of this period, called poems by courtesy, deserve neither to be analysed nor enumerated.

From the Peace of Utrecht, to which he had in no slight degree indirectly contributed, down to 1723, he took an active share in the affairs of his cathedral, and studied several hours every day. Herodotus, Lucretius, Aulus Gellius, and Philostratus, seem to have been his favourite authors in the dead languages. That he borrowed from the last his idea of the Lilliputians in Gulliver's Travels, we think there can be little doubt. Any of our curious and learned friends, who may wish to satisfy themselves about the matter, will obtain a full view of it, by just comparing Gulliver on the ground, asleep after his landing, with Philostrat. Icon. lib. ii. cap. 22, pp. 846, 7, in the folio Olearian edition; or with passages better known in the works of Pliny, Elian, and many others. He boarded himself, for the sake of economy, with Mr. Worrall, whose wife preserved that neatness and good order which were always particularly agreeable to him. Two public days, however, were weekly kept up at the deanery, where, after dinner, Swift allowed himself about an English pint measure of tolerable claret; but when Lady Eustace or any other guests of quality honoured him with their presence, he used to allow them a shilling a head to provide their own entertainment, 'and would even struggle hard that only sixpence should go for the brat, as he called Miss Eustace.' His society, or at least his conversation, must have been marvellously attractive to have rendered such modes of intercourse tolerable; unless much may be allowed for the fashion of going to look at, or listen to, so eccentric a personage. He was fond of pranks of all descriptions, even the most childish. Anecdotes, scarcely credible, are related of his practical jokes. Amongst the least absurd was his treatment of the Grattans—a family to whom he grew strongly attached, but whose male members, together with other accommodating friends, he would chase in cold weather through his large apartments, or up and down stairs, with a whip in his hand, driving them like horses, until he had accomplished his

necessary quantity of exercise. We cannot forbear observing, that whoever got horsewhipped on such occasions, richly deserved it. By the servile submissions of perhaps well-meaning dependents, such domestic despots as Dean Swift are often made. Sheridan and Delany found their stock of good-nature, which was equal to that of most men, quite exhausted at last by the demands of this semi-insane humorist. In punning he has had few competitors; none probably could surpass him. A lady had thrown down with her mantua a valuable Cremona violin, when he immediately applied to the circumstance that verse from Virgil—

'Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!'

The comfort which he gave an elderly gentleman who had lost his spectacles, was more grotesque: 'If this rain continues all night, you will certainly recover them in the morning betimes.

'Nocte pluit totâ—redeunt *spectacula* manè!'

His occasional visits abroad, with an immense correspondence carried on whilst at home, occupied part of his leisure. In 1720, he came forth once more upon the stage as a political writer, and in a better cause than before. He still professed that he adhered stoutly to the Hanoverian succession, although holding intercourse principally with extreme Tories. So also, announcing everywhere his prejudices against Ireland and Irishmen, he, nevertheless, now used his pen on their behalf with invincible spirit and energy. England had assumed the power of legislating for her dependent kingdom. The statutes of the 10th and 11th William III. prohibited the exportation of Irish woollens except to British or Welsh harbours; by which preposterous measure, certain manufactories in Ireland were ruined to the extent of £1,000,000 per annum. Nor did this iniquitous tyranny constitute more than a single item in a long course of contumelious injury exercised by the strong country towards the weaker one. Swift now published his 'Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures,' utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wearable that comes from England! It was a measure of immense boldness, and the grand juries of the county and city were soon instructed by the time-serving tools of Government to present the pamphlet as a 'seditious, factious, and virulent libel.' A trial of the printer terminated in a glorious triumph for the friends of justice. The spirit of an oppressed people commenced that deep response to the calls of patriotism, which we have lived to see still more successful. The proposal of a national bank, coming as it did soon after this affair from a very questionable quarter, also roused the satire of the Dean; who appealed so strenuously

to the lower house of parliament at Dublin, that the project, conceived as it doubtless was for dishonest or exclusive purposes, fell to the ground. Many other minor opportunities turned up for the suppression of various abuses, through gibbeting them for public inspection; all which received due attention from the divine of St. Patrick's; his quills being ever ready, like those of the porcupine, to dart at a nuisance, and drive it, if possible, into annihilation.

All these, however, must yield the palm, in point of importance, to his 'Letters of a Drapier against Wood's Copper Coinage.' Walpole had granted in 1723, upon certain conditions, to one William Wood, a patent right of coining halfpence and farthings, to the extent of £108,000, to be current in Ireland. Now George the First kept a couple of infamous mistresses, who were the 'two daughters of the horseleach, crying Give—give!' To the Duchess of Kendal, one of these women, and by far the most rapacious, the patentee had promised a handsome slice of the profits, having, in fact, procured his contract altogether through her disgraceful influence over the sovereign. Neither had the minister, acting officially in the matter, condescended to consult the lord-lieutenant or the Irish privy council; but on the suggestion of a royal harlot, had devolved, upon an obscure individual, one of the highest privileges of the crown. Wood seems to have acted honestly in the affair, so far as the emission of handsome and genuine halfpence was concerned; but the entire nation thrilled with the insult of the transaction from the noble and powerful Whig family of the Brodericks down to the coalporters and scavengers of Dublin. Whilst the struggle was impending, Swift published his incomparable Letters, 'strong in argument, and brilliant in humour, but unequalled in the address with which those arguments are selected, and that humour applied.' They ran like wildfire through the land. From Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, nothing seemed talked of but Wood's abominable copper, and the eloquence and wit of the Drapier. The despotism, which for thirty years had held down a spirited people, might have bent, but could never break, the honest harp of Erin; and when circumstances thus occurred which re-strung its chords, a clergyman, who was the oddity of his age, threw his hand across them with such exquisite skilfulness and nature, that tyranny itself turned pale, if it did not actually tremble. Every day the fermentation waxed more formidable. Both the Irish houses of parliament plucked up courage to address the throne against the new coinage. Tradesmen refused to receive or pass it. The nearest relations of the patentee felt obliged to disavow their possessing a shadow of participation in the business. From the wealthy and pompous corporation of the city, as well as from the

various commercial companies, memorials were circulated, and hostile associations formed. Swift fanned the flame with ceaseless ballads and prose satires, seasoned with all the bitterness and pungency of his sarcasm against the unfortunate ironmonger, and his patrons and patronesses in England. The Duke of Grafton, as viceroy, foresaw a civil war, unless Walpole gave way; which, so far was he from thinking of at first, that he issued a proclamation limiting the issue, upon the supposition, that by diminishing the magnitude of an abuse, its principle might seem to be sanctioned against some more favourable opportunity. The Dean quickly exposed this; and in his fourth letter ventured to bring before the public the true point of difference betwixt the two countries. Was Ireland, or was she not, a mere dependency of England, in whose parliament she possessed no representation? The cabinet of London threatened coercion, unless her subject, yet sister island, should forthwith succumb; but 'the remedy,' writes the Drapier, 'is wholly in your own hands, and therefore I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that spirit so suitably raised amongst you, as Irishmen; and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are, and ought to be, as free a people as your brethren in England!' No finer appeal to original rights had then ever been uttered in the world; nor has it been rivalled since, except, perhaps, by the Declaration of American Independence. The Dean having pronounced his oracles, Dublin, Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, said 'Amen' to them! A reward was offered by Government of £300, for the apprehension of so daring a patriot; yet, though his printer was thrown into gaol, (the name of the man was Harding,) and Lord Carteret was sent out to supersede the Duke of Grafton, it was quite manifest that the oppressors would be disappointed.

When the bill against Harding was about to be presented to the grand jury, Swift addressed to that body his 'Seasonable Advice;' exhorting them to remember the league made by the wolves with the sheep, on condition of their parting with their shepherds and mastiffs; after which they ravaged the flock at pleasure. Ireland looked on with greedy eyes and ears. Her champion was plainly the person really struck at in the prosecution against Harding. A Quaker, moreover, admonished his fellow-citizens, in an apt quotation from Scripture, 'Shall JONATHAN die, who has wrought this great deliverance in Israel? God forbid: as the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day; so the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not.' In vain an arbitrary Lord Chief-Justice denounced and threatened; the jury returned a verdict of *ignoramus*, and thus fulfilled the expecta-

tions which had been formed of them. Letter after letter now appeared; and Lord Carteret yielded to the tempest. It was well he did so. Wood surrendered his patent, and the Drapier was immortalized; his name became the watchword of liberty; his head ascended into a sign, like one of the royal family; his portrait was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, struck upon medals, and displayed in every possible manner. A club of patriots existed for many years in his honour. A thousand popular benedictions attended his footsteps, and if he visited a town where he was not usually resident, a princely reception always awaited him.

Here one could desire that the curtain might drop; although twenty years more of life remained in store for him. We need, perhaps, do little more than just enumerate his subsequent fortunes, without dwelling upon them. With Mrs. Dingley and Miss Johnson he retired to Quilca, a secluded residence belonging to his indulgent and intimate friend Dr. Sheridan. Here he trifled away life in pursuits below the dignity of a dean, the character of a divine, or the tastes of a scholar. A visit to England afforded him an audience with Walpole, and an introduction to the Prince and Princess of Wales. Returning back to the routine of his cathedral, he astonished the world by publishing 'Gulliver's Travels,' with respect to which, a brief extract may be ventured upon.

'Perhaps no work ever exhibited such general attraction to all classes. It offered personal and political satire to readers in high life, low and coarse incidents to the vulgar, marvels to the romantic, wit to the young and lively, lessons of morality and policy to the grave, and maxims of deep and bitter misanthropy to neglected age, or disappointed ambition. The plan of the satire varies in the different parts. The voyage to Lilliput refers chiefly to the Court and politics of England; and Sir Robert Walpole is plainly intimated under the character of the premier Flimnap, which he afterwards probably remembered to the prejudice of the Dean's view of leaving Ireland. The factions of High-Heels and Low-Heels express the different sections of Tories and Whigs; the Small-Endians and Big-Endians, the religious divisions of Papists and Protestants; and when the heir-apparent was described as wearing one heel high and one low, the Prince of Wales, who at that time divided his favour between the two leading political parties of England, laughed very heartily at the comparison. Blefescu is France; and the ingratitude of the Lilliputian court, which forces Gulliver to take shelter there, rather than have his eyes put out, is an indirect reproach upon that of England, and a vindication of the flight of Bolingbroke and Ormond to Paris. Many other allusions may be traced by those well acquainted with the secret history of George the First. The scandal, which Gulliver gave the Empress by his mode of extinguishing the flames in the royal palace, intimated the disgrace of

the author with Queen Anne, founded upon the indecorum of the 'Tale of a Tub,' which was remembered against him as a crime, whilst the service which it had rendered the cause of the high church was forgotten. It must also be remarked that the original institutions of the empire of Lilliput are strongly recommended, as also their system of public education, whilst it is intimated that all the corruptions of the Court had been introduced during the three last reigns. This was the genuine opinion of Swift concerning the English constitution.'—p. 123.

In the voyage to Brobdignag, he has merely produced a happy effect by turning the telescope, and depicting Gulliver, who had formerly been a giant among the Lilliputians, as a pigmy amidst this tremendous race. The monarch of these sons of Anak personifies the ideas entertained by Swift, as perhaps also by his friend Bolingbroke, of a patriot-king. Some passages of the court of Brobdignag were aimed against the maids of honour, so styled, at a court somewhat nearer home. The voyage to Laputa was considered as a caricature upon the Royal Society; nor can it be denied, that there are some allusions to the most respectable philosophers of that period. Even Sir Isaac Newton is shot at, for the offence he had given, as Master of the Mint, to the Dean of St. Patrick's, when he assayed Wood's halfpence, and pronounced them of the proper value. In this department, too, of his curious fable, he scrupled not to borrow largely from Rabelais. It was not, however, real science which Swift intended generally to attack, but rather those chimerical and spurious studies, with which that venerable name had been too frequently disgraced. His voyage to the land of the Houyhnhnms, was neither more nor less than an anatomy of his own heart, and a presentation of it, with all its filthiness, blackness, and misanthropy, to the public. In his melancholy account of the Struldbrugs, he also contemplated the dark shadow of that horoscope, which fell before him through the decline of life, as he sank gradually into paroxysms of madness, or the stagnation of hopeless idiocy.

Once more he revisited England, to make one last attempt at obtaining preferment, within reach of London and literary society. It was all in vain; for who would strain a point to serve the satirist, whose hand, or whose pen, was against every man? Stella, moreover, now closed her clouded and sorrowful days. Swift was never the same afterwards. He broke, too, with the royal family and their minister. Irish affairs occasionally produced able pamphlets; and so great continued to be his influence at Dublin, that the lord-lieutenant felt constrained to consult and listen to him on many most important occasions. Other miscellaneous prose writings, with sundry Hudibrastic versifications, consumed his hours. His income had grown considerable; for

in addition to and accumulated out of his official revenues, he had saved ten thousand pounds, notwithstanding an indulgence of every desire of his mind, and the generous disbursement of handsome sums in annual or daily charities. His residence at Gossford, under the hospitable roof of Sir Arthur Acheson, called out some gleams of his now rapidly darkening powers; for we cannot agree with Sir Walter Scott, that his best pieces of poetry were written between 1730, and 1735; at least in any other sense, than that, according to Dryden, Swift being no poet at all, practice had enabled him to go through the labour of voiding verses with greater facility than before. He resolved, however, at all events, to go off the stage with his armour on; for he now threw himself into the thickest of the fray, both with dissenters on the one side, and the Irish bishops on the other. He wrote also his 'Rhapsody on Poetry,' and the 'Verses on his own Death;' carried on a furious quarrel with Serjeant Bettesworth; composed his satire called 'The Legion Club;' entered into the controversy about lowering the gold coin, with the greater zest, as it gave him the means of annoying Archbishop Boulter; and drew up, or materially revised, his 'History of the four last years of Queen Anne.' Alas! his own last days were now approaching; those, we mean, of which he could no further say, 'there is any pleasure in them!' Remorse had, for a long while effected heavy inroads upon his constitution. Even as early as 1717, the author of the 'Night Thoughts' found him one day fixed as a statue, earnestly gazing at a noble elm, which, in its uppermost branches, was much withered and decayed; pointing at it, Swift said, 'I shall be like that tree, I shall die at the top!' Lord Orrery also mentions how often, when he dwelt in conversation upon the period of mental imbecility which shut in the lives of Marlborough, Somers, and other distinguished contemporaries, it was with a deep and anxious presage of his personal destiny. He had long resolved to bequeath his fortune for the foundation of a lunatic hospital, which object, by his last will and testament, dated 3rd May, 1740, was duly accomplished. A kind and affectionate female relation waited on the closing scenes. His fits of periodical giddiness and deafness returned with augmented frequency and violence, so that for the space of three years, he was only known to have spoken once or twice, at the utmost. He expired on the 19th day of October, 1745, so quietly, that his attendants could hardly recognise the precise moment of his dissolution. It could not be said that he departed without tears, for all Ireland wept. They generously overlooked his vagaries and his prejudices, remembering nothing but the dauntless Drapier. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the hearse to pay their last tribute of sorrow and affection. Even

his grey locks were purloined from his coffin, before it was finally screwed down, and privately interred in the great aisle of St. Patrick's cathedral. His epitaph had been previously drawn up by his own pen, and may be transcribed as not an unfair illustration of his temper, talents, and character, allowing for his very imperfect apprehensions of civil and religious rights and wrongs.

'Hic depositum est corpus
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
Hujus ecclesiæ cathedralis
Decani:
Ubi sæva indignatio
Ulterius cor lacerare nequit:
Abi viator,
Et imitare, si poteris,
Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem.
Obiit anno 1745,
Mensis Octobris die 19.
Ætatis anno 78.'

We have only to add, that whilst fully admitting, as we do, his varied intellectual powers, together with the influence which he was permitted to exercise upon our language, through certain excellences of humour, style, and criticism, yet we nevertheless think that Sir Walter Scott has far overrated them. Swift was altogether a paradox; and, in our judgment, a most unamiable one. We agree with Lord Jeffrey, that 'he was extremely ambitious, arrogant, and selfish; of a morose, vindictive, and haughty temper; with a general demeanour in public and private life anything but exemplary.' It is not a little singular, that he should have been the occasion of no less than fifty new churches being erected in London; for which really good service, Bishop Blomfield ought to suspend his portrait in the palace at Fulham, and, for aught we know, may have already done so.

Art. III.—1. *Book of the Poets. Chaucer to Beattie.* 1 vol. pp. 458. With forty-five Engravings. London: Scott, Webster, and Geary. 1842.

2. *Book of the Poets. Modern Poets of the Nineteenth Century.* 1 vol. pp. 490. With forty-five Illustrations. London: Scott, Webster, and Geary. 1842.

IT is only of late years that the sister-arts of the poet and the painter have fully learned how close is the affinity between them, and in how various and important ways each may minister to the effect of the other. Every day seems now to furnish fresh proof of

the happy union of which they are naturally susceptible; scarcely any work of merit, capable of pictorial illustration, is issued from the press without at least some appeal to the skill of the painter and the engraver; indeed many works owe almost their sole recommendation to attractions which the author's pen could not have conferred upon them.

Such is the taste for pictorial embellishment, and so completely has it seized upon every branch of literature at all susceptible of it, that we are almost justified in the anticipation that all our standard works, whether of poetry or prose, fiction or history, will in time be issued in this attractive and beautiful form. Many, and those of no slight extent, have already been illustrated in the most profuse and costly manner. A few engravings, a frontispiece, or a vignette or two, of inferior design, and slight in execution, will no longer satisfy either the enterprise of our publishers or the appetite of the public.

When we consider the many works which have already been invested with this new species of interest, and further take into account their magnitude as well as their number, it will be seen that it is not easy to predict the extent to which this novel taste will be indulged. The engravings with which these different works are embellished, are, it is true, of very different orders of merit; but they are alike profuse in all, and in every case add prodigiously to the interest and value of the works which they adorn. Among the principal, which at this moment suggest themselves to our recollection, (and their extent and number, though our catalogue is very incomplete, absolutely fill us with surprise at the enormous capital which must already have been engaged in this species of literature,) are the following:—'The Pictorial Shakspere,' 'The Arabian Nights,' 'The Pictorial Bible and Commentary,' 'The Pictorial History of England,' 'The Pictorial History of Palestine,' 'Rogers' Poems,' 'Froissart's and Monstrelet's Chronicles,' 'Wordsworth's Greece,' 'Wilkinson's Ancient, and Lane's Modern Egyptians,' 'Davis's China,' 'Cook's Voyages,' 'Gulliver's Travels,' 'Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield,' 'Byron's Childe Harold,' and 'Lockhart's Spanish Ballads.' A new edition of the Waverley Novels is, we see, just projected, which is to surpass every other work of the kind, both in the number and the costliness of its illustrations. To the above list (which might be greatly enlarged) might be added a long catalogue of scientific works, encyclopædias, and dictionaries, such as that of 'Classical Antiquities,' or that of 'Science, Literature, and Art,' (both of which are just completed,) in which the art of the engraver is called into requisition almost in every page. Most of the above works have been offered to the public at a cost comparatively so moderate

as to make us wonder not less at the progress which the art of engraving must have made, and at the increased facility and cheapness with which the artists must accomplish their work, than at the rapid progress of popular taste for such classes of works. There cannot be a more striking proof of this than is found in the fact, that the new edition of Walter Scott's novels will cost very little more than the edition published a few years ago in forty-eight volumes, though the latter contained but ninety illustrations, many of them very poor ones, and the former is to contain two thousand.

The two volumes which stand at the head of this article will sustain a comparison with almost any of the pictorial works of the present day. They consist of selections from a large body of our principal poets, accompanied with a short biographical notice of each, and a general historical introduction. They are illustrated by ninety engravings, all in steel, by the first artists, many of them exquisitely designed, and as exquisitely executed. Of these we shall speak presently, when we have said a few words on the selection itself. It professes to be an almost entirely new selection; and we must do the editor the justice to say, that he has fulfilled his pledge. We have, in fact, been much surprised in comparing this selection with others—that of Ellis, for example,—to find how few pieces contained in the one are to be found in the other. In fact, we wish the editor of the present volumes had not so rigidly acted upon this principle, since, owing to it, we have reason to regret the omission of some universal favourites; such, for example, as the L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso of Milton, which, as being short, complete in themselves, and affording the happiest scope to the art of the engraver, would seem to be particularly suited to such a selection as the present. They are omitted in these volumes, we presume on the ground of their being so well known. We are aware, of course, how desirable it is to avoid what is hackneyed and common-place in such a selection; yet, considering the very different object of this selection from that contemplated in every previous compilation of the same kind, (we mean that of illustrating the creations of the poet by the creations of the pencil,) we do not know that we should have been disposed to attach much weight to this consideration. We think we should have chosen those compositions, whether well known or not, which afford the amplest scope to the skill of the artist. At the same time, we feel that considerable discretion must be conceded to the judgment of the editor, the difficulties of whose task we can well understand; and it would be both unreasonable and ungrateful to complain that in a work of such limited extent, all is not included which every one would like to see there, and

scarcely less so, that some few pieces of indifferent merit are inserted, which might just as well have been left out. This last sin of 'commission' is, it is true, far less venial than that other of 'omission.' Yet even here too we can understand and make liberal allowance for the editor's difficulties. Not only will he wish to avoid giving what is already to be found in every other selection, and thus occasionally be induced to insert what is of somewhat inferior merit, provided it is less familiar; but in order to make his selection of names as complete as possible, he will be tempted to diminish in number, or abridge in length the citations from the great masters, for the purpose of making room for some specimens, however short, of inferior writers. It is for this reason, we presume, that we find short specimens from some writers (more especially of the eighteenth century) whose claims to be ranked amongst our poets we should altogether dispute. In the extracts, for example, from Edmund Smith and John Pomfret, we cannot discern a single gleam of poetry; they are as dull and heavy as the dullest and heaviest prose, and we would willingly exchange them, as well as some others, for some further specimens from our great masters of song—from Spenser or Milton, Thomson or Cowper. By the bye, we observe that Shakspere, whose miscellaneous poems would have furnished some most beautiful and faultless specimens, has been strangely forgotten altogether.

Upon the whole, however, we cheerfully and gratefully admit that the editor has executed his delicate and difficult task with taste and judgment, and has given us a selection embodying a very large proportion of the best productions of the best authors—more indeed than we should have thought had been left unappropriated by previous compilers. The volume from Chaucer to Beattie contains specimens, more or less extensive, from more than a hundred writers. Their names, were we to insert them, would convince the reader that he is invited to no scanty or meagre bill of fare.

The second volume, which is somewhat larger than the first, is confined to the poets of the present century, and it is impossible to peruse the list of names without being astonished at the mass and variety of excellent poetry to which this short period has given birth. There is little good poetry stirring now, it is true; little has been produced indeed for some years. The English muse seems exhausted; but if her lyre should be silent for the remaining half of the century, enough has been already done in the former half to immortalize it. The writers from whom selections are given are forty-three in number, and several of them are not unworthy of comparison with any poets England has produced, if we except the unapproachable names of Shakspere and Milton.

We trust that these two fair volumes are not the last which we may expect from the enterprise which has given us them; heartily do we wish that the patronage of the public may be such as to justify the hope. We would suggest that at least another volume of equally beautiful extracts might be compiled from the poets who flourished between Chaucer and Beattie. A great many excellent poets have, in the present selection, been passed over altogether. To give an idea of the resources still untouched, we may remark that of the writers from whom extracts are given in Ellis's selection, (which, however, terminates with the reign of Charles II.) hardly one half are cited in the present volumes. It is true indeed that many in Ellis's selection would hardly furnish specimens for such volumes as these, but many of them would; and even if none of them were resorted to, there are abundant materials in our greatest poets alone to furnish an exquisite volume or two on the plan of the present selection; and still better, if that plan were a little extended; we mean if each passage were selected expressly with a view to pictorial embellishment, and always accompanied by such embellishment. What delicious reading would be a series of volumes containing all the choicest passages from the whole range of our greater poets selected systematically with a reference to the pencil, and as profusely and fancifully illustrated with engravings on steel and wood, as the Arabian Nights, the Pictorial Shakspere, or the forthcoming edition of the Waverly Novels! We content ourselves with throwing out the hint; happy, thrice happy shall we be if any publisher should be induced to act upon it.

We would also suggest to the publishers of these volumes, whether they might not be followed by one containing selections from our *dramatists*. Unhappily, that class of authors is such that they cannot be recommended to the indiscriminate perusal of the young, and yet they are full of such transcendent beauties that it is mournful to think that their pages should be wholly sealed. Such a selection would, moreover, have the advantage of embodying a far larger portion of matter unfamiliar to general readers. There are many copious selections from our poets; not one that we know of from our dramatists. But we must return to the present volumes.

The 'general introductions' to both volumes are on the whole, very well written, though here and there a little ambitious in point of style; they contain a good deal of sound criticism, with far less of the vague and general than such 'introductions' usually content themselves with.

Before we dismiss the compiler, we must express our surprise at two oversights. One is that a certain celebrated poem, (from which a few stanzas are given) is inserted under the head of

Coleridge, it being certain that as a whole, and with the exception of a few lines which none can with certainty point out, it belongs to Southey, who has laid a formal claim to it. The other is, that the beautiful lines, 'The spacious firmament on high,' &c. are attributed to Addison; we thought it was pretty generally known that these lines, though first brought under the eye of the public in the Spectator, were the production of Andrew Marvell.

We must not close this article without enriching our pages and amusing our readers with one or two short specimens; and, as in this unpoetic age, little is thought of but politics, our two principal shall be on that all engrossing subject the 'Corn Laws.' The first is from the 'Corn Law Rhymes' of Ebenezer Elliott, and is a beautiful imitation of one of the most pathetic of the Scotch songs.

SONG.

Where the poor cease to pay
  Go, loved one, and rest,
Thou art wearing away
  To the land of the blest.
Our father is gone
  Where the wrong'd are forgiven,
And that dearest one,
  Thy husband, in heaven.

No toil in despair,
  No tyrant, no slave,
No bread-tax is there,
  With a maw like the grave.
But the poacher, thy pride,
  Whelm'd in ocean afar;
And his brother, who died,
  Laid butcher'd in war;

And their mother, who sank,
  Broken-hearted to rest,
And the baby who drank
  Till it froze on her breast;
With tears and with smiles
  Are waiting for thee
In the beautiful isles
  Where the wrong'd are the free.

Go, loved one, and rest
  Where the poor cease to pay,
To the land of the blest
  Thou art wearing away.
But the son of thy pain
  Will yet stay with me,
And poor little Jane
  Look sadly like thee.

The other is of a very different description, by Moore, and entitled 'Corn and Cotton.' We heartily hope that the augury with which it concludes may be soon fulfilled.

'COTTON AND CORN.

'Said Cotton to Corn, t'other day,
As they met and exchanged a salute;
(Squire Corn, in his carriage, so gay,
Poor Cotton, half famish'd, on foot;)

'Great Squire, if it isn't too much,
To hint at starvation before you;
Look down on a poor hungry wretch,
And give him some bread, I implore you!

'Quoth Corn then, in answer to Cotton,
Perceiving he meant to make *free!*
Low fellow! you've surely forgotten
The distance between you and me.

'To expect that we peers of high birth,
Should waste our illustrious acres,
For no other purpose on earth,
Than to fatten curst calico-makers!

'That bishops to bobbins should bend,
Should stoop from their benches' sublimity,
Great dealers in *lawn* to befriend
Such contemptible dealers in dimity!

'No, vile manufacturer! ne'er harbour
A hope to be fed at our boards;
Base offspring of Arkwright, the barber;
What claim canst thou have upon lords?

'No—thanks to the taxes and debt,
And the triumph of paper o'er guineas;
Our race of Lord Jemmys as yet,
May defy your whole rabble of Jennys.

'So saying, whip, crack, and away,
Whisked Corn in his chaise through the throng,
So headlong, I heard them all say,
Squire Corn will be down before long.'

We must find room for the following beautiful lines of Leigh Hunt, which though not entirely free from that poet's affectations of manner, are exquisitely beautiful. Had he always written thus, he would deservedly have ranked in the very first class of modern poets.

— L—— H——, SIX YEARS OLD, DURING A SICKNESS.

Sleep breathes at last from out thee,
My little patient boy;
And balmy rest about thee
Smooths off the day's annoy.
I sit me down, and think
Of all thy winning ways,
Yet almost wish, with sudden shrink,
That I had less to praise.

Thy sidelong pillow'd meekness,
Thy thanks to all that aid;
Thy heart in pain and weakness,
Of fancied faults afraid;
The little trembling hand
That wipes thy quiet tears;
These, these are things that may demand
Dread memories for years.

Sorrows I've had, severe ones,
I will not think of now;
And calmly, 'midst my dear ones,
Have wasted with dry brow;
But when thy fingers press,
And pat my stooping head,
I cannot bear the gentleness,
The tears are in their bed.

Ah! firstborn of thy mother,
When life and hope were new,
Kind playmate of thy brother,
Thy sister, father, too.
My light where'er I go,
My bird, when prison bound,
My hand-in-hand companion,—no
My prayers shall hold thee round.

To say, 'He has departed,'
'His voice—his face—is gone,'
To feel impatient hearted,
Yet feel we must bear on;
Ah! I could not endure
To whisper of such woe,
Unless I felt this sleep ensure
That it will not be so.

Yes, still he's fixed, and sleeping!
This silence too the while!
Its very hush and creeping
Seem whispering us a smile;

Something divine and dim
Seems going by one's ear,
Like parting wings of cherubim,
Who say, 'We've finish'd here.'

Of the engravings by which these volumes are adorned, we cannot speak too highly. The landscapes are many of them very beautiful; and we may mention with especial commendation those which are prefixed to the extracts from Wordsworth's 'Waggoner,' Gray's ode to the 'Spring,' Burns' 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' 'Somerville's 'Chase,' Chaucer's 'Palamon and Arcite,' Cunningham's 'Evening,' Butler's 'Hudibras,' Thompson's 'Seasons,' and Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.'

It is needless to say that we wish these volumes may have an extensive circulation. They are delightful company in the drawing-room.

Art. IV. *Congregationalism; or, the Polity of Independent Churches viewed in relation to the State and Tendencies of Modern Society.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Second Edition. pp. 218. Jackson and Walford.

THERE are three very distinct classes of dissenting ministers. The first is composed of a few, becoming every day fewer, who do not belong to the established church, chiefly because they were not brought up in it, and because they desire a little more official liberty than it would allow them. A trifling change in their early circumstances, and a more trifling one in their views, would have saved them all the sufferings and sacrifices of dissent. They are mostly marked by the ease with which they detect, and the zeal with which they denounce anything *ultra*, or *vulgar*, or *absurd*, in the proceedings of their brethren upon ecclesiastical matters, having a desire almost morbid, not to injure the establishment by any legal enactments, or offend its supporters by any manifestations of disbelief or of dislike. This class is dying off. It cannot exist well in days when the polemical spirit runs so high as it does now, and is likely to do for some time to come. Another class consists of men, perhaps equally indebted to their circumstances for their dissent, but whose dissent is of a very different order. They are ignorant, and therefore violent; they see nothing good in any communion but their own, and scarcely know why anything is good in that. They retard the progress of their principles by the miserable shallowness of many of the arguments they use in support of them. They are often men, who in

other churches and under other influences would be persecuting bigots. This class, too, we rejoice to believe, is becoming less, and as a higher order of ministerial education is promoted and insisted on among us, it must be discouraged, and hasten forwards to entire extinction. To the third class belong men of firm and fixed opinions respecting church polity, but at the same time too philosophic and too candid not to perceive and admit that 'wisdom will not die with them,' who are not afraid or ashamed of preaching and publishing their ecclesiastical views, while they conduct the controversy as gentlemen and as Christians. They differ from the first class in having clear and well-defined principles in opposition to the establishment of Christianity, and in being wise and honest enough to avow and diffuse them, and from the other class in that they have too much knowledge to be uncharitable, and too much faith to be impatient.

Dr. Vaughan belongs to this last class. He is a congregationalist, not simply because the letter of the Christian records points out the practices which that word imports as having been primitive, but because in his principles of ecclesiastical polity he can trace a deep alliance with all that is just and gracious in moral truth, wise and useful and generous in social government — an alliance which proves those principles to be designed for a perpetual and universal application, because capable of it, thus separating them from what may be esteemed the local and conventional principles of Christ and his apostles. His opinions are the stronger, and not weaker, for being thus comprehensive in their grounds, and gathered from the expressions of the Divine will in the human and social revelation, as well as the verbal. The man who believes a thing because it is in the Bible may doubtless have a strong faith, but he who understands *why it is there*, will have a stronger. Dr. Vaughan is not one of those who would pour a sweeping condemnation over all churches and ministries that do not exactly realize all their conceptions of what is proper, or scriptural, whose eyes cannot discern any natural tendency to evil in their own system, or who have no calm respect and unaffected charity for the arguments or prejudices of those who oppose it. He is too well convinced of his own opinions to be peevish towards their foes, has too great a respect for truth to feel contempt for conscientious dissidents.

The work before us expresses and proves all this. It was our happiness, accidentally, to hear the chief portion of it in the form of an address, and seldom have we listened to an address with which we were more entirely satisfied. The calm philosophy of the views, the liberality and yet dignified decision of the spirit, and the frequent eloquence of the style, combined to afford a treat of no common order. We went away from it with

a deeper confidence in our principles, and with no less love to any one. In its present form, we give it a joyful welcome, and bid it a right earnest 'God speed.' It is just the book which a man ought to write in the nineteenth century, and, in our view, the best of all Dr. Vaughan's publications.

The design and scope of the volume are original. Amidst all the expositions and defences of congregational principles which the world has seen, there has never yet appeared anything of the kind. We are not greatly surprised at this, but are very glad that so serious a deficiency has been in part supplied. Christianity is the highest reason; it is the gift of the Infinite Intellect, and it is designed for the intelligent offspring of that Almighty Mind. We may be sure, therefore, that its disclosures and institutes will harmonize with the pure dictates of the human understanding, and will foster and empower its strong and healthy tendencies, whether individual or social. The religion and the politics of the New Testament must embody and express a true philosophy, for they contemplate the guidance and consolidation, not destruction or alteration, of our mental powers. It can never be a vain and useless labour to reveal the precise and perfect mode in which the moral and ecclesiastical provisions of the gospel dovetail with the constitution of man. There are none who may not be benefited by it, while there are always some minds that require, and can appreciate, such displays of truth, more than any utterances of simple authority, however sacred. But in the present day it is especially necessary that such displays be made, because there is a prevailing taste for philosophical discussion. We do not assert that the philosophy of the day is more profound than it used to be, considering its means and advantages, but only that it is more common and wide spread; there are many more philosophers, or men who think they are, or wish to be such. Any one accustomed to mark and compare the different periods of society and literature, must be fully aware that there is a less and less disposition to be satisfied on any subject, independently of a perception of reasonableness and utility. All truth possesses both these attributes, always did, but now the general demand is, that they be made to appear. Time was, when men inferred that such and such things were reasonable and useful, because they were true; men now infer them to be true because they see them to be reasonable and useful. This is felt and acted on by the advocates of all systems. Even those that pay least respect to human reason, and most to mere authority, feel and do homage to the spirit of the age. Right or wrong in their views of the intellectual, moral, and social wants and dictates of our common nature, they still feel it necessary to do something to establish those views, and to point out the harmony between those views and the conceptions of

God and of his church. The grounds of this necessity may be easily supposed to exist, and in still greater strength, in quarters where our own peculiar sentiments are held, or where the greatest likelihood is that they will be. We are therefore glad that Dr. Vaughan has sent forth this book, and accept it as the first published attempt, but only the first, to place congregationalism in a light in which many minds, though no books, have placed it already.

The first part of the book, consisting of the address delivered by Dr. Vaughan last year before the Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, more directly realizes the title, and abounds with the fruits of wise and careful thought. Congregationalism is considered in relation to *modern society*, its general state, and marked and prominent tendencies. Dr. Vaughan believes, with Lord Bacon, that we are the ancients, not our distant forefathers; that the present world is to the world long ago, as the mature age of a man is to his childhood, and consequently that the main characteristics and impulses of society now are to be regarded with more respect, as being more just and true than any that have been. In proportion as the world becomes more perfect, will they mould and fashion it. They are the elements whose full development will constitute its social millennium: they are the forces by which it will be wrought up into a state of beauty and order. To show that congregationalism approves of and aids them, is to show that it is good, while the circumstances under which it was first given to men prove that it is divine. We must quote some excellent remarks upon this subject:—

'One of the most philosophical and richly endowed minds ever applied to the study of our history, has spoken of that memorable groundwork of English liberty, the Magna Charta, in terms, which, in this respect, are eminently applicable to the nature and destiny of the principles of church polity contained in the New Testament. 'It is observable,' says Sir James Mackintosh, 'that the language of the Great Charter is simple, brief, general without being abstract, and expressed in terms of authority, not of argument, yet commonly so reasonable as to carry with it the intrinsic evidence of its own fitness. It was understood by the simplest of the unlettered age for whom it was intended. It was remembered by them; and though they did not perceive the extensive consequences which might be derived from it, their feelings were, however unconsciously, exalted by its generality and grandeur. It was a peculiar advantage that the consequences of its principles were, if we may so speak, only discovered gradually and slowly. It gave out on each occasion only so much of the spirit of liberty and reformation as the circumstances of succeeding generations required. For almost five centuries it was appealed to as the decisive authority on behalf of the people, though commonly so

far only as the necessities of each case demanded. Its effect in these contests was not altogether unlike the grand process by which nature employs snows and frosts to cover her delicate germs, and to hinder them from rising above the earth till the atmosphere has acquired the mild and equal temperature which ensures them against blights. To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind.'

'With this distinguished historian and statesman, we may suppose that the Barons at Runnymede were far from perceiving the extent of that vast system of liberty and improvement which history has shewn to have been virtually included in the great charter. We may conclude, that at best, the dim outline only was before them. But the seeds of political justice, wisdom, and humanity, contained in that document, have grown with our growth, and strengthened with its strength; and with every step in our advancement as a nation, it has only seemed to become possessed of a new appropriateness and value.

'What has been thus said with regard to the political principles of the great charter, may be said with still greater truth in regard to the principles relating to social religion set forth in the New Testament. When knowledge, virtue, and piety shall have been diffused and augmented so as to realize the most sanguine visions of the philanthropist and the seer, then will congregationalism be found in alliance with the state of things most favourable to a development of its beauty and power. Its nature is such, that its ripeness must come with the world's ripeness. The manhood of the species will be seen in that day, and with it the putting away of childish things; but the change which will prove fatal to a thousand inventions which human imbecility has worshipped, will be as life from the dead in respect to the pure and rational institutes of holy writ, as they will then be seen in their fitness to assimilate earth more and more to heaven.

'It is admitted that the 'saving health' of the gospel is not suffered to be dependent on the complexion of its outward institutions. God, we are happy to believe, has his renewed minds, his saved men, in every communion. The religion of the cross may bear long with human infirmity in such matters. But when the world shall make its nearest approach toward the social state which the most enlightened and humane have ever laboured to promote, then will come its nearest conformity to the laws of a pure congregationalism. God has so devised this system, that the province of man in social life will ever be—not to amend, but to copy it; not to go beyond it, but to follow after. The system will not change, but it will seem to enlarge, to improve, and to brighten, as the world shall be made to possess a greater aptitude for receiving it. The condition of society, which is always especially to be desired, is that in which men shall be most observant of the maxim, 'Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,' and with such a state of society, the spirit and letter of congregationalism must ever perfectly harmonize.

'How instructive is this view of the religion of Holy Writ. It can extend its infinite blessedness to men in all conceivable diversities of

outward condition and observance. It descends to the weakness of the present; it will rise to the strength of the future, and will be ever in advance of that strength. It possesses a universal adaptation. It has harmonized with all that is good in the past, and it is capable of harmonizing, in the same manner, with all that is, and with all that shall be.

'Remember, too, where this system originated—not among the republics of Ancient Greece, but under the shadow of the Asiatic despotisms; not in connexion with the philosophical indifference of Ancient Rome, but in Jerusalem, the city where the narrowness, intolerance, and formalism of a degenerate people had long made the name of the Jew a proverb and a loathing.

'Nor is this result to be regarded, as in the case of our great charter, as being, in great part, at least, a sort of lucky accident. It is announced to us as proceeding from the Divine foreknowledge, as the work of design; and this elevation of society at large to the spirit of a Christian brotherhood, as depicted in the principles of congregationalism, is to partake of the nature of a fulfilled prophecy. We may be well assured that such superiority to local and temporary prejudice would not have had place in the scheme of an impostor. It is the work of the Divine prescience and wisdom, and everywhere breathes the divine benignity.

'The chief design of the subsequent chapters will be to illustrate and confirm this general representation. With this view, reference will be made to some of the more obvious of the beneficial tendencies which now characterize society generally, and it will be made plain that congregationalism is not only in harmony with them all, but that, in respect to them, while there is very little that it can learn, there is much that it can teach.'—pp. 5—10.

This is the author's design, and he prosecutes it by considering Congregationalism in its relation to 'Popular Intelligence,' 'The higher departments of Learning and Science,' 'The Arts of Peace,' 'The Principles of a Representative Government,' 'The Free Intercourse of Nations,' 'The Principles of Union as acted upon by Independent States in ancient and modern times,' by comparing it with the episcopalian system in reference to ministerial efficiency in England, and by describing its condition and prospects. These chapters we commend to the thoughtful perusal of our readers. The second part of the volume consists of several chapters occupied with remarks upon various matters connected with the general subject. 'The character of the efforts now made to punish Protestant Nonconformity, and to crush and destroy it;' 'The public press in its relation to Congregationalism;' 'The Claims of the Church of England as viewed by Episcopalians and Congregationalists, and on the true state of the controversy between these parties;' 'The mixture of Politics with Religion, and the opinion of Alexis de

Tocqueville concerning the union of church and state;' 'The slowness of religious improvement, with its analogies in nature and providence;' 'Suggestions concerning certain improvements in the practice of English Congregationalists,' form the matter of the various chapters of the second book. They abound in the 'words of the wise,' eminently suitable to the times in which we live. Would that our opponents, as well as our friends, would carefully peruse them. If the spirit and reasoning of Dr. Vaughan cannot produce the sentiments which Christian controversialists and the members of Christian sects should entertain towards each other, nothing can. Our space will only allow of a few observations upon one or two of the topics touched upon in this part of the work.

The first chapter is a calm and masterly exposition of the arguments against persecution, and British persecution in particular. We rejoice that in the second edition Dr. Vaughan has greatly enlarged this portion of his book. We can hardly imagine a greater service that might be rendered to the cause of truth and charity just now than the general circulation of this chapter, which has been printed in the form of a tract. There are but few neighbourhoods where its wholesome reasonings and dignified rebukes are not required by the prevalence of a church spirit and conduct as low in nature as high in claim. Our satisfaction has been full while seeing the 'Modern Persecutors' arraigned as aliens from the spirit and letter of British law, and of the British constitution; as doing more than any other class to strengthen the feelings opposed to Christianity and to subordination among the people of Great Britain; as laying a bounty upon religious hypocrisy, and that in the immediate exercises of divine worship; as proceeding in their conduct on the odious maxim, that it is well to do what is wrong in morals for the sake of what is right in religion; as making the institutions of a particular church, of greater importance than the Christianity common to all churches; as contracting an awful measure of that kind of guilt which attaches to the men who sent the protestant martyrs to the stake; as pursuing a course which, being contrary to the will of God, and to the rights of humanity, must in the end be attended by discomfiture and shame. These are grave charges, but charges which may be easily sustained against a large party of the members of the English establishment.

The chapter upon the slowness of religious improvement contains many admirable remarks, and remarks much needed. The present state of congregationalism is not such as its friends must desire, though as good perhaps as, considering the whole case, they have had any right to anticipate. It has never had fair play—never been free from circumstances of great disadvantage,

in this country. It has been and is *dissent*—not simply a mode of church polity, but one differing from a prior, and popular, and powerful system of ecclesiastical government. It has had all the inconveniences of being *new* and opposed to the established and the strong. It found men's minds pre-occupied by ecclesiastical ideas and pledged to ecclesiastical practices. It is no easy thing to break down any kind of truth into a new soil for a national mind. In the present case, it was necessary to displace much for ever without providing any substitute; sentiments had to be renounced and customs abandoned—not because others were right, but simply because they were wrong. Congregationalism aimed to bring men to the simplicity of the primitive church and faith, and this could not be done except by denuding them of many a venerable image, and mystic right and lofty claims—for all which it gave nothing, had nothing to give. Its own simple and uncostly service and moral ministry, and inartificial and just government, would leave many a void in minds long used to the complicated superstitions and priestly forms of other systems. Men never like to part with religious faiths and customs unless for others; the change from faith to unbelief is painful. Considering these things, we are not distressed by the past progress of congregationalism, though there are many other things to be considered having the same bearing. Congregationalism has progressed, notwithstanding all—greatly progressed. It has sometimes suffered 'heavy blows and great discouragements,' it has been 'pressed almost above measure and beyond strength, so as to despair even of life;' in some localities it has become extinct, where once it prospered; but nevertheless its great principles have been gaining a deep hold upon the British mind; where it has lost its particular form it exerts a glorious power; some branches may have perished, but its roots have spread; it has recoiled like the waves, but advanced like the tide. Its present position is one of hope and promise; but we cannot but know that many are by no means resigned to what we believe to be the stern necessities of the case. They expect too much, and the inevitable consequence will be disappointment and depression. We have no right to look for the triumph even of truth apart from the faithful service, the earnest and affectionate labours of its friends. It must be diffused or it cannot be known; its evidences must be revealed, or it will not be received. What is wanted now pre-eminently, is not the noise and bustle of a great movement, but a great movement without any noise or bustle at all. The propagation of right sentiments is the only way of securing their universal prevalence. Many, no doubt, are not prepared for this; they dislike every appearance of ecclesiastical warfare; they would sit

still, trusting to the much praised power of truth for its final dominion; but the peace they seek is dishonourable to that very truth. The time is not come for peace. Nothing but harm can come of the doing of nothing. To adopt the exquisite language and splendid imagery of a living writer, 'However dispiriting may sometimes be the variety and conflicts of human sentiment—however remote the dissonance of controversy from that harmony of will which would seem essential to perfected society, it is through this very process that the great ends of improvement are to be attained. Hereafter it will be seen, much more clearly than we can see it now, that opinion generates knowledge. Like the ethereal waves, whose inconceivable rapidity and number are said to impart the sensation of vision, the undulations of opinion are speeding on to produce the perception of truth; they are the infinitely complex and delicate movements of that universal human mind, whose quiescence is darkness—whose agitation, light.'

The last chapter of Dr. Vaughan's book touches upon delicate, but most important ground, suggesting several modes of improving the practice of English congregationalists. We only wish here that the judicious author had gone further while he was about it. We know of no one in whose hands such a subject would or could be safer, and therefore regret that he did not rebuke more evils than have found a place in this chapter. What he has done will hardly occasion any or very serious differences of of opinion. There is great difficulty in the way of carrying out some of his advices, at least in the present generation, but no objection of any moment can be urged against them. What he says respecting the philosophy of manner, the admission of church members, early communion, plurality of ministers, new chapels, deserves the attention of all our churches and all our pastors. But we must refer more particularly to one subject, early communion, upon which we cannot do better than extract what our author has written.

'My impression, also, has long been, that we have been disposed to err in regard to the time of admitting the greater number of the members of our churches, quite as much as in regard to the mode of so doing. The interval from the age of fourteen or fifteen to that of one or two-and-twenty, is the space during which the character of most persons is found to take the complexion which is to distinguish it through life; but in our general practice, it seems to be regarded as a mark of prudence, rather than otherwise, to allow that interval to pass in a state of indecision, the question as to becoming visibly one with the church of God, being left to be determined when the years of minority shall have nearly or altogether passed. In such cases, it is too commonly found that all these years of delay have been so many

years of mischief. The policy which has placed the visible profession of religion in abeyance so long, has put the mind into a state of listlessness with regard to everything religious. It has seemed natural to conclude, that the particular act which might be delayed thus indefinitely, must be a matter of comparatively little importance; and the mind thus unpledged to religion, has been left open to parley with a multitude of things contrary to religion. The approved doctrine appears to have been, that youth must not be regarded as capable of consistency, and that the period of youth, accordingly, should be viewed leniently, as carrying with it a sort of licence to inconsistency. In consequence of this grave practical error, the minds of young persons often acquire the habit of listening to the most solemn appeals from the pulpit with feelings of indifference, the current of thought being, that it is not at present, but some years hence that it will be, especially proper in them to bestow on such subjects a devout attention. In the meantime, the void left by the want of a religious habit is imperceptibly filled up by the formation of a worldly habit; and as the period of majority approaches, which was to have been that of a decided piety, we too often perceive the growing indication of a strong repugnance to it: the seed time has been slighted, and the harvest has failed. The ingenuousness and freshness of early youth have been allowed to pass away, with little effort to give them a hallowed discipline and object; and with manhood have come its sophistries, its hardness, its intentness on other things.

'It may be said, But surely you would not have the church of Christ consist of children? Is it not plain that the objects of the Christian fellowship can be realized only by those who are capable of discharging its duties, and does not the discharge of those duties clearly require, not only incipient Christian feeling, but real Christian intelligence?

'My answer is, that I am far from supposing it to have been intended that the church of Christ should consist of children; but, at the same time, I must be allowed to demur strongly to the doctrine which would limit the privileges of the Christian fellowship to persons of a strictly adult age. The Christian church, as regards the body of its members, was, no doubt, meant to consist of men and women. But it is the flock of Christ, and the lambs of the fold should be included in it. Inequalities with regard to spiritual intelligence, and to competency in respect to a discharge of the duties of the Christian fellowship, will be found to exist in as marked a degree in churches consisting exclusively of adults, as in those embracing a wider compass of youth and age. We may preclude the young, and do little toward precluding, or even abating the distinction between the weak and the strong. The youth of sixteen, without the pale of the church, may sometimes be on a level, in this respect, with the man of sixty, who is within it. The question concerning wisdom and folly is not always a question of years. Nor should it be forgotten, that it is a part of the lessons which the young are ever to be learning among us, that youth, in the general, should defer to age; and that affairs which require ex-

perience and wisdom to manage, should be left, for the most part, to the management of the experienced and the wise. We do not expect the young or the feeble-minded of any age, to be as pillars in God's house. But we would have our youth planted early in the house of the Lord, in order that, in time, they may flourish in the courts of our God. Be sure of it, our churches would not be less scriptural, nor less rational in their character, were they made to include a greater number of both sexes, in a more tender age than is usual, from our congregations. In such case, the main difference would be, that many who are now lost to congregationalism would grow up in attachment to it; and, which is infinitely more important, many who are now lost to religion altogether, would be saved to participate in its blessedness both here and hereafter!

'It has been found, I believe, in practice, that the experiment, as some would deem it, of admitting the young to communion at an earlier age than is permitted in some connexions, is one which may be safely made. In general, the persons so admitted have worn well, becoming the ornament and stay of the churches which took them under an oversight so truly Christian, at an age when it was so greatly needed. In this manner the church has reaped as it has sown, becoming as a field which the Lord hath blessed.

'We are not great admirers of the observance known among our episcopalian brethren by the name of 'confirmation;' but we do not scruple to say that we attach great importance to the object which that rite was intended to secure. It was meant to follow in the train of that Christian instruction, to which baptism was understood to be initiatory; and it pointed to an early age in youth as the period when it should be the aim of devout parents to bring their children to a responsible and serious profession of religion. We scarcely need say that we attach little value to such religion in the young as consists in repeating the commandments, or in answering questions from a catechism; but the custom would be most seemly and Christian that should dispose us to look upon our youth with feelings of painful disappointment, if found reaching their fifteenth or sixteenth year without affording indications of solicitude to give themselves publicly to God and to his people. No man acquainted with the manner in which the young are generally confirmed in England, and communed in Scotland, can need be cautioned in respect to the danger of seeing such a practice degenerate into a foolish and delusive formalism; but the object is good; it is only discrimination in the prosecution of it that is wanting. It may be a foolish and a pernicious thing to bring the young, almost without exception, at a certain age, to the Lord's table, as a matter of course; but surely it does not follow from that fact, that it would not be a wise and a wholesome thing to endeavour to bring as many of the young around as possible to participate in that service, as consequent on their possessing an early instructed mind, and an early renewed heart. Strong prejudice against a custom may dispose toward error, quite as forcibly as strong prejudice in its favour. Disgust in regard to the abuses of a practice may render us insensible to its uses, even

while those uses may be in themselves of the most amiable, rational, and important complexion. One of the evils commonly generated by controversy is blindness, so that we fail to see anything of the good which is blended with the evil in the maxims and usages of opponents. This is a sort of penalty, which tendencies to excess are always found to carry along with them. The old Romans became the founders of the greatest military empire our world has seen, in consequence, in great part, of the sound manly sense which taught them to incorporate into their own system of tactics whatever they found to be good in the tactics of other nations, whether those nations were among the civilized or the barbarians.'—pp. 200—205.

We part with Dr. Vaughan with cordial wishes that he may long be spared to devote his abilities and erudition to the cause of Congregational Christianity.

Art. V. *The Philosophy of Christianity; or the Genuine Christian proved to be the only real Philosopher.* By P. D. Hardy, M.R.I.A., &c. 12mo. London: Groombridge.

We are seldom disposed to quarrel with the writers of books on account of the titles they may choose to adopt; for let the dish prepared for our entertainment be but substantially good, and its name shall be whatever the cook pleases; nevertheless, it behoves us to admonish our intellectual and literary cooks not to be too ambitious and high-sounding in their title-pages. There is a modesty which bespeaks true genius, and adorns sound learning; when this is disregarded, men seem to challenge a severer judgment. Exalted pretensions awaken high expectations; he that sounds a trumpet before him must expect to meet a scrutinizing gaze from the public; but it is not every one who courts observation that can bear it. All women are not born to be ladies, nor all ladies to be queens. Every man may learn to reason, but every reasoner is not a philosopher; though if he insists upon the etymology of the term, he may indisputably announce himself as a *lover of wisdom*, even when he evinces but little of it; just as a man may love money and have none in his possession. Our readers, however, would mistake our meaning if they should suppose that we intend to apply all these observations to Mr. Hardy. We wish them to be applied to his case, only so far as his title-page shall appear to them to bespeak a work of a very different character from that which it really introduces.

We were prepared to find at least an attempt to show the consistency of the whole theory of Christianity with itself and with human reason. A subject of vast magnitude, of high promise, and of incalculable importance. Nothing, at the present

moment, could be more desirable, if executed with adequate ability; but where is the Newton to show the harmony of the whole system? Where is the Bacon that shall institute the entire philosophy of the Christian religion? Dr. Shuttleworth has produced an invaluable treatise upon it, which, after all, is but a preparation for the great enterprise, and only whets our appetite for more. Mr. P. D. Hardy has composed a book of unquestionable ability, but it makes no pretension to a survey of the whole system of Christianity. It attempts nothing of the sort; it does not even seem to recognise the work of Dr. Shuttleworth, as of a fellow labourer in the same field, who has cultivated it far more extensively, and reaped from it far richer fruit. Mr. Hardy's work is a sort of running fight, or efficient sharp-shooting at infidels, Socinians, materialists, geologists, craniologists, and papists.

Taking the book, then, for what it is, and estimating it by its contents, and not by its title-page, we can fairly and honestly recommend it, as containing a clever answer to the difficulties and objections of the several parties whose theories are brought under review.

The two first chapters, although not so expressed, treat generally of the inability of mere philosophy to expound or discover the true theory of religion. The author attaches very little importance to the doctrines of natural theology, and sets very light by all the treatises upon that subject. He alludes to the theories of the ancient philosophers, perhaps as fully as his prescribed limits would allow, but not so fully as this important part of the subject required. To know the real worth of the service rendered by natural theology to the cause of true religion, it appears to us altogether unfair to estimate it by its achievements, since human reason has been invigorated and illumined by revelation. The great question is, what did human reason discover in the department of religion and theology, before revelation assisted it, or when it was left to its own natural promptings? It is perfectly irrelevant, and beside the mark, for our modern philosophers to display to us what natural theology at the present day can teach. We beg them to tell us what it did teach, before revelation shed its light upon nature and reason? The difference is much the same as between what a man can see and do in the night, and what he can see and do in the day. Mr. Hardy's views upon this important point are, in the main, just and well supported, as far as he goes; but this part of the subject is not discussed so fully as it seemed to demand. Lord Brougham's discourse upon Paley, and Dr. Turton's remarks upon Lord Brougham, would have shown our author that there is a *via media* between the homage which some moderns have

rendered to natural theology and its entire rejection. Notwithstanding all that has been done in this department, we yet desiderate a complete history, analysis, and estimate of the discoveries of human reason, unaided and untaught by revelation, in questions of religion and natural theology.

Mr. Hardy's third chapter treats generally of the Bible, as a revelation of the Divine will, and upon some of its evidences. His remarks are sensible and pertinent, but there is a want of order: the reader is rather told how much evidence there is, than indulged with the detail of it. The fourth chapter continues the subject of the evidences, more particularly in relation to the New Testament. But the whole argument is very miscellaneous, imperfect, and mixed.

The fifth and sixth chapters include notices of infidel objections, particularly those supplied by geological facts. This subject is discussed with fairness and competent ability, and the chief objections, either removed or neutralized. Chapter VII. is devoted to an examination of phrenology and the writings of Mr. Combe. The superficial nonsense, which passes with many for philosophy, under the misnomer of phrenology, is sufficiently exposed, and its tendency to scepticism and irreligion clearly proved from the writings of its northern apostle. Craniology, however, need excite no alarm in the minds of Christian believers. Physiology itself explodes the first principles on which it rests. With high pretensions, this would-be science has not yet made good its standing in anatomy; and if it had, it could not throw one single ray of light on the mystery of life or the phenomena of mind. The entire theory is a clumsy assumption, fit only to feed the vanity of *charlatans*, and afford jokes for the tea-table.

In chapter the eighth and ninth, Mr. Hardy takes up, examines, and exposes the Unitarian creed. This may be pronounced the most complete portion of the entire volume. It deals with Scripture almost exclusively, and places its testimony upon the points in debate in a clear and convincing light. The tenth chapter, which is comprised in ten pages, is devoted to the exposure of some of the chief errors of the Roman-catholic church. We have, then, a general summary of the arguments contained in the previous part of the volume; and finally, an appendix of nearly a hundred pages, containing notes, illustrations, facts, and supplementary arguments upon all the subjects treated in the volume. The reader will accept the following extract from the third chapter, on 'the Bible, a revelation of the Divine will,' as a fair specimen of the author's manner.

'That the Scriptures have been given to man by the mercy of an ever-blessed God to lead to virtue, happiness, and immortality; and

that they teach all that is necessary to be known as instrumental to salvation, in perspicuous language, are truths well calculated to cheer the weary wanderer in his progress across the waste and howling wilderness of mortal existence. Happy it is, indeed, for us, that we have not been left to grope our way by the dim and evanescent light which the volume of nature would shed around our path in our progress to an eternal state of being.

'That man, placed in a world such as ours is, imbued with the faculty of reason, gifted with extraordinary powers of mind and reflection, and at the same time, having to struggle with passions and propensities which, if allowed a free and unrestrained exercise, must eventually degenerate and imbrute his very existence; that such an individual, placed in such circumstances, should require some revelation of the divine will for his guidance and direction; and that a beneficent Creator, such as the works and ways of Jehovah prove him to be, would not leave such a creature so endowed, in total ignorance, without affording him some intimation of his own character and requirements, must appear reasonable to any one who thinks rationally on the subject; and as there is no book in the universe worthy of the name of a 'revelation of the divine will,' except the Bible, we have, certainly, in these considerations the strongest *prima facie* evidence in favour of its genuineness; added to which, there is its own sacred character, containing, as it does, the only perfectly pure, and strictly moral code ever presented to the mind of man for his imitation and guidance; the entire of which it may be well to observe, was given in the first instance in so perfect and complete a condition as never afterwards to have required the slightest improvement or emendation. In it every sentiment accords with the feelings which (judging according to reason and common sense) we may fairly assume to actuate the mind of such a perfectly holy, just, and righteous being, as the Creator of all things must on all hands be admitted to be. Its adaptation to all classes of the community, and all the circumstances of life, should also be offered as another argument in proof; its precepts being applicable alike to the rich and the poor, to the prince on his throne, and the beggar at his footstool; to individuals living under every varied form of government, and in every variety of situation; to the prosperous and the distressed, the healthy and the diseased, the man engaged in the cares and anxieties of business, and the individual relieved from the bustle and confusion of the world; its promises and its precepts are alike suited to the wants and capabilities of all. While the system it propounds and sets before us for our acceptance, must be admitted to contain all that is good of every system of moral science which has ever been promulgated in any age or portion of the world, it is at the same time perfectly free from the slightest portion of the alloy with which every human system is found to be mixed up. These, and a thousand such considerations, might be brought to bear upon the question; the real force of the argument, however, rests upon the position, that the religion of the Bible is a system founded upon facts —facts well authenticated, and which cannot be disproved.

'As we have already shown, the first impression of the character and requirement of the Deity was made upon the minds of men by a direct communication; but that impression was, in the course of a very few ages, totally effaced; and in place of man, by his wisdom, finding out God to perfection, each succeeding generation appeared only to be involved in still greater darkness and immorality. The Almighty, however, still preserved a light in the midst of the darkness in which the great preparation of our world was involved; and the Written Word was at length vouchsafed to the people of Israel—a people expressly chosen by the Deity for the purpose of showing forth his praise.

'That the Israelities were altogether distinct and separate from every other nation of the earth, is clearly ascertained from every record of ancient history touching on the point. Indeed it is not attempted to be denied, that they had particular laws and forms of government which differed from every other nation of the world, and in their religious rites and ceremonies they were also a peculiar people. With regard to the ancient Scriptures, usually denominated 'The Old Testament,' which contains a succinct and faithful account of their history and proceedings, there is the best historic evidence to prove its genuineness—evidence far beyond any that can be produced relative to the genuineness of any uninspired work that ever was written. To this evidence the severest tests have been applied, and the result has been, that even the enemies of the truth have been obliged to confess that the work is genuine. * * * *

'It has been ascertained, beyond the possibility of refutation, that the Pentateuch, which contained the groundwork of the religious belief of the Jewish people, and by which their laws and ceremonies were regulated, was written by Moses, a favoured servant of the Most High, who was commanded to write the law on table of stone, in order that it might be a standing memorial of the Divine will, in every succeeding age of the world; that it was safely deposited in the ark, which was kept in the Temple from the period of the erection of that extraordinary building, until the sacred edifice was demolished, and the people were carried into Babylon, are matters as clearly ascertained as that the temple of which it speaks did at one time exist.

'It has also been made evident, that after the captivity, which lasted seventy years, the canon of the Old Testament, having been completed and authenticated, was again deposited in the sacred emblem; and that from this copy, which was considered the original, and was frequently referred to, and read in the hearing of the people, various copies were transcribed for the use of the different tribes and families of the Jews. That these were exact copies there can be no doubt, from this circumstance, among others, that the sacred volume contained the genealogies of their different tribes and families, and the titles to their various districts of land which had been apportioned to them—a circumstance well calculated to render them scrupulously exact in transcribing them; besides which, the various blessings it promised under the reign of the Messiah, was a means of making it the object of much care and atten-

tion by all, and of preventing its being corrupted by any particular party.

'It has, moreover, been ascertained, beyond a doubt, that full three hundred years before the birth of Christ, a complete set of the canonical books of the Old Testament was translated into Greek, the same version which is now denominated the Septuagint.'—pp. 21—26.

There is a remarkable anecdote in the appendix which, as it will probably be new to most of our readers, and as it strikingly illustrates the morbid tendency of purely physical investigations into the mysteries of life and mind, and the disappointment which must invariably and inevitably ensue, we must be permitted to cite:—

'The structure of the brain and the investigation of the phenomena connected with matter and mind, have long employed the researches of the most celebrated philosophers. A Mr. Herman Goltz passed many years in anatomical investigations of the brain, and in endeavouring to trace the connexion between its marvellous and its important uses. At last, despairing of attaining the end of his long and wearisome investigations, he hung himself in his dissecting room, and was nearly devoured by rats before his loss was discovered. His work on the topography and nomenclature of the cerebral mass is still extant, though of the utmost rarity. Before he committed suicide, he wrote on a slip of paper the following remarkable words:—'For more than twenty years I have pursued a phantom, an *ignis fatuus*, that has decoyed me into misery and ruin. My vision has become so dim that I can no longer distinguish the objects of my research—my hand is too tremulous to hold the scalpel. Confined in this charnel-house, I have been estranged from nature's fair and inviting prospects. I have cultivated no man's friendship, nor sought for the affection of women. I have indeed read of the charms of society, the exhilarations of wine, the delights of a domestic partner, and the blessedness of children; but I have been a solitary student, water has been my only beverage, no female can approach me with attachment, nor can a child curse me for its existence. To live longer is needless; the past has been misemployed, the present is wearisome, and I will anticipate the future.'—p. 237.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Hardy has rendered a useful and acceptable service to the cause of revealed religion. He has, in many instances, exposed with much good sense the misconceptions and fallacies which sceptics of various kinds have indulged in against revelation. Their attacks are for the most part desultory and partial. Nothing like a regular examination of the entire evidence is ever attempted. They shrink from an open and fair encounter, but deal in side blows or guerilla warfare. Frequently they endeavour to get rid of Christianity altogether, without direct opposition, by attempting to establish theories which shall supersede it. But none of these will stand

the test of fact and experience, and their advocates ought to perceive, that as the Christian religion is based upon facts, there is no fair ground for any other theory till these facts are disposed of. The greater part of the direct objections against revelation may be shown to militate equally against the principles admitted by sceptics themselves. Natural religion, as it is called, is not exempt from the very same difficulties as attach to revealed. The truths it is supposed to teach, involve problems quite as hard to solve as any connected with revelation. It is evident, therefore, that the sceptic who admits the facts of nature and the doctrine of a final cause, which the facts imply or prove, with all the startling difficulties which accompany such facts and reasonings, has no just ground to demand that revelation should be free from difficulties, or remove all his doubts. Mystery, impenetrable mystery, surrounds us on every hand, when we attempt to push the frontiers of our knowledge beyond that limit which encircles and protects the Infinite and the Eternal from the intrusion of a profitless curiosity.

It is, however, well to meet fairly and candidly the difficulties of inquirers; and where a genuine love of truth appears, to treat tenderly the hesitation of reasoning and doubting minds. If their doubts are to be removed, it must be by calmly and clearly showing that they are unfounded, or at least that they are unfairly used against Christianity by those who attach no weight to them in other matters. In most cases of scepticism there exists a total ignorance of the mass of evidence which revelation can show; and by such persons the entire question has never been considered with anything like calmness and candour. Otherwise it would be impossible for educated men to make use of such trifling and powerless objections as are frequently brought forward. In many cases, no doubt, infidelity is resorted to as offering a freedom from moral restraints; the darkness is preferred to the light by those whose deeds are evil. The consciences of such must be left to avenge their quarrel with injured truth. But every effort should be made to convince the doubting, and guard the young and untried against the sophistry of scepticism, and the unreasonableness of infidelity. Mr. Hardy's book will be useful for these purposes; for although he has not produced a systematic and well-arranged argument, nor presented the old arguments in a new and brighter light, yet he has seized upon the principal topics, has met the chief objections, and especially those of modern times arising out of geology and craniology; and all in a compressed form.

There is another circumstance which will add interest to his work. The author is a layman, and on that account may be supposed to have more influence with sceptics than writers whose profession binds them to uphold revealed religion. It is grati-

fying to find a gentleman of business so well read in matters of such importance to mankind at large, but which require so much reading and study thoroughly to understand them. It is manifest throughout the volume, that the author writes with the most entire earnestness and sincerity. His style is plain, but lucid and forcible, admirably adapted to the understandings of the people generally. We should have been glad to perceive a more clear and orderly arrangement. The general impression is not that of a close and progressive argument, gradually guiding the mind to a full conviction of the truth sought to be established —an ascent, step by step, to the pinnacle on which he wishes to place the reader; but of a number of papers or essays written at intervals on the same general subject, but in a great measure miscellaneous and mixed in their arguments. As it is, however, we accept 'The Philosophy of Christianity' from the hands of the worthy author, who is, in this case, also printer and publisher, not as adequately answering to that title, but as a useful volume, treating upon part of the evidences for Christianity, and many of the objections against it.

Art. VI. 1. *The Jubilee of the World; An Essay on Christian Missions to the Heathen.* By the Rev. John Macfarlane. pp. 454. 12mo. Glasgow: Collins.

2. *Christian Missions to Heathen Nations.* By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. pp. 415. 12mo. Nisbet.

3. *'Who is my Neighbour?' An Essay on Christian Missions.* By J. B. Melson, A.B., M.D., &c. Second Edition. pp. 354. 8vo. Hamilton.

THE first of these volumes is denominated an 'Additional Prize.' We must therefore now proceed to inquire into the grounds of a measure so unprecedented, for those set forth in the prolegomena are, in our judgment, anything but satisfactory. To speak the truth, it seems to have been a wriggling sort of business. The recusant adjudicator prompts the committee; the committee prompt the body of the adjudicators; four of the adjudicators, in turn, prompt the committee; and then the committee promptly comply with the adjudicators' prompting, which they themselves had prompted. All this is clear upon the face of the documents. The facts are these:—One of the adjudicators pronounces Mr. Macfarlane's essay entitled to the first prize; but his four compeers declare for the work of Dr. Harris. One of the adjudicators—the same, of course—next decides that Mr. Macfarlane deserves the second prize; but his four colleagues award it to Mr. Hamilton. Such is the basis of the act of which we complain. 'In these circumstances,' says the 'advertisement,' 'the com-

mittee, desirous to give the cause every possible advantage, resolved on offering a distinct premium to its author,'—that is, they offer a premium for the production of an essay already penned. Then next, as to the 'circumstances' which compelled the measure; could these 'circumstances' possibly have been less urgent? Short of unanimity, could the majority of the adjudicators have been greater, or the minority less? All things considered, the extent of the unanimity was remarkable. But this is not the whole. What weight was due from the committee to the judgment of a gentleman who awarded the first prize to an essay which his fellow judges deemed unworthy even of the second? Was such a case one of special pressure? We can hardly conceive of a pretext more flimsy. It was certain beforehand, that among the rejected compositions there would be a third best, and it was not improbable that this third essay would approximate the second, while that essay itself might be as nearly approached by the fourth. In fact, no line could be drawn. Is it not further obvious that, in all such cases, *one* Work only is wanted? Is it not a fact that, in general, the specifications provide for the printing of only *one* Work? It is indisputable that second prizes are intended chiefly to augment the encouragement to contributors, by increasing the chances of partial success, and on this ground we see no impropriety of a third, or fourth, or even a larger number, provided that the number be fixed at the outset, and abided by. On great occasions, such as the present, we should deem it proper to enlarge the number, even were the premium but nominal. Such a course, besides multiplying the inducements, would help to decide the degrees of merit upon a scale sufficient to embrace all treatises of real worth, and to stamp them with a judicial approbation, which might aid the authors to determine the propriety of publication; and as to parties whose pride spurned everything short of the first or second prize, they might be accommodated by the option of the publication or concealment of their names.

The committee, impelled by the urgency of 'these circumstances,' next began to consider the means of accomplishing their project. As decency required, they made application to the 'two successful competitors,' and readily obtained their 'generous concurrence.' In such a case, to ask of such men, was, of course, to obtain; but, even in them, does prompt compliance bespeak moral approbation? By such a scheme the successful Writers were wronged, and they doubtless felt their wrong, although, with the dignity which marks their characters, they scorned to complain. The committee next dealt with the adjudicators, and obtained a recommendation to publish Mr. Macfarlane's essay from such of them 'as felt themselves at liberty to give it.' Among

these, of course, was the recusant adjudicator, he, therefore, is not to be counted; of the other four, three subscribe the recommendation. The subscribers wisely took the precaution, however, to set themselves right with the public by opening with the significant words, 'As the committee wish,' &c., thus clearly showing that the committee, and not they, took the initiative in the business. We are glad to find that Mr. Melvill's name does not appear to this document. To us it is really amusing to see the committee, after they had been thus fixed with the charge of prompting the adjudicators to give a recommendation, in the next page coolly publishing a resolution, affecting politely to yield to the adjudicators' wishes! These worthy people thus gravely proceed: 'The committee having taken into consideration the preceding proposal of the adjudicators, * * * have great pleasure in concurring in the recommendation that the Essay be published.' This is the best thing of the kind that has for a long time come in our way. They consider a 'proposal' originally emanating from themselves, and concur in a 'recommendation' of their own suggestion! We have, however, no manner of doubt that the said committee, in all this, sought only the public good, and that they deserve the fullest credit for pure intention. All this we cheerfully accord to them; but we do think that they are not adepts in business, that they have placed themselves in a false position, and that, all circumstances considered, their conduct is liable to misconstruction. Indeed, we ought not, perhaps, to accuse the man of uncharitableness, who half believes that

> 'Over them Arachne high did lift
> Her cunning web, and spread her subtle net,
> Enwrapped in foul smoke, and clouds more black than jet.'

The committee must allow us to remind them, that he in whose behalf this struggle was made is a Scottish churchman; that his book distinctly proclaims him a churchman by earnestly contending for the church-and-state principle in connexion with missions; that the solitary adjudicator who struggled first for the primary, and then for the secondary, claims of the essay in question, is a Scottish churchman, and that they themselves are Scottish churchmen. Such being the facts, to say the least, appearances were somewhat against them. Had the recusant adjudicator been a dissenter, or had the Essayist been a dissenter, and that dissent distinctly perceptible in his book, or had both been dissenters, it would very materially have altered the aspect of the affair. There might not, indeed, in that case, have been one particle more rectitude, but there had certainly been less ground for suspicion. We much regret the measure itself, and still more the manner of its accomplishment. We, moreover, do most solemnly protest against its becoming a precedent.

The measure before us sustains a mixed character; it is partly unjust, it is partly unkind. To both the successful and the unsuccessful candidates, it was unjust. Its clear tendency was to depreciate the value of the successful essays, and to enhance the honour of Mr. Macfarlane at the expense of his failing competitors. To Mr. Macfarlane and the recusant adjudicator, however, in spite of appearance, and also it may be of intention, it was unkind. In the end it will augment the reputation of neither. An appeal has thus been made to mankind at large, and both the public and the press have unanimously affirmed the judgment of the court below. It could not be otherwise. It was utterly impossible that such men as Drs. Wardlaw and Bunting, Messrs. Melvill and Crisp, could very materially err in such a matter. Indeed, one literary organ, of no mean authority, has already pronounced the essay of Mr. Macfarlane to be inferior to that of Mr. Noel, and, therefore, only fourth on the scale of merit. These circumstances severely reflect on the judicial competency—his integrity is unimpeachable—of that adjudicator who claimed for it the highest honour and reward, and also on the discretion of the committee who forced it on to its present perilous position. By an upright and steady adherence to their own published conditions, and to established usage, they would, in the end, have best consulted both the comfort and the character of all concerned. None of the adjudicators, in our view, ought to have been parties to the step. For them it had been enough to issue a general recommendation that several other essays should be published, or to express a hope to that effect, leaving it to the respective writers when they had seen the essays approved, to decide for themselves. We should have been sorry, indeed, to be without the work of Mr. Macfarlane; nor would we: for he must have been the subject of an unerring consciousness that it had merit sufficient not only to authorize, but to demand its publication. Nor is this all; had such a course been pursued, it is more than probable we should have had several additional essays published, besides those that have appeared; for to us it seems morally certain, that, from the names of some of the reported competitors, there must have been several works, equal, if not in some respects superior, to the volumes of Mr. Noel and Dr. Melson, and nearly or altogether equal if not superior to that of Mr. Macfarlane. But the unwarrantable preference given to his volume, and the unfair advantage thence arising to it, have deprived the public of this benefit; for under the circumstances, a prudent man would hardly venture to publish.

Thus much for one ground of complaint—we earnestly wish there had not been a second; but we are reluctantly compelled to advance another of a somewhat different character, relative to

the second prize. We shall first state the case by setting forth the paction part of the committee's original 'advertisement,' which runs thus:—

'The adjudicators are expected to make their decision known, on or before the 1st of June, 1840; after which date, the essays will be returned, on proper application at the several offices where they were originally left, with the letters unopened, excepting those accompanying the successful treatises. Half of the profits arising from the sale of the copyright of the essay, to which the *prize of two hundred guineas* shall be awarded, to be given to the author; the other half to be applied to such object, promotive of the great cause of Missions, as the contributors to the present prize may deem most expedient.'

It will be seen that provision is here made simply for the secret surrender of the unsuccessful essays. Those approved are, for the present, of course, to be retained, as usual, and a communication opened with the authors, apprising them of the result of the adjudication. The question we have now to raise regards the position of Mr. Hamilton's essay. Does it belong to him, or to the committee? On this point the covenant is silent. This perfect silence is an important circumstance, as it leaves the question to be settled upon the principles of usage and of equity. According to usage, the property, in the manuscript, remains wholly with Mr. Hamilton. In the competition on 'COVETOUSNESS,' 'SCHISM,' and in a number of other cases, there was no second prize, and in cases where there was, it was uniformly given to multiply inducements, and as a slight acknowledgment of superior merit. But we remember no instance in which the donor or donors claimed a part property, and still less an entire property, in a second prize — no instance in which they demanded or accepted one farthing of the profits of a second prize—and few, in which they provided for a participation even in those of a First. Burnet, in the Great Aberdeen Prize, Dr. Conquest, Sir C. E. Smith, and most others, have all left the writers who obtained their prizes to enjoy the whole profits. On the ground of usage then, Mr. Hamilton was indisputably entitled to the entire property in his production.

But how stands the equity of the case? The usage, we apprehend, proclaims to some extent the equity. Let us, however, put the case fairly: the committee, we shall suppose, pay Mr. Hamilton *fifty guineas*, claiming the manuscript as their own, and asserting the right, at pleasure, either to suppress or publish it; and, in the latter event, to lay out the profits according to their own judgment. This is the claim. Now it really appears to us that no such claim can be allowed, for the following reasons:—First, because no such claim is made, no such design is intimated, no such power is asserted, in the published condi-

tions of the committee. Such rights are mere assumptions; and Mr. Hamilton, being no party, is under no obligation. Secondly, the sum of *fifty guineas* is not a sufficient consideration for such a work. A respectable London publisher would blush to ask any literary man of established character to execute such a volume for less than four, five, or six times the sum. Why, in the case before us, Dr. Harris receives *two hundred guineas*, besides *half the profits*, which may amount to four or five hundred more. Is it meet, then, that Mr. Hamilton, whose work is only just not the first, should be paid in full with *fifty guineas?* Our readers will learn, as we ourselves have learned, with indignation, that the Glasgow committee entertained the design of thus paying him. We speak with the confidence which knowledge imparts, and we call upon the committee, if we are wrong, to contradict us. Mr. Hamilton himself, who, like too many men of splendid parts, is not over-burdened with worldly wisdom, perhaps, estimates but lightly the act of injustice to which he has been subjected, but it is strongly resented by his personal friends, through whom the main facts of the case have reached us. The facts are these:—After the adjudication, Mr. Hamilton demanded his manuscript, but the committee disputed his right to it. The simple writer offered to refund the prize-money. This was peremptorily declined, and the *fifty guineas* were at once paid him, the committee still insisting upon their right, and proposing a reference to the *five* judges of the matter in dispute, a proposal with which Mr. Hamilton could not comply, forasmuch as, relying on the silence of the published conditions of the committee, on established usage, and on obvious equity, he had already disposed of it to a publisher, for what sum we know not, nor does it matter; it may, from the character of the vendor, have been for half its worth. At any rate, whatever it may have been, under these circumstances, the gifted simpleton offered to pay to the committee *half* of the purchase money, the terms which the 'advertisement' provided relative to the first prize! That offer was actually accepted, and the sum, whatever its amount, has long since been received by the committee!

Such are the facts. We vouch for their accuracy. Can it be necessary for us further to elucidate their character? Our readers will not fail to form a proper estimate of the whole affair; and to them we leave the task of denouncing a contemptible piece of injustice towards a man of unusual generosity. We make no inquiry respecting the use to which the committee may apply the money. It will, doubtless, be a laudable one; but it is not to be forgotten that He who is higher than the highest, 'hates robbery for a burnt offering.'

We trust that what we have said in the foregoing pages may

contribute to prevent the recurrence of such things. It is necessary that committees and directories should always act under the influence of self-suspicion; for bodies will find it easy both to do and to defend deeds which individuals would tremble even to imagine. Companies of Christian men should beware of everything that might even by possibility subject them to the charge of homogeny with Dean Swift's answer-jobbers. 'What disgusts me,' said that keen observer, 'from having to do with answer-jobbers is, that they have no conscience.' Far from us, and from all our friends, be such an accusation! We are jealous of the honour of all religious bodies and Christian agencies; and while we shall ever be among the foremost to defend them from all unjust assault, yet, when their conduct merits it, we shall never shrink from administering rebuke or chastisement.

We now proceed with the examination of the works before us. Mr. Macfarlane divides his volume into three parts. The first sets forth the objects and resources of the missionary work, and comprises six chapters, extending to about one third of the volume. It is here shewn, with no ordinary ability, that the object of missions to the heathen is essentially spiritual; but that the civilization and advancement of society are the necessary result of missionary success; that the cross of Christ is the great instrument of renovating mankind; that the universal dominion of Christ ensures the stability and progress of his kingdom; and that all success in attempts to propagate the gospel, results from the influence of the Holy Spirit. All this is done in a clear, terse, theological style, embodying wide and comprehensive views of human nature and of existing society, and of the nature, power, and glory of gospel truth.

Part Second exhibits the duty of Christians towards the heathen, and the manner of its performance. Here we have seven chapters, the first of which is devoted to the proof of the duty of spreading the gospel; the second presents 'Forms of Union in the Missionary Work.' Here it is that the author shews his predilection for establishments of religion. Considering that the object was a catholic essay, and that among his adjudicators there was a Wardlaw and a Crisp—of Dr. Bunting we say nothing—if we desiderate Mr. Macfarlane's prudence, we have proofs at least of his manly courage and Christian integrity. He boldly contends, that 'a Christian nation, acting in its corporate capacity, is bound, through its public and recognised officers, to promote and extend the knowledge of true religion among all its subjects, to suppress idolatry should it exist, and to encourage the propagation of the Christian faith.' In support of this proposition, the author argues at considerable length, but as the church-and-state question had no business in this work, it

shall find no place in the present article. In a few seconds, he will answer himself in a manner the most satisfactory. He next goes on to speak of 'voluntary association' for this work, which he deems a good thing to supplement the 'deficiencies and neglects' of governments. We are glad to find him speaking in a tone so kindly of 'the large resources and signal success of the London Missionary Society.' He thinks that, at the outset, its principle was good, and its adoption necessary; but he considers it to be so no longer. He thinks the sectarian or denominational combinations more natural. This conducts him to the subject of 'the duty of particular churches, in their *corporate capacity*, to labour for the conversion of the world.' Here the author strikes out in a path which, although not new to nonconformists, is so to churchmen; and we confess it gladdens us to find such sentiments embraced and boldly avowed by such a man as Mr. Macfarlane. He contends that 'such a mode of propagating the gospel is more scriptural, more consistent and uniform in its character, and more effective than any voluntary association for that purpose that can be formed.' In proof of the first point, the author argues thus:—

'Such a method is more scriptural. Whatever opinions may be held as to the original form and constitution of the apostolic church, it was clearly under the direction and control of THE CHURCH, that the gospel was preached and planted, and its ordinances administered in primitive times. It was to the church formed by himself, that Christ originally gave the commission to 'teach all nations.' It was the church that he endowed with the various qualifications that were necessary for 'the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.' It was by the church alone, in its associate and spiritual capacity, that during the first age preachers were sent forth, pastors ordained, superintendence exercised, and regulations made for its own internal administration, in all the varieties of condition in which it existed. No institution is alluded to, in the Acts of the Apostles, or inspired Epistles, analogous to those conventional associations for the spread of the gospel, that have been formed or proposed in our day, whose affairs are managed by committees or office-bearers, other than the recognised and ordained office-bearers of the church.'—p. 165.

All this is near the truth, but it sounds somewhat strange in the mouth of a law-church minister; from such lips, nevertheless, we are right glad to hear it. In the subsequent reasonings of this very valuable chapter, the author enunciates a series of truths which cannot be too deeply pondered. He highly approves of the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Methodist, working apart, and carrying out their own ideas of ritual and of polity. 'Each CHURCH,' says he, 'AS SUCH, should be a missionary church. Besides that, Scripture authority is

wanted to sanction the system of conventional union, and lay direction and superintendence in spiritual affairs, there is not that stability, consistency, and uniform progression which must exist, where there is the same impelling power, and where all the parts of the machinery are regulated and adjusted to one harmonious movement.' He contends that this congregational and denominational method will be far 'more effective than any mere voluntary union upon whatever scale.' 'Is it conceivable,' he asks, 'that by any other means, the Wesleyan Methodists, a body far from opulent, could bring an annual revenue of upwards of 90,000*l.* to the cause of missions?' He further adds, that 'since the church of Scotland has assumed the distinctive character of a missionary church, and has begun to employ her parochial jurisdiction and machinery for the collection of funds, an amount has been obtained for religious purposes, unparalleled in the history of the country.'

Mr. Macfarlane, by a side wind, supplies a wholesome hint to the London Missionary Society. He alleges with considerable truth, that notwithstanding its 'fundamental principle,' it has generally adopted 'the independent or congregational form in its foreign churches, and has come to be supported almost entirely by Christians of that denomination.' The former part of this statement is not quite correct. That SOCIETY, we apprehend, has 'adopted' nothing in relation to such matters. It has always kept good faith with its principle; but its agents, unfettered in their operations, with the Word of Life in their hands, have by it been led to 'adopt' such a form in the churches which they have planted. His affirmation concerning support, however, is true. The principle of the Society has long survived the reason on which it originally rested and the circumstances which gave it existence. In the course of events, it has been left in the hands of the Independents; by them, we believe, this result was not desired, and nothing was done to effect or hasten it. They cleave to their neutral flag, indeed, at the hazard of rendering themselves all but ridiculous. It is a well known fact that they have ofttimes no small difficulty in getting a Church-minister to preach the annual sermon; that they are limited to one or two metropolitan places of worship, of which they may be soon deprived, that when they have got both a preacher and an edifice, they cannot procure an Episcopalian audience. This is so notorious, that many of the dissenting supporters of the society, from half pity, half shame, make it a point not only to give their own personal attendance, even at the expense of considerable inconvenience, but actually to canvass their friends for their presence, to save appearances, and, after all, the congregations are generally but a handful, and the collection a trifle. That society, in

our opinion, pays very dearly for its catholicity. It will, we doubt not, or at least the Congregational body will, by-and-by, begin to reflect on its position. We witnessed the formation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales with much satisfaction, and have watched its progress with unfeigned delight; nothing in relation to it, however, has so much gratified us as the alliance which has been effected betwixt it and the Home Missionary, the Irish Evangelical, and the Colonial Missionary Societies. This triune junction was a profound conception, and a most important achievement. It is only just, it is only honest, as well as highly politic, that such societies should bear the image and superscription of those bodies who support them. Nonconformists have, in divers important particulars, long been the victims of a spurious catholicity. On this subject Mr. Macfarlane has headed the chapter, under immediate review, with a beautiful gem from Dr. M'Crie, which runs thus:—'A vague and erratic charity which soars above fixed principles of belief, is a very feeble and precarious bond of union. True Christian Charity is the daughter of Truth.' A very little thought will shew the members of the above Union that the reasons which have led to the affiliation of the three societies already specified, demand the addition of a fourth—the London Missionary Society. Every argument that applies to the former will apply with five-fold force to the latter. Completeness of machinery, and consistency of principle, in our judgment, equally and imperatively demand it. Should the Congregational body be the only people in the land wholly indifferent to the establishment of churches in foreign lands, of their own faith and order? Their brethren, the Baptists, have their English Home Mission, their Irish Mission, and their Foreign Mission, and why should not the Independents? We are aware, that what Dr. M'Crie designates 'a vague and erratic charity,' has prodigious charms for some people; and that the so-called catholic constitution of the society is also a convenient rhetorical common-place, of no mean use in certain hands for the embellishment of anniversary eloquence; but, all circumstances considered, we do think the annual hour's triumph over what the disciples of disorder term bigotry, is purchased enormously dear. It is surely to be hoped, after the ecclesiastical revelations of the last few years, that the Congregational community, to whom, in times past, the liberties of mankind have been so deeply indebted, will at length bethink themselves. They hold their principles in trust for distant climes and future ages. They may now clearly see the resolute determination of Popery to pursue them, in their walks of missionary philanthropy, through the whole earth, while the Anglican church is not less determined

in her resolution to plant her own standard, and fight for her arrogant assumptions in every colony of the British empire. To us, then, it does appear that the time is fully come for the congregational churches of Great Britain and Ireland, who constitute the London Missionary Society, to strike their present colourless mean-nothing flag, and to hoist, in the sight of all lands, their own distinctive denominational ensign.

The third chapter consists of an elaborate disquisition on prayer, which, of course, contains nothing new. The fourth introduces the subject of pecuniary contribution, which is discussed sermon-wise, in a manner which has very little that is practical about it. The author considers that 'only one pound in every seven hundred and fifty of British income, is devoted to this great object of Christian philanthropy.' This fact may satisfy the descendants of Mant and Morris that we are still a great way below the ruin-point, and that unless the missionary fever spread very rapidly, indeed, there is a chance of the country's surviving at least another thousand years. The 'duty of personal consecration to the work' next ensues. This momentous matter is but coldly stated and feebly pressed. It is equally deficient, both in point and in appeal. Indeed, in all these mission essays, there is nothing in which the writers, upon the whole, have more failed than in exhibiting the claims and glory of the missionary character. This noble theme might have been made, in Mr. Macfarlane's hands, to tell with resistless power upon the youthful attendants on the Scottish seminaries of tuition for the rising ministry. He might, and he ought to have showed how tremendous is the responsibility, in connexion with this subject, which rests upon parents, pastors, professors, and students. The masculine mind of Mr. Macfarlane, however, has not sufficiently ruminated this point; hence he does not see it in its length, and breadth, and bearings. His soul does not once kindle; he has taken no grasp of it. Still he has some faint glimpses of its nobility, as the following declaration will shew:—

'Faith takes into its calculation the whole range of human existence, and the final destiny of man. Viewed in this light, the missionary occupies not only a useful, but an exalted station. When all that the world calls great shall have passed away,—when the names of kings and of conquerors shall have been forgotten,—when the plans of statesmen, and the exploits of heroes, that have occupied the largest space in the history of nations, shall be remembered, only as they served to promote the final purposes of Sovereign grace,—the unknown or despised missionary, who went forth in humble faith and obedience to the work of Christ, shall be publicly recognised as the friend and co-adjutor of the 'King of Saints,' and, welcomed into the joy of his Lord.'—p. 252.

The sixth chapter treats of 'the duty of the church towards the Jews, as auxiliaries in propagating the gospel.' This topic, which we consider wholly out of place in the present volume, is discussed, or rather talked about, in a very tame, meagre, and unprofitable manner. It has been for several years a crotchet with a portion of the Scottish clergy, and Mr. Macfarlane appears to have thought his book would be incomplete without it. The seventh chapter labours to shew that 'the present is the final dispensation.' This is one of the most valuable portions of the book. The point is handled with extraordinary ability. It would be difficult, indeed, within the same space, to do more towards proving 'that we have no reason to expect the visible and personal intervention of Christ, with his saints and angels, prior, or as auxiliary to the predicted triumphs of his cause.' It would form a valuable tract on the subject.

This leads us on to the Third Part of the Work, comprehending 'motives and encouragements to promote the diffusion of the gospel.' This part consists of some eight chapters or sermons, full of sound gospel doctrine, but presenting little that calls for specific notice. We shall just transcribe the heads of these chapters. 'Love to Christ the grand motive to Missionary Effort—Compassion for the Heathen, an urgent motive to Missionary Zeal—Encouragement to the Missionary Work, arising from the early success of Christianity—Encouragement arising from the present state of Missions and aspect of the Times—Encouragement arising from explicit prophecies—The reflex influence of the Missionary Enterprise, a motive to increased activity and zeal—Objections answered—Brief Appeal to the Reader in behalf of the Heathen.' These subjects are all treated in a grave, judicious, devout, and scriptural manner.

Our opinion of this work, as a whole, may be gathered from what we have already written. It is nearly, in all points, what we had anticipated from a Scottish clergyman, stationed in a rural district. The matter, the method, the tone, the mould of thought, the style of expression, all betoken the strong-minded, the well-educated, the pious and pains-taking, the staid and studious Presbyterian divine. The predominant faculty in the writer is the understanding; he hardly indicates the existence of any other; and he takes for granted that his reader resembles himself. He writes like a man that has for ever abjured both paint and pathos. He makes no provision for the affections, and as little for the fancy. The book throughout presents not a single touch of true tenderness, nor one flash of imagination. It is a garden which has neither weed nor flower. It is so delightfully dry, that it must have pleased Swift himself. The Dean of St. Patrick's was accustomed to speak with admiration of an acquaintance, who, wherever, in reading, he observed a sen-

tence or a paragraph ending with a point of exclamation, always made it a rule to pass that by. Mr. Macfarlane would have been a favourite with the dean and his friend. We travelled over no fewer than three hundred and fifty-five pages before we met a single note of exclamation, and then we were treated to two in succession. At a distance of forty-one pages further on (p. 396) he forgets himself again, and we have two more. But this is the last lapse, and it is amply atoned for by the 'appeal' at the close, for there not a single exclamation escapes him; and we can assure our most sentimental readers that they may sit down to it without the dread of discomposure; they are in no danger of dropping a single tear. He gives no

> 'cause
> To be suspected of more tenderness
> Than doth become a man.'

After a thorough scrutiny into the merits of the work before us, we are now able most satisfactorily to account for a circumstance which at first perplexed us—the preference given to it by one of the adjudicators, Dr. Welsh, the disciple, friend, and biographer of the late celebrated Mental Philosopher, Dr. Thomas Brown. Dr. Welsh, it is well known, was highly worthy of such a friendship and such a function. He is an adept in metaphysical and logical studies, while his tastes and habits are such as these studies imply. This fact, we think, explains at once the reasons which induced him to estimate so highly the work of Mr. Macfarlane. Had we seen the three books prior to their presentation, we could have told with confidence that Dr. Welsh would infallibly give the first prize to the 'Jubilee of the World.' It is, we conceive, just such a book as he himself would have written on Missions. It evinces its author to be a man of strong and cultivated powers, a solid thinker, a clear writer, but very imperfectly acquainted with his subject. He has sat down and made it a study, and the result is before us—a solemn, stately, well-reasoned, well written volume, comprising a very few general principles. The theme is clearly new to the author; he knows very little of it, either as regards the home apparatus or the foreign operations; and he is still but imperfectly imbued with the spirit of Missions. It is the cold dissertation of a moral philosopher, not the melting appeal of a weeping apostle. Now we can conceive that those very things which we deem defects in Mr. Macfarlane's book, a man of Dr. Welsh's tastes, intellectual habits, and professional pursuits may deem excellences. The metaphysician, we doubt not, had great difficulty in getting through the paint, pathos, and sating beauty of Dr. Harris; and how he succeeded in vanquishing Mr. Hamilton we cannot con-

What we should have given for a peep at him while
ling on amid the figures, flights, brief bursts, endless para-
s, dashes and declamations of the romantic Yorkshireman!
uite believe the doctor looked on his co-adjudicators as on
sorely bewildered when they preferred Dr. Harris to Mr.
rlane; but when they also declared for Mr. Hamilton, he
have deemed them bereft of their senses!

ile Mr. Macfarlane's work is strongly characteristic of the
sh, we consider Mr. Noel's as not less so of the English
ished-church clergy. The one class deals much in com-
ense and matter of fact, the other in metaphysics and moral
e. Mr. Noel's book is as complete a contrast to Mr. Mac-
e's as can well be conceived. The former abounds in
hing that is wanting in the latter. Both united would
formed a most masterly treatise. Had Mr. Noel's book
red alone some few years back, it would have commanded
eneral attention, and have been considered a production
at value. As one of the unsuccessful prize essays, it now
rs under less favourable circumstances; but even now it
t fail to be extensively appreciated. Viewed in a literary
we have no praise to bestow on the publication; it even
beneath reasonable expectation; it is the only essay among
se which in that respect is not creditable to its author.
regard has been paid to the specifications of the committee,
ill less to the natural limits and divisions of the subject.
ntire volume is divided into eight chapters; of these the
ets forth, somewhat superficially, the duty of Christians
egard to the heathen; the second discusses the question
er missionary exertions are needful; the third treats of the
ability of missions; the fourth, of the effects of missions;
th, of the means possessed by Great Britain for extending
ian missions—this is a chapter of great value; but we
pass on to chapter sixth, on the number of missionaries,
comprises principles that well merit the attention of our
s missionary societies. While Mr. Noel laments the
l number of the entire body, he considers that the direc-
have erred in not placing more missionaries at each station.
sists, that by fixing considerable numbers together in strong
ns, that they would be enabled to effect a most necessary
n of labour; that in all respects they would render to each
important assistance; that such a missionary staff would
lf present an impressive aspect, and produce a salutary
upon the mind of the heathen. He illustrates at some
the mischiefs which have arisen from the feebleness of
issionary force. He then exemplifies the happy effects
ed by the concentration of missionary efforts upon a

manageable district. He states that the American missionaries in Ceylon, instead of being scattered over the whole island, have confined themselves to Jaffna, a district at its northern extremity, containing something beneath a hundred and fifty thousand people. At this place five missionaries, four of whom were married, arrived from the United States in 1816, and at present there are six missionaries, exclusive of a physician, a printer, and a body of native preachers and teachers. These evangelists from the first, instead of a cheerless solitude, have had the comfort of each other's society. On the 1st of February, 1820, fifteen missionaries dined together at the table of Mr. Winslow. Four times a year all the American missionaries assembled for consultation and prayer. The advantages arising from this contiguity of the stations were various and great. One of these was, that it enabled the brethren to form two central schools, one for training up young men to the ministry, and another for the education of the most promising girls, in the place of five boarding schools which had been previously opened at the five stations. Here the students, besides instruction in Tamul, were taught the English language, and the elements of European science. Forty-eight youths were received into it the first year, and in 1834 the number had amounted to one hundred and forty-two. Mr. Noel well observes, that upon the single man system, effects like these could not have been realised. He might have fortified his argument still further by a reference to Serampore. After expatiating on the subsequent history, and the delightful success of the American mission, he proceeds as follows:—

'Precisely similar advantages have accrued to the New Zealand missions, and to the French mission in South Africa, by the conjunction of the missionaries, though to a less extent, because the missionaries in both cases, and especially in the latter, are much further from each other. Wherever there has been this conjunction of faithful missionaries, success has been granted to their labours; and if, in the neglect of that obvious instrumentality, missionaries have been planted alone among strange people, to learn the language as they could, to blunder on in ignorance of their habits, to be suspected because unknown, despised because solitary, oppressed by labours to which there was no end, and from which there could be no respite; if under these circumstances they have died, leaving their solitary successors to begin the work almost afresh, and like them to die almost before it was begun, we need not be surprised that heathen societies have never been shaken to their foundations, that Christianity has rather shone among the heathen like a subterranean lamp than as the rising sun, that there have been comparatively few converts and still fewer native ministers trained up to do the work of evangelists,—solitary missionaries could not do it.'—p. 343.

he Americans are acting everywhere on the concentrative
n; they have five missionaries at Bankok, five at Singapore,
ix at Borneo.'

: Noel, in the seventh chapter, urges the usual motives to
nary exertion, which, as they call for no remark, we pass,
roceed to the last chapter, in which the strength and
w of the work may be said to be placed. He opens by
stly urging the necessity of strengthening the present
ns; he would have in no place fewer than four or five
naries, and with such associations he would fill India. This
we hold to be a most important one; it is, however, not
, and it is therefore the more important. Melville Horne
fully urged it nearly half a century ago; and W. Buyers,
enares missionary, strongly contends for it in his late ex-
t volume of 'Letters on Missions,' which we take this
unity of recommending. Common sense, indeed, by the
a little reflection, would long since have taught the directors
sionary societies that such was the proper plan of prose-
the enterprise; but bodies of men embarked in works of
y seldom reflect much, and they are generally very jealous
counsels of those who do. It has been hitherto the object
itish societies to multiply stations; they have had no faith
e well-known principle by which Napoleon conquered
e; which, by the way, is also exactly the principle of colo-
on which common sense, combined with the necessities of
e, has led all nations in all ages to adopt. Had the Greeks
Romans sent forth single men and single couples instead of
rs and multitudes, in order to promote commerce and
ation, their gains had soon been counted, and all they
l have left mankind would have been the legacy of their

We are glad to find Mr. Noel coming so fully out upon
oint in the following passage:—

he directors of missions, at least in this country, do not yet
to be fully impressed with the importance of having a missionary
in each place. The American societies act on this principle to
greater extent than we do. To afford missionaries the help of
counsels and combined labours to evangelize whole districts, to
educational books and works of practical piety, to superintend
ian churches, to multiply and superintend Christian schools for
or, to give to each mission the aid of European medical skill, and
all, to train up a native ministry for each Indian nation, it is
tely necessary that there should be four or five missionary
s, at least, in every missionary locality. Till missionaries are
where thus grouped together, it seems to me vain to look for any
results. The Almighty works by suitable means, and we are
to use them.'—p. 381.

Mr. Noel next grapples with the subject of a native ministry, a point the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. He has brought forth the substance of the argument in a very few words.

'1st. A native ministry, supposing it to be equally efficient, would be far more economical.

'2ndly. Ministers would be much more easily supplied in sufficient numbers from among the natives than they could from European nations, at the antipodes, speaking foreign languages, and used to other climes.

'Thirdly, Native ministers would, *cæteris paribus*, be much more effective, because they would speak their own language more fluently, and more correctly than foreigners can, &c.

'Fourthly, Native ministers would, *cæteris paribus*, labour both harder and longer than it is possible for Europeans to do, in a climate so trying to European constitutions.

'Fifthly, Native ministers are more on a level with the people than Europeans can be, who belong to the nation of conquerors, &c.

'Sixthly, The Hindoos have a notion that the Christian religion is the best for Europeans, but that theirs is the best for them, &c.'—pp. 382, 383.

These reasons are full of force, and their number might be augmented. The English societies, indeed, have long professed to be alive to the weight of such considerations, and desirous to act upon the principle; but hitherto very little has been accomplished. Preparations, nevertheless, are now making in various quarters, from which, in the course of a few years, we anticipate happy results.

Mr. Noel solemnly deprecates all missionary contact, in spreading the gospel in China, with opium smugglers, who 'are vending to the Chinese intoxication, insanity, vice, disease, and death.' He would have vessels hired, as the Huron, for missionary efforts alone. Let societies mark what follows:—

'In almost all cases, to avoid collision, each society should avoid placing its Missionaries in juxta position with those of other societies, it being of the greatest importance, that the divisions, which unhappily prevail in the Christian church at home, should not be sown among the unestablished converts in Missionary churches. Most carefully, therefore, should each society avoid entering on those spheres of labour which are already occupied by other societies, *with sound principles*.' —p. 390.

Mr. Noel is one of the very few churchmen, whether of the English or of the Scotch Establishment, who could consistently dispense such counsel. In these wise words our Church extensionists, both south and north, may see their own guilt, and read their own condemnation; and it is with no small regret we

state, that most of our Missionary Societies, too, have been culpably heedless, or ineptly regardless, of this principle, in the location of their missions in foreign lands. But we must next attend Mr. Noel in his views of the aid which various classes may render in this great work. Here he begins at the beginning—at the British throne! As this is something new for a clergyman—and not more novel than manly, magnanimous, just, and proper, we shall transcribe his own words:—

'"And since it is an enterprise so excellent, that to engage in it adds dignity to the most noble; and since the will of the Almighty has been so plainly declared, that it must bind alike both the prince and the peasant; I venture to express my earnest prayer, that God would be pleased to incline our gracious Sovereign to use the great influence committed to her stewardship by him for the protection of this cause. Would she place herself at the head of the great Missionary Societies, affording them her zealous support, and uniting her prayers with the prayers of the people of God in every land, this, besides being the expression of her own dutiful zeal for the cause of Christ, which would gladden the hearts of all the most religious persons throughout her dominions, would also powerfully attract the attention of the worldly and the thoughtless, and lead them to add their contributions to this work of mercy. Her zeal might thus not only aid the Missions, but be serviceable to her whole kingdom.'—pp. 392, 393.

Our readers will allow that this is not amiss for a royal chaplain. The penning of these thoughts, of course, preceded the writer's elevation to his present honour; but we feel confident they are his thoughts still. Will their mitred lordships say amen to Mr. Noel's prayer? Were these men faithful to their royal mistress, and did their own spirit and deportment sustain the expression of that fidelity, Mr. Noel's aspiration might, at a day not very distant, be fully realized. But then Ascot! Epsom! the Opera! Covent Garden! the Masked Ball!—what of these?

'Ay, there's the rub.'

We leave this point to the royal chaplains and the bishops, taking leave, however, to observe, that it will be a happy day for England, when the Illustrious Occupant of its Throne shall, upon this subject, see eye to eye with her honourable and reverend chaplain. Such a change would be fraught with results to the cause of Missions, Morals, and Piety, at present inconceivable. Well: the cause of Christ will live; the time may be distant, but it will assuredly arrive, when 'The Kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents; the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts: yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him.'

Mr. Noel next proceeds to read a wholesome lecture to her

Majesty's ministers, to noblemen, gentlemen, and rich merchants; to captains of the navy, to English residents in the neighbourhood of each mission, to young men of piety and talents, and to ministers of the gospel. All these classes receive a word in season, while a few excellent thoughts on worldliness, strife, and unbelief, on the necessity of Divine aid, and the duty of fervent prayer, conclude the volume.

Our readers will see that the spirit and the matter of this volume throughout bespeak the practical understanding, the devout spirit, and the generous heart of Baptist Noel. The work, in all that respects the spirit and matter of it, does him extraordinary credit. As a volume offered for the Scottish prize, it is, in nearly all the points specified in the 'Advertisement,' a total failure. It was in fact almost preposterous to present it for adjudication, unless as a rebuke to the donors, for the absurdity of their plan. In this latter light, the act was full of wisdom. It is so far an off-hand, and somewhat careless specimen of the very work which the present state of the Missionary Enterprise required. It proclaims itself at once to be the production of a man of a highly missionary spirit—of a man who is equally familiar with the entire subject, and the whole field of Missions—of a man who, had his diligence been equal to his abilities and attainments, might have given the world a work on Missions, which would have been long remembered. It is decidedly more *ad rem* than any of the other four Essays,—a circumstance resulting from an utter neglect of the specifications, which he seems hardly to have read, or heartily to have despised, as altogether wanting in adaptation to the necessities of the Missionary undertaking. We look upon it as a valuable supplement to the other Essays, between which and it, there is really very little in common.

Now, for Dr. Melson, who tells us, in his title-page, that he is senior secretary to the Wesleyan Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Society for the Birmingham and Shrewsbury district. That the writer of the book was a Wesleyan, might have been confidently concluded, from its internal character. It consists of five Parts, subdivided into sections. There is, throughout the volume, a fair measure of bombast, and, occasionally, a small spice of nonsense, but still it is not without merit. Dr. Melson is not merely a physician, but a Divine, and cuts up a text with as much hardihood as he would cut up a man. Assuming that 'truth in *maximis* is not inconsistent with truth in *minimis*,' he wars most valiantly against all his opposers, of whatever class, and shews why the believer is 'to reflect abroad the lustre of heaven, as it falls upon him from the broad disc, whose fires create the noontide glory of the New Jerusalem, and gild her palaces with ever-

orient light.' Al overwhelmi the whole world of Calvinists, both high and low, he proce ω prove 'that a measure of the influences of the Holy Spi t nas been given unto all men,' and, in support of his propos ion, calls in the aid of Greek and Italian, the Seventy, Dioda ι, d the Rev. Walter Lawry, showing his anticipation of a t when the waters 'shall flow in one unbroken stream into th *ocean of human society*, purifying its *corrupt depths*, and healing its *poisonous waves*.'

Having ended the five homilies, which compose the First Part, and about a third of the volume, Dr. Melson reaches the ground again, and condescends to speak of points within his province. He takes up, in Part Second, the question of duty, and enforces it well. In Part Third, we have 'the performance of the duty practically developed,' under the heads of counsel, personal service, pecuniary contribution, and prayer. This is done in a feeble manner, but in a devout spirit, and in point of sentiment, there is little that is liable to objection. Part Fourth exhibits the privilege forcibly, and in an excellent tone; while Part Fifth, in the same strain, expatiates on the encouragement. Such is an outline of the work before us, which, as we have said of another, and it appeared at some other season, and alone, would, upon the whole, have been deemed a respectable performance. It deserves publication, and will be read with profit and pleasure.

We have now discharged our duty, in relation to these five size volumes, the critical examination of which has supplied us with no small amount of pleasing occupation. Notwithstanding our emphatic but conscientious censure of the donors and committee of management, we nevertheless feel bound to tender them our sincere thanks for their services in this, by far the first of human causes. We consider, at the same time, that they have been highly honoured by the Head of the Church, in being permitted thus to share in so glorious an enterprise. The appearance of these and of other contemporaneous works on the subject, will constitute an era in the history of missions. They serve to indicate the hold which the enterprise has taken upon the sanctified genius and talent of the country, and to show that a portion of the leading men in both kingdoms have, at length, become absorbed in this transcendent question, which not only advances in the church, but in the world. It has not merely ceased to be an object of contempt and ridicule to men of science and letters; it has at length compelled the homage of the highest classes and the first intellects of the empire. No man, with the slightest claim to either sense or virtue, will now dare, even in the dark, to lift up his voice, or to move his pen, against the advocates of missions. The batteries of infidelity are silenced. Politicians, too, have learned that a man may be a missionary

without being a maniac, and that people may support missions, and yet remain the friends of social order, while of that order, where it exists, the missionary himself is not only the best supporter, but also its most efficient promoter where it is not. It is now becoming clear, even to philosophic philanthropy, that missions are the sole hope of a sorrowing world; that 'the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.'

We thank the writers, successful and unsuccessful, known and unknown, of the works to which the Scottish prizes have given existence. There is a moral certainty, as we have already hinted, that a number more of the essays deserve to see the light, and we hope some of them, with such modifications as fresh experience and further reflection may suggest, will some day make their appearance. At any rate, a high point has been gained, in addition to the works which are before the public, by thus turning the intense attention of a large number of leading minds to the general subject. Such minds, by their recent exercise, must have acquired much enlarged views of the general question, and these views must have imparted to their subjects a fresh stimulus, a powerful impulse, which will variously operate and be long felt in their respective circles. The effect will be visible, even where the cause remains a secret. Then no inconsiderable amount of good may be anticipated from the public criticism to which the published works have given rise. Whatever tends to deepen views, promotes impression. Whatever contributes to excite right feeling, augments healthful action. The general study of these volumes must conduce to the accomplishment of these objects. Notwithstanding such works, however, and others of a kindred character, the subject is by no means exhausted. That subject, indeed, is inexhaustible. Its bearings extend with every year: its importance rises every hour.

There are the works. But we must remind our readers, with all the solemnity which the subject inspires, that the matter must not rest here! Such works were intended to be only a means to an end. 'That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.' Unless these volumes be thoroughly read and devoutly pondered by Pastors, Deacons, and all who are concerned in carrying on the work of missions, how can they be instrumental in effecting the desired end? The volumes are given; action is required. Something more is wanted than oral or written criticism. The absolute or the comparative merits of these treatises are but secondary matters. The most meagre of them presents a dreadful indictment against the whole Christian world; and opens up a course of action, which, if devoutly and zealously adopted by all the true disciples of the gospel, would soon change

the whole aspect of t n nary warfare. Any of the authors has done enough to establish a grievous charge of great unfaithfulness against all Christian churches. The wisdom of the arraigned is to plead guilty, an to humble themselves under God's almighty hand, while they implore the forgiveness of the past, and, by a renewed baptism from on high, prepare for the future.

There is one class to whom, in connexion with these works, we look with great solicitude—the directors of our various missionary societies. The position and function of these bodies involve an awful responsibility. They move the men who move the world. Far more than Imlac's poet, the agents whom they select, appoint, and control, are the interpreters of truth, the legislators of mankind, and must be considered as spirits presiding over the thoughts, manners, and destinies of future generations, as beings superior to time and place. What manner of men ought such directing bodies then to be in wisdom, prudence, and piety, in every virtue and in every grace, in all the attributes both of their moral and intellectual nature? With what care should they be selected! What pains should be taken to give the churches a right conception of the cha required by the function! It is not enough that the director a good, an opulent, a liberal, and a leisurable man. He ou it to be an intelligent man, and a man of general knowledge. To a director nothing can be useless. He ought, in particular, to be an adept in geography, and well read in general history; but above all, to be most intimately conversant with the annals of the Christian church, with the history of the propagation of Christianity, and with the present condition of the missionary field. We need hardly say that hitherto this subject has excited but little notice. Any worthy pious gentleman has been considered perfectly competent to be a director of a missionary society; and to prove how lightly the subject has been thought of, and how little is made of experience, the directoral body is annually changed. These things, we submit, ought not so to be. The entire system wants revision. In the mean time we take the liberty of earnestly recommending to this class of gentlemen the careful and prolonged study of the works before us. The thorough mastery of the volumes of Dr. Harris, and of Messrs. Hamilton, Macfarlane, and Noel, ought to be attempted and achieved by every director of every missionary society; while their habitual favourite course of study should lie amid the literature of missions.

There is another class of individuals, whose importance is in the inverse ratio of their numbers, who stand associated with this great theme—secretaries. On the secretaries of all auxiliary local missionary societies and associations, much, very much, must always depend. They will often have much to do in the

way of creating and fostering a missionary spirit around them. They will everywhere have to enlighten ignorance and arouse apathy. Now, they who are to teach must know; they who are to animate the dead must themselves be in flames. All such are required to be diligent students of missionary literature, and to be filled with a generous and lofty enthusiasm in the cause. To the office of the secretaries of the parent societies, of course, still more importance attaches. They ought to be, in all points, the very first men that their several communities can supply. They ought, further, to be divested of all pastoral care, however insignificant, that their undivided attention may be given to their duties; and for their services let them receive a liberal, a handsome compensation. If we cannot obtain, all at once, competent directories, let us, at least, have accomplished and efficient secretaries. This function well deserves the finest talents and the greatest powers, while it demands hearts all, and always, on fire with apostolic zeal for the glory of Christ and the salvation of men. We would not have such secretaries oppressed with labour; their province is more to direct toil than to perform it. We would leave them time for reflection and for inquiry, for study and for devotion. As 'the field is the world,' we would have them to know the world, to have the missionary map all in their eye, and to be as conversant with the spheres of the labours of all other societies as with those of their own. We would have them to know all that is needful to be known of the inhabitants of all heathen lands, and to be incessantly on the stretch of investigation. We would have them highly qualified, and give them sufficient leisure, in all needful ways, to use the press. We would have special and important periodical publications in furtherance of the grand object under their care and control. We would have all the secretaries of all the societies to be burning and shining lights, men full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, so that whenever and wheresoever they meet each other, they may alway after be able to say—

> 'Smit with the love of kindred arts we came,
> And met congenial, mingling flame with flame.'

Some dozen or two of such men would be the greatest gift that the munificent Head of the church could bestow upon the human race. In voluntary conventions for missionary objects, the secretaries must be the main spring. It lies with them to mould all and to move all. Power is necessary to the fulfilment of their office; skill is necessary to the wise use of their power. Let them magnify the one, and let them look upward for the other.

We look also, in conclusion, to the churches of Christ and the ministers of the gospel, to our sabbath-school teachers and their

charge, to prove that these works have not been published in vain. Let them betake themselves earnestly to diffuse the knowledge and to cultivate the spirit of missions; and that they may do so with effect, let them convert these works into manuals, meditating, night and day, the contents, till, filled with knowledge and fired with zeal, the church of our times shall once more 'look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.'

We cannot conclude the present article without a passing tribute to Dr. Duff, of Calcutta, to whose zeal in behalf of missions the Scottish prizes, and all the works which have sprung from them, may be distinctly traced. He is understood to have been, some fifteen or sixteen years ago, one of a little band of students, in the University of St. Andrew, whose missionary spirit and extraordinary talents formed an era in that ancient seat of learning. They shone as stars of the first order, in a class which Dr. Chalmers, in a reference made to one of them who found an early grave, designated a 'class of uncommon force and brilliancy.' His career in Calcutta has, from the commencement, been one of a remarkable character, and it promises to be attended with extraordinary results. The Indian press, from year to year, testifies to the merits of the General Assembly's Institution. We find the Courier, the government paper, and the Hurkaru, the organ of the Liberals, cordially concurring in a hearty approval, and something more, of Dr. Duff's great educational experiment. In such a matter, however, there are two other journals which have far more weight with us and with the religious public of Great Britain, the Christian Advocate, the organ of the Independents, and the Friend of India, issued by the Serampore Baptists, both of which we are happy to see attesting the claims of Dr. Duff's seminary. In referring to the annual examination of January last, the former adverts to that examination as 'very searching,' and bears witness to the 'thorough acquaintance manifested with the subjects under discussion;' and the latter affirms that it does 'not know of any examination here which approaches in interest to the examination of the General Assembly's Institution.'

It seems there are upwards of eight hundred pupils of various ages, classes, and castes, thus drinking at the fount of European science, sanctified by Christian knowledge. This institution must be viewed as a most important section in the circle of means for the elevation of India; and we consider Dr. Duff, beyond most living men, qualified for the high place which the Head of the Church has assigned him. For intellectual power, for argumentative skill, for popular eloquence, for a ready capacity both in acquiring and communicating all sorts of knowledge, for con-

stitutional ardour, and for christian zeal, in our judgment he has few superiors. With such qualities it is not a marvel that he has become the pet and pride of the Scotch establishment, as well as won the confidence, while he compelled the homage, of the affluent and educated classes of Calcutta. His oratorical appearances, on behalf of India, in our metropolis, a few years ago, will be long remembered by those who heard him; while it is matter of history that his eloquent itinerant effusions throughout the pulpits of his native land, during the period of his stay for the recovery of health, were the main instrument of exciting that spirit of missionary enterprise which now distinguishes the Scottish establishment. Dr. Duff has written a large work regarding India and his own system of procedure there, besides some minor pieces, in all of which there is much to approve and to admire, whilst for what is crude and extravagant in thought, or artificial and false in eloquence, we find an ample apology in his position, years, and temperament.

Art. VII. *Encyclopædia Ægyptiaca; or, Dictionary of Egyptian Antiquities.* By Thomas John Pettigrew, F.R.S., &c. No. I. Whittaker and Co. 1842.

This is the first number of a work, which promises to supply a great desideratum in our antiquarian literature. It is not our custom to notice the first numbers of serial publications at any length, but we are induced to do so in the present instance, from the desire to encourage an undertaking which will not be continued unless this first and experimental portion induces a number of subscribers to send in their names sufficient to secure the author *against any positive loss.* Considering the great expense of bringing out works of this nature, and the limited demand for them, this is a very proper precaution, though it affords a discouraging glimpse at the true condition of our 'market of literature.' As matters now stand, the 'success' of a work is not tested by its fitness, its usefulness, or even its reputation, nor by the research, or skill, or learning it exhibits, but by the number of copies which are sold. Nothing can be a more fallacious test of desert than this; for from the deficiency of high education among us, there is the want of a remunerative demand for works of the highest class, and it may be that the subject itself is of interest only to a small number of highly cultivated minds, which, however, distribute over the land, in her thousand irrigating rills, the aliment which *they* imbibe. It will certainly not be said that the works which give light and knowledge to the few

are to enlighten the many, are the least worthy of encouragement. Yet, practically, they are the least encouraged. Publishers will give large sums for works likely to obtain an extensive sale, but they shrink from incurring the slightest risk in connexion with the very works on which the largest amount of time and labour has been bestowed. Nor are they to be blamed for this; as, being tradesmen, they naturally seek the most profitable investments for their capital, and those by which the largest returns may be realized. But the result is, that the substantial rewards of literature are gathered by those whose books are 'made to sell,' and that the highest and worthiest class of works can only be produced by men of property, or of professional independence, who can afford not only to *give* their time and labour, but to incur the risk of pecuniary loss, for the pleasure of imparting to the public the treasures, to bring which to light has perhaps obliged them for many years

'To scorn delights and live laborious days.'

To those who would be safe from this latter contingency, there seem to remain but two alternatives—that of selling the book so dear that it will pay its expenses with a small circulation, or that which Dr. Pettigrew has chosen, of securing, by subscriptions, an indemnity for the expenses before they are actually incurred. However common formerly, the latter course is now unusual; and the former, which is more frequent, has the serious evil of rendering those books the most costly which are the most necessary to scholars and literary men, who have often much superfluity of wealth. In all this there is some thing wrong, which we may take another occasion of more fully analyzing.

Dr. Pettigrew states that 'the Encyclopædia Ægyptiaca' has been undertaken at the suggestion and by the persuasion of some of the most eminent of our Egyptian scholars, who have, with the utmost liberality, offered not only the use of their portfolios, and notes made during their researches and travels in the East, but have also volunteered their assistance in the composition of several of the articles to be included in the work. It is confirmed that such a publication, the materials of which have been collected by the author from the year 1825 to the present time, embracing the period during which nearly all the most important discoveries in Egyptian archæology have been made, will form a valuable addition to our scientific and antiquarian literature. It will, undoubtedly; and no one who has paid the slightest attention to this new and curious branch of study, will question the very peculiar competency of the author of 'The

History of Egyptian Mummies' for the arduous task he has undertaken.

Hoping to have a future occasion of surveying the work in its finished state, we shall only here remark, that this first number comprises a cursory and able 'General View of Ancient Egypt,' with six pages of the 'Encyclopædia,' and two lithographed plates, one of them coloured. A work of this nature ought to be very carefully revised; and we hope that we shall not in the future numbers see any such 'errors of the press' as 'American' instead of 'Armenian,' 'Heshbron' instead of 'Heshbon,' and 'adulterers' instead of 'adulterators'—of bread.'

Art. VIII. *Brief Notices of Hayti; with its Condition, Resources, and Prospects.* By John Candler. London: Ward and Co.

HAYTI lies without the beaten path of European travellers, and is, in consequence, little known to our countrymen. This is to be regretted on many accounts, and was painfully felt during our recent abolition struggle. Appeals were perpetually made by pro-slavery advocates to the condition of the Haytians, as proof of the unfitness of the negro population for freedom; and such appeals had an influence far beyond their due, owing to the want of accurate information amongst us. Recent events, however, have been favourable to a more correct estimate of the character, resources, and prospects of this young republic, whose condition and welfare are now beginning deeply to interest our countrymen. There is much of tragedy in the history of Hayti. It is full of deep, fearful interest, and reads a lesson which rulers and task-masters would do well to ponder. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and was soon crowded by European adventurers, who reduced the natives to slavery. A French colony subsequently established itself on a part of the island which was ceded to France by the treaty of Ryswick. The restrictions imposed by the mother country grievously crippled, for a time, the trade of the colony, but being removed in the early part of the eighteenth century, its resources were fully developed and large profits were realized by the planters.

Such was the condition of the island on the breaking out of the French revolution in 1789. Two years later the National Convention, in the first fervour of its patriotism, ceded to the people of colour a full enjoyment of all the rights belonging to French citizens, and thus determined both the direction and the issue of the struggle which was pending over the colony. The planters were incensed beyond measure at this procedure, and openly

defied the authority of the mother country. The national cockade was trampled under foot, and a determination avowed to maintain by force the supremacy of their class. On the other hand the people of colour began to arm for the defence of their new rights, and everything betokened a deadly strife between the two bodies, when a new party, equally dreaded and equally oppressed by both, interposed in the quarrel. This party consisted of the slaves, who rose in immense numbers, infuriated by a goading sense of oppression, and thirsting for revenge. The atrocities which were perpetrated beggar all description and are happily unparalleled in modern history. They were practised equally by both parties. The war assumed a diabolical character, and all prisoners on either side were either massacred at once or reserved for the more protracted sufferings of a public execution. It is not our design to track the course of this servile war, the fortunes of which varied greatly. The cause of humanity gained much by the appointment, in 1797, of Touissant l'Ouverture to the generalship of the negro forces. This illustrious man—illustrious notwithstanding his servile origin—set an example of humanity to his more civilized opponents, while he taught them to respect the bravery and discipline of his troops. Few men have exceeded Touissant in the higher and more noble qualities of our nature. Considering the position from which he rose, and the circumstances amid which his rule was exercised, his character and history constitute the redeeming element of a struggle otherwise so dark and revolting. He upheld the fortunes and humanized the spirit of his race, and when compelled, by the arrival of an overwhelming force from France, to retire to the mountains of the interior, he still watched with untiring vigilance over their interests, and was prompt to take advantage of the slightest imprudence on the part of their enemies. Treachery at length effected what force had failed to accomplish. The negro chief and his family were privately seized by General Leclerc, and shipped off to France, where Touissant died in April 1803. He left behind him, however, a glorious legacy, which his countrymen did not fail to improve. The intelligence of his seizure and forcible embarkation—in open defiance of the treaty which had been formed—spread universal alarm and indignation amongst the negroes. Several chiefs instantly appeared at the head of large bodies of black troops, and a terrible struggle ensued. Each party felt it to be a question of life and death, and the barbarities practised surpass belief. The restraining spirit of Touissant was gone, and the vengeance inflicted by his countrymen was fearfully retaliated by the French. The fortunes of the latter steadily declined, and in the fall of 1803 they were compelled to evacuate the island and relinquish all hope of re-establishing their supremacy. A formal declaration of inde-

pendence was issued in 1804, and Dessalines was elected governor-general for life.

Such was the issue of a struggle between the untutored and half-savage slaves of St. Domingo and the veteran forces of the then most military power in Europe. Nearly forty years have now elapsed since the emancipated negroes commenced their experiment at self-government, and Mr. Candler's volume will assist us in ascertaining the result which has been obtained. The problem was at first more than doubtful, and some of the events which transpired in the course of the experiment were adapted to induce a temporary misgiving on the part of the best friends of Africa. The result, however, is now before us, and it is not too much to say, considering the circumstances under which their emancipation was effected, its suddenness, the diabolical character of the struggle which preceded it, and the complicated means which force and craft employed to throw them back into the lowest scale of barbarism,—that it is far more favourable than history would have led us to anticipate, or the probabilities of the case have permitted us even to hope for. But we must not anticipate our author, whose discrimination and obvious impartiality give weight to the favourable testimony which he bears.

Hayti is four times as large as Jamaica, and nearly equal in extent to Ireland. It is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, and lies westward of Jamaica about forty leagues. Prior to the revolution, the island was divided between the Spanish and the French, the former occupying about two-thirds of the soil, though greatly inferior in number to the latter. No political distinction of territory, however, now exists, as the whole is united under one ruler, and yields cheerful obedience to his laws. The present population of the Spanish part is estimated at 130,000, while that of the French nearly equals 700,000. It is to the latter portion of the island that Mr. Candler's volume relates, and the details which it furnishes are adapted to awaken equal interest in the politician, the merchant, and the philanthropist.

The work is as valuable as it is unpretending. It is written in an admirable style, and breathes through every page a spirit of enlightened philanthropy and of sound wisdom. Declining the task of a historian, the author has aimed at exhibiting 'the present state of Hayti, with its resources and prospects,' and has happily succeeded in presenting, within a narrow compass, a large mass of interesting information respecting a people but little known to the English public. Mr. Candler is a member of the Society of Friends, and in the latter part of 1839, left England, accompanied by his wife, on a missionary tour to Jamaica. In his voyage thither, he coasted the northern shores of Hayti, which presented 'a picture of gloom and grandeur

calculated deeply to impress the mind.' For hundreds of miles no living thing, save here and there a mariner in a solitary skiff, or land and sea birds, was visible; and the solitariness of the region awakened melancholy inquiries in the sensitive mind of the voyager. Proceeding thence to Jamaica, Mr. Candler had ample opportunities of witnessing the happy effects of the emancipation act, which he records in brief and emphatic terms:—

'It is not,' he remarks, 'the object of this little volume to detail the incidents of our travels in Jamaica, an island so often visited, and so well known; but we cannot, in connexion with it, avoid a brief notice of that memorable event, which has done so much to change the condition of its people, and seems fraught with such inestimable blessings to posterity. Here we trace the interesting spectacle of a colony, once deeply distressed, and clamouring for fiscal aid to the mother country, now smiling in prosperity, and brightened by mercantile hope; not long since distracted by civil disturbances, the fruits of oppression, inseparable from its institutions; now enjoying peace and tranquillity, with a docile, loyal, industrious population, whom the Queen of England, or the ruler of any nation, might well be gratified to own as subjects. The grand experiment of giving unqualified freedom to the slaves of Jamaica and our other West Indian Islands, has been attended with the happiest success. All classes of the population rejoice in the result.'

He subsequently tells us, that in visiting almost every district of the island, he scarcely met with an individual who regretted the change. From the governor and judges, down to the meanest official, 'all bore their unqualified testimony to the important fact, that freedom works well.' This testimony is fully sustained by the reports of many other impartial witnesses; indeed, it has seldom happened that such a concurrence of favourable evidence has been obtained, on any matter involving the passions and the interests of various parties. The successful issue of our colonial experiment cannot fail to exert an important influence on the general interests of humanity. It has demonstrated what was before problematical, has removed the perplexities by which philanthropy was enfeebled, and reduced to the intelligible character of fact the convictions and hopes entertained by the benevolent and the good. What was mere theory in former years is now matter of history, and the evidence furnished is so clear and decisive as to set incredulity and selfishness at defiance.

Mr. Candler landed at Cape Haytien, January 1, 1841, amidst the festivities of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the independence of the republic. There are no hotels in Hayti, and he had therefore to obtain private apartments, in the selection of which he was more fortunate than is frequently the case

with travellers in Europe. At the house of a respectable coloured matron he 'was handsomely entertained, at a moderate cost:' and was permitted to land the elementary and religious books which he had taken with him, free of duty. This was the more gratifying, as he had been informed that he would 'probably have much difficulty in getting them passed at all.' The courtesy experienced on this occasion was highly honourable to the authorities, and deserves to be recorded. Mr. Candler remarks:—

'Our escape from trouble and cost on this occasion, was partly owing to a young mulatto who had been in Europe, and knew something of the religious society to which we belonged, who told the sable chief he might safely depend on our word. We are bound to bear testimony to this act of kindness on the part of the authorities, and to state that, in passing through the island, we received everywhere from this and every other class of public functionaries, polite and confiding attentions. Let not the white man, in the pride of his complexion, look down with disdain on these black republicans; there are men in office in the island of Hayti, both black and coloured, who would bear comparison with men of the same class in any part of the world. Having entered our names at the civil tribunal, and promised submission to the laws of the state during our sojourn, we were left at liberty to act as we pleased, and to go anywhere within the limits of the Cape. Whoever travels in the interior must procure a passport from the General commanding the *arrondissement*.'—p. 16.

Amongst the various rulers of Hayti, mention is frequently made of Christophe, in whose character were strangely blended the qualities of a barbarian chief and of a sagacious statesman. His cruelty and despotism won their appropriate reward, and he ultimately fell by his own hand, in order to escape from a conspiracy of his troops. Christophe clearly discovered many of the necessities of his people, but greatly erred in the means he adopted to supply them. This is not surprising. His position naturally accounts for it. Born in slavery, and reared amidst the convulsions of a servile war, his knowledge was limited, and his class antipathies were of the most violent order.

'This great man,' remarks our author, 'for great he was as well as cruel, had the sagacity to see that nothing but education could raise the mass of his subjects from the heathen ignorance and degradation into which slavery had plunged them. He resolved, therefore, on establishing schools for boys and a college; and his purposes for good, as well as for evil, being always acted on with energy, he addressed letters to the philanthropists of England, invited over competent masters, built school rooms, imported books and lessons, set up printing presses, and began the good work of education for this class of his subjects, with a diligent, unsparing hand. The education of girls was wholly neglected. Few schools were set up at first, or indeed at any time, in the rural districts; but one at least was established in every town.

The common branches of elementary education were taught, together with the English language, which he vainly hoped might be made to supersede the French, and the mathematics. Young men were trained at the college to serve as engineers, physicians, and classical instructors. Several of the schools are now extinct, but the fruits of them remain; the encouragement thus given to learning has had its influence on Haytien society to the present day. Several civilians and officers of the army, who were taught in these schools, are men of capability and intelligence, and speak the English language fluently; they venerate our country, and our tongue remains an object of study and emulation to their children. Christophe was not only the patron of education but of industry; and it gave him pleasure to see his country recovering the ground lost in the civil wars, and advancing in name and wealth. He promoted industry on the principles laid down by his predecessor, Toussaint, but went far beyond him in urging the severities of the rural code: this among other things tended to render him unpopular; and when remonstrated with by Sir Home Popham, the English Admiral who came on a visit to him from Jamaica, he justified himself on the ground that he understood best the character of his own people, and that decision, firmness, and severity, were indispensable. He desired also, and earnestly promoted the extension of legitimate commerce, which he followed up very much after the manner of the present Pacha of Egypt, and had many points in his character which would have made him to rank high among rulers, had not ambition and tyranny marred the great and generous qualities which really existed in his mind.'—pp. 34—36.

Mr. Candler frequently recurs to the state of education in the republic, and though his account is far from flattering, it furnishes ground to hope for future good. When it is remembered how little has been done in the way of popular education in our own country, we need not be surprised at the deficiency alleged to exist in the black community of Hayti. Referring to Cape Haytien, he observes:—

'The high school of Cape Haytien was founded by Christophe in 1816, and is conducted on the monitorial system: the lessons used are those of the Borough Road School, and the Scriptures without comment are used as a class-book. The master has a salary from the government of seventy Haytien dollars per month, equal in the present depreciated currency to 63*l.* sterling per annum, and is allowed the liberty of receiving a few private pupils on his own account, who pay him about fifty shillings each per annum for instruction. The average attendance of boys is 135 daily, who are engaged in study seven hours a-day, during five days of the week. The pupils are well-instructed in the common branches of learning, and are taught to think, to exercise the memory, and to behave politely. Some of the forwardest of the boys are taught the English language by a Creole professor, who speaks it well. Children of African descent excel in the imitative arts, and hence they write a good hand; the specimens of penmanship we

saw in this school were admirable. The management of it altogether —the quietness—the docility of the boys—their reading, and their compositions, would reflect credit on any institution of the sort in any country. Besides this school, there are in the city seven private schools for boys, averaging forty pupils each; and nine for girls, averaging fifteen each. There are also four professors, or tutors, who give lessons to about fifty children at their own homes. The total number of children of both sexes receiving education at the Cape is about 550, or one-sixteenth of the entire population: about half as many in proportion to the population as receive education in *the towns* of Jamaica. The difference between these two islands in regard to education is very great. In Jamaica, schools are fast spreading over the whole country, and begin to act beneficially on the rural population; in Hayti, they are confined exclusively to the towns, and in the country, where at least seven-eighths of the population is to be found, there is as much ignorance as in the days of slavery.'—pp. 41, 42.

At Port-au-Prince, the capital, there are two scholastic institutions supported by the government; one on the principle of mutual instruction for the poor, and the other a lyceum or college for young men. The attendance at the first is small, and the proficiency of the boys very limited; but the latter institution is highly respectable, and does much honour to the community. The English, French, Spanish, and Italian languages are taught, together with the mathematics, history, composition, and fencing. The teachers are well qualified for their vocation, and the progress of the students, who number about one hundred and fifty, and belong chiefly to the mulatto class, is represented as highly gratifying. Our author attended one of the public examinations, but 'came away greatly disappointed' at the pre-eminence assigned to the art of fencing. This fact, though perfectly natural in the past circumstances of the republic, is much to be deplored, as it exerts 'a most prejudicial effect on the community' in promoting the practice of duelling, and in keeping up the military spirit which has operated so adversely to the commercial prosperity of the island. We shall be glad to find that our author's enforcement of the claims of Hayti has due influence on the friends of education in this country:—

'Education is at a rather lower ebb at Port-au-Prince than at Cape Haytien: the total number supposed to receive instruction in the city is about a thousand, as follows:—

Boys at the school for mutual instruction	80
At the Lyceum	150
At fifteen private pedagogue schools	450
Girls at eight seminaries and dame schools	200
Boys and girls taught at home	120
Total	1000

'This number is small, but the proportion of black children, unhappily, is still smaller. Out of 23,000 inhabitants, the coloured class may number, perhaps, 4000, or one-sixth part of the whole; yet this is the class that may be said to monopolize education. Children who claim their descent from European fathers have no greater aptitude to learn than children of pure African blood; but the ancestors of the latter having been slaves, and not having been taught to read, were unable to appreciate the value of education. Indifference to knowledge, from this cause, has extended from one generation to another, and has become a rooted habit of mind; which requires the most firm, judicious, and persevering care to eradicate. The subject of education in Hayti is well worthy the attention of philanthropists. Schools must be established, maintained, and multiplied in the island, or it will never recover itself from the dominion of semi-heathenism, superstition, and priestcraft, by which its people are still fettered, or be likely to put forth that industry which will increase the fruits of the soil, and enable it, as an agricultural and commercial country, to take rank among civilised nations. If the government of Hayti, stimulated by precept, and assisted by the efforts of the friends of education in England, be determined to exert itself to spread light and knowledge, the fatal lethargy of the black people will soon be shaken off. With ample means to educate their children, they only want the disposition: the priests, who too generally 'love darkness rather than light,' may for a time oppose the movement; but every difficulty may be overcome by perseverance.'—pp. 75—77.

To such of our readers as are desirous of knowing what sort of a place the capital of a black republic is, the following description of Port-au-Prince will be acceptable:—

'The stranger on first landing at Port-au-Prince, the capital of Hayti, feels greatly disappointed. Instead of a handsome city, such as it appears from the ship's deck at sea, rising on a gradual elevation from the shore, and adorned with good houses and gardens, you enter into streets of wooden buildings, with the pavement dislocated or broken up, the drains neglected, and filth and stable dung interrupting your steps in every direction. The quay is spacious, but the water is shallow near the shore; and all sorts of uncleanliness are suffered to annoy the senses. A constant malaria is the consequence, which at certain seasons of the year renders the lower quarter of the city very sickly, and occasions much mortality among the sailors from foreign ports. Port-au-Prince, with all its advantages of situation, with every inherent capability of being made and kept delightfully clean, is perhaps the filthiest capital in the world. The houses in general are of two stories, built slightly of wood, to avoid the rend and tear occasioned by earthquakes, which at different times have nearly demolished the city. Some few of the better habitations are of brick or stone, and may be called handsome edifices. The senate-house is a plain substantial building, with no pretension to splendour; and the palace of the President, the largest edifice in the city, was built by the

English, for the General's head-quarters, during their temporary occupation of the south of the island; and is, therefore, as little like a royal palace as any republican could desire. The Haytien flag, of red and blue, floats on its turrets; and it has in front a spacious court, in which are lodges for the military guard of horse and foot, who are constantly on duty. These are the only public buildings worthy of notice. The Roman-catholic church is a capacious structure, but very plain and homely. There are some pleasant walks and rides in the immediate vicinity, especially in the hills above the town, and on the roads leading to Pétionville and Leogane; but none is more generally agreeable than the extensive park-like fields at the back of the president's house, where horsemen and pedestrians repair every morning and evening to enjoy the cool breezes and to watch the rising and setting of the sun. The public cemetery is a spot of ground which every stranger should visit; and a funeral procession at the close of day, winding along the public paths that lead to it, produces a very striking and solemn effect. The black boys in their white surplices, bearing lighted tapers—the massive silver crucifix—the mitred abbé and his attendant priests and choristers—the coffin placed on an open palanquin—and a long train of citizens—the men habited in black, the women in white—passing now through the public street, and now in side paths under the shade of tropical trees, afford a picture which has no counterpart in our own country. The length of the city is about a mile; its breadth something less. The population is estimated at twenty-three thousand. Numerous ships lie at anchor in the harbour, bearing the flags of different nations, and the bustle of commerce is constantly going on. The custom-house stands on the quay, and is a scene of great activity.'—pp. 69—71.

More difficulty was experienced here than at Cape Haytien in procuring comfortable lodgings. Two large apartments, however, on the ground floor, in one of the principal streets, were at length obtained, at a weekly cost, including board at the public table, of 3*l.* 17*s.* sterling.

On passing through the island, Mr. Candler had ample opportunities of observing the condition of the common people, confidence in whom he represents as rarely or never misplaced. 'Strangers may travel in every part of the country, night and day, without danger of being robbed or molested.' The men pass much of their time in idleness, their wants being few and readily supplied, while the women are mostly well dressed, and the general appearance of the country affords 'abundant indications of a rising and thriving population.'

Our author was introduced to the president, General Boyer; and his account of the interview will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the prospects of the republic.

'An aid-de-camp in waiting led me to the hall of audience; and in a few minutes after, the President himself, attired in a plain suit of

clock, entered by a private door, and taking me by the hand, requested me to follow him to his own apartment. The manners of the ruler of Hayti are simple and unaffected; to republican plainness he adds the polish of France, and preserves a quiet independent dignity suited to his rank and station. His age is sixty-eight; but his robust health and evident activity make him appear much younger. He is a mulatto, with the physiognomy of the French; is rather under than over the average height, and is neither thin nor corpulent; he has a keen expressive eye, and an intelligent countenance. With strangers he converses only in French, though he has travelled in America, and understands the English language. During the interview of half an hour, which he kindly favoured me, he made particular inquiries after the venerable Clarkson, with whose character, as a strenuous advocate for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, he was well acquainted; and of whom he had a more intimate knowledge than of other men, from his correspondence with Christophe, in which he manifested such an intense interest in the best welfare of Hayti. 'All the letters of Wilberforce and Clarkson, addressed to Monsieur Christophe,' such were his words, 'are in my possession: they thought highly of the man, but they did not understand his real character; they thought him a genuine friend of his country, but he deceived them.' 'I received a letter from Mr. Clarkson,' he continued, 'soon after the death of Christophe, in which he requested me to show kindness to his widow. I thought it somewhat singular; for though Christophe was a cruel man, and though he killed my own brother, I would have forfeited my life a thousand times rather than have shown unkindness to his widow. I always protected Madame Christophe.' 'He entertained,' he said, a high regard for the religious Society of Friends; he had known some of that body in America, and was acquainted with some of their customs. I might depend on his protection whilst in Hayti; and he had given an order to the authorities to furnish me with all the papers I had asked for, to illustrate the resources and condition of the republic.' He wished me, however, as a stranger, not to overlook the single fact, that Hayti was a young nation; that it was only yesterday that she was released from the menaces and fears of France by a new treaty of compensation for her territory; and that till the present time there had been no opportunity for the government to devote itself in earnest, on peace-principles, to improve the institutions of the country. On rising to take leave, I begged permission to present him with some religious publications, handsomely bound: he received them very courteously, and on observing a series of the tracts of the Peace Society, which had been translated into the French language, he said with an air and tone of sincerity, 'If the principles of that Society had been acted upon by the nations, what an accumulation of misery would the world have been spared!'—pp. 83, 84.

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and pay of the standing army, the employments and resources of the agricultural population, and the constitution of the republic in church and state. The information obtained on these points is given in the sixth chapter of his work, to which we direct the particular attention of the reader. The constitution of Hayti, as at present existing, was adopted in 1816. The government is confided to a president chosen for life, with power to nominate a successor, a right, however, being reserved to the senate to set aside such nomination and choose any other citizen. The legislative power, as in our own country, is vested in three branches. 1. The president, with whom all laws originate; 2. The senate, who are chosen from lists presented to the House of Assembly by the president, and whose term of official life is nine years; 3. The House of Representatives, elected for five years by the people. The salary of these officials, together with the practical working of the machine of government, is thus described:—

'The salary of the President is 40,000 Haytien dollars per annum, with an extra salary of 30,000 dollars when engaged in any one year in travelling through the island on a tour of inspection for the public good. Each Senator has a salary paid by the State of 133 dollars per month; and each Representative receives 200 dollars per month during the session of Congress. The Haytien dollar at the present rate of exchange is one shilling and eightpence. The salary of the President, therefore, in sterling money, is 3333*l.*; and, when travelling, 2500*l.* per annum in addition: the salary of a Senator is 133*l.* per annum; and that of a Representative to the House of Assembly, during a session of three months, about 50*l.* The constitution, however liberal it may appear in theory, and containing, as it does, some of the essential elements of a republic, is, in practice, often at variance with the liberties and true happiness of the people. The President is chosen for life: he takes care in presenting lists to the House of Representatives, for the choice of Senators, so to arrange the names as to ensure the election of the persons that he wishes; and from the comparative poverty and ignorance of many members of the House of Assembly, who are always subservient, he can influence the decision of that body at his pleasure, even so far as to induce them to expel any member who manifests the least show of resistance to his will. The President of Hayti, being governor for life, generalissimo of the forces, head of the church, and fountain of honour and rewards, is thus a sovereign in all but the name. The maxims of his government are those of clemency, and to rule for the people's good; but a mistaken view of what that good really requires, leads him occasionally into acts of substantial injustice. The constitution prescribes that a law should be passed to regulate the choice of soldiers for the army: no project of such a law has yet been presented, and the citizens are called out, impressed, and compelled to serve in the ranks at the will of the executive.'—pp. 86, 88.

The ecclesiastical establishment of the Island is quite unique,

and furnishes some points from which the legislators of Europe might derive a salutary lesson. Its pecuniary exactions are more equitable, and the character of its clergy very similar to that of the same order in other countries nearer home. The respective provinces of the spiritual and civil power have been matter of dispute in Hayti as well as elsewhere. Priestism is everywhere the same intriguing, crafty, remorseless, and despotic thing. It needs to be perpetually watched, and is only kept down by the strong hand of power. Some Haytien priests recently refused, as *spiritual persons*, to answer the enquiries of a lay tribunal; and the president, with a promptitude and sagacity which did him honour, immediately banished them from the island. Mr. Candler's account of the Haytien church is as follows:—

'At a former period, when the Spanish part of the island was subject to France, the Archbishop of Santo Domingo exercised under the pope ecclesiastical supremacy. Since the union of both divisions of the island under the republic, the jurisdiction of the Pope at Rome has been repudiated; the archbishop has banished himself to a distant country, and the President, following the example of Henry the Eighth, has become head of the church. The religion recognised by law is Romish Catholic; but there is only one order of priests; no archbishops, bishops, deans, or other titled dignitaries, swell the ecclesiastical muster-roll, or levy contributions on the people. Entire toleration is the law of the land, and is freely extended to all dissentients from the Romish church. There are no tithes for the maintenance of a priesthood, and no forced contributions for the support of public worship or the repair of the parish church. Every contribution on the score of religion is paid for some presumed spiritual benefit, and the amount to be demanded for each separate service is regulated by law. The following are the payments prescribed for church service by a late act of the legislature, 1840, cap. iv. art. 28. 'There shall be received for a baptism half a dollar. For a marriage, with the performance of mass, eight dollars. For a marriage without the mass, four dollars. For a mass, thirty-seven cents and a half. For a high mass, a service, or a funeral of the first class, in parishes where there are churchwardens appointed, sixty dollars; and in parishes where there are none, forty dollars. For funerals of the second class, twenty dollars. For funerals of the third class, ten dollars. Art. 29. At masses, services, and funerals of the first class, there shall be in attendance four singers, twelve choristers, a cross-bearer, sacristan, and swiss (sacristaine et suisse.) At funerals of the second class, two singers, six choristers, a cross-bearer, and sacristan. At funerals of the third class, one singer, two choristers, a cross-bearer, and sacristan. Art. 30. At services and funerals of the first class, there shall be a general ringing of bells, a suite of hangings for the interior and doors of the church, church-plate complete, with mortuary cloth and ornaments at the altar. At funerals of the second class, the ringing of two bells, drapery half way down the church, mortuary cloth at the altar,

and a portion of church plate. At funerals of the third class, the sounding of a single bell, mortuary cloth, a smaller portion of plate, and twelve candles. There shall be also, at funerals of the first class, hangings at the doors of the residence of the deceased. Art. 31. At services and funerals of the first class and second class, the necessary tapers are to be furnished by the party who requires the service or funeral. At those of the third class, the church shall furnish them. After the ceremonies, the tapers and candles that remain shall go one half to the repair of the church, the other half to the priest. Neither rectors nor vicars shall receive anything for offices at which they do not assist in person, except in cases of sickness.

'Such are the fees by which the Romish church in Hayti is sustained. One portion of them is given by law to the churchwardens for the needful repairs of the parish church, and some other parish purposes, or to the council of notable men, where there is a corporation; and the remainder in different defined proportions is bestowed on the rectors, vicars, singers, choristers, cross-bearer, and other officers. Every one by law is paid for what he does, and no one is paid for what he does not. These payments to the church are in one sense a tax, because they are prescribed by law; but they are a tax which any individual who has a conscientious objection to them may avoid paying, by declining the use of the prescribed rites. A mother brings her child to be baptized by the priest, and receives his blessing, and pays half-a-dollar for the presumed benefit; but if she decline the ceremony altogether, or take her child to a protestant missionary for baptism, *the state exacts nothing.* A person dies: the relations of the deceased desire a grand funeral, and pay sixty dollars for the service, sixty dollars for high mass, and sixty for the interment, and receive in return a loud noise of bells, a full choir, and the display of a huge silver crucifix; all this is perfectly intelligible, and looking at religion as a trade or a plaything is perfectly just; but if the relations or friends of a deceased person choose to bury the body in the public cemetery without the intervention of a priest, the grave is opened to receive it, and *the state exacts nothing.*'—pp. 94—97.

The number of Protestants in Hayti is computed not to exceed 1200. There are three small chapels in the capital, one belonging to the Baptists, who are chiefly emigrants from America, another to some branch of the Methodist body, and the third to the Wesleyan Missionary Society of London. The entire number of professing Protestants in the city is about 500, the larger portion of whom are Anglo-Americans of the middle and lowest classes. Many of them have sadly degenerated from the morality of their fathers, and have sunk to the level of the corruption prevalent around them. Amongst the Wesleyans there are some truly pious persons. 'We saw and conversed with several,' says our author, 'and can bear testimony to their simplicity, piety, and zeal: they form the nucleus of a French church, which, though very small at present as to number, seems likely, under the new

arrangements of the mission, to increase.' We fervently hope that this may be the case, and shall rejoice to learn that the attention of British Christians is directed to so interesting a field of missionary operations. The claims of Africa are but just beginning to be appreciated, and we know not a spot on which the advancing outposts of the church of Christ could more appropriately be planted than Hayti. Were its black population evangelized, they could not fail, in connexion with the Christian negroes of Jamaica, to extend a most salutary influence over their father-land. These islands would constitute, in such cases, the head-quarters of a mission whose agents would be much better adapted to penetrate the inaccessible regions of Africa than any European labourers, and we should begin to hope for the recovery of that dark region to the light and liberty of the gospel.

We had intended to advert to some other topics which are raised by Mr. Candler's volume, but must defer doing so to a future occasion. We thank him for the information he has communicated, and strongly recommend his work to the immediate perusal of our readers.

Brief Notices.

The Biblical Cabinet. Philological Tracts. Vol. III. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark.

THIS volume, which constitutes the thirty seventh of the *Biblical Cabinet*, contains three treatises of considerable merit in their respective departments. Their titles are as follow: 1. 'An Apologetic View of the Sinless Character of Jesus, by Dr. C. Ullmann. 2. The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead, by Dr. L. J. Rückert; and the Resurrection of the Body, by J. P. Lange. 3. Exegetical Essays on several words relating to Future Punishment; and Future Punishment as exhibited in the Book of Enoch, by Moses Stuart.'

The first of these treatises has obtained extensive circulation, and exerted a salutary influence in Germany. It is characterized by admirable temper, and exhibits, in a connected form, the proof of a proposition which is generally taken for granted. 'An incidental design in translating the article has been to show the state of theological discussion in Germany, and the wants which Evangelical Christians there are compelled to meet.' The second treatise provides matter for curious and not wholly unprofitable speculation. We have read it with interest and advantage, but should be sorry to be held responsible for some of the views which it broaches.

Professor Stuart's Essays are by far the most valuable portion of the

volume, and we rejoice that they are given to the English public. They 'are fine specimens of exegesis, on a topic of trembling interest to every professing Christian. They examine the principal words on which the doctrine of eternal punishment rests in their entire usage and bearing,' and place beyond reasonable doubt the nature of their testimony. We perfectly agree with Dr. Davidson that, by the publication of these essays, the author 'has laid the students of the holy volume under new obligations, and added to that well-earned reputation by which his name will be ever associated with the advancement of sacred literature.'

We cannot too strongly recommend these essays to the immediate and repeated perusal of our ministers and theological students.

Morning and Evening Exercises for July, August, September. By William Jay. London: C. A. Bartlett.

This is the third volume of the uniform edition of Mr. Jay's works, and contains the Morning and Evening Exercises for July, August, and September. It is introduced by a touching dedication to Mrs. Jay, 'always much loved, and increasingly endeared since the singular affliction by which her Heavenly Father has exercised her,' and will be received by a large circle of readers as one of the most welcome and useful companions of their leisure hours. We cannot too strongly express our sense of the value of these 'Exercises,' as means of promoting a sound and scriptural piety.

Mesopotamia and Assyria from the earliest ages to the present time; with Illustrations of their Natural History. By J. Baillie Fraser, Esq. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

Mr. Fraser possesses great advantages for the successful execution of such a work as the present, and has improved them with the happiest effect. Personally acquainted with the countries described, he has combined the vivid colouring of the traveller with the research and sound judgment of the historian, and has, in consequence, produced a volume of sterling value which many will be gratified to read. The design of the work is 'to bring under one view all that is known of the history and aspect, moral, physical, and political, of the provinces of Mesopotamia and Assyria; and to give at the same time a sketch of the causes that have produced the revolutions of which they have been the theatre.' This object has been kept steadily in view, with a singleness of purpose and indefatigable industry which cannot be too highly commended, and the result, as shewn in the volume before us, is a valuable contribution to the history of a region hitherto but little known to the majority of our countrymen. The volume belongs to the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, and is well entitled to rank with the best of its predecessors in that admirable series of works.

1. *Cæsar de Bello Gallico; with a Geographical Index.* Edited by Philip Smith, B.A. 12mo. pp. 220. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1842.

2. *Greek Poetry for Schools; containing three books of the Odyssey, selections from the Palatine Anthology, and other extracts, together with materials for Hexameters and Elegiacs, the whole forming a Practical Introduction to Greek Poetry and Versification.* By Philip Smith, B.A. pp. 115. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1842.

We can very cordially recommend both these little books to the attention of all whom they may concern, especially that large class, whom they most concern, the masters of schools. Both are characterized by all the principal qualities which can recommend books of elementary instruction. They have been carefully and diligently edited, are accurately and clearly printed, and are of moderate price.

The text of 'this edition of the Gallic War' is founded, the editor informs us, 'on that of Oberlin, which has been compared throughout with the editions of Herzog and Daehne. Conjectural emendations have been admitted only in cases of absolute necessity. No attempt has been made to conform exactly to the orthography of the manuscripts, because it was thought that the result of such an attempt would have been to introduce a number of inconsistencies most embarrassing to the young pupil. . . . . Great pains have been taken to simplify the punctuation, in arranging which one principle alone has been observed; namely, to point each sentence in the way which seemed most likely to assist in understanding it. . . . . No notes are given. A good teacher will always direct his pupils to the information which is really necessary to illustrate his author; and all other notes are, for the most part, either beyond a schoolboy's comprehension, or such as he ought not to need, and such as cannot be put within his reach without fatal injury to all habits of diligence and thought. While we admit that there is great truth in these remarks, as applied to a very large portion of Latin and Greek books prepared for the young, we should yet have been pleased to see a few notes from so competent and diligent an editor as Mr. Smith.

'The want most felt in schools,' says Mr. Smith, 'is, perhaps, that of good editions of the simple text of those authors which are most commonly read.' This want in relation to the Gallic War is now well supplied. A copious geographical index is added, which, in our judgment, considerably augments the value of this edition.

The little book of selections from the Greek poets is equally deserving of our commendation. The extracts are reprinted and carefully re-edited from Dr. Friedemann's *Kleine Griechische Poetische*, with a few alterations and omissions, the reason and the justification of which will readily be understood. The copious table of contents prefixed will show from what various sources the selection has been made. The shorter selections (some in the shape of exercises) are arranged under the heads of 'Regular Hexameters,' 'Homeric Hexameters, with all

the metrical and dialectical variations, 'Epigrams and Elegies,' 'Lines for Hexameters, the words in each line to be so arranged as to form an Hexameter verse,' 'Couplets for elegiacs, with the lines divided and the quantities marked;' to these are added two Idyls, one of Bion, and the other of Theocritus, designed to introduce the learner to the forms of the Doric dialect. Three entire books of Homer's Odyssey are also given. Upon the whole it will be seen that the work forms a very judicious 'introduction to Greek poetry and versification,' and we heartily wish it all success.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Rev. Dr. Vaughan has in preparation a new work, to be entitled, 'The Age of Great Cities, or Modern Civilization viewed in its relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion.'

A Third Volume of Discourses, on various subjects, by the late Rev. Dr. M'All, of Manchester, is in the press, and will shortly be published.

Just Published.

The Rise of the Old Dissent exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood. By Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839.

Letters to Various Friends by the late Mrs. Stevens. Edited by her Sister.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. General Editor, W. T. Brande. Part XII.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Dr. A. Tholuck. Translated from the German by James Hamilton, M.A., with an Appendix. 2 vols. (Biblical Cabinet.)

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Lancashire. Part VI.

Letters from Hofwyl, by a Parent, on the Educational Institutions of Dr. Fellenberg.

Hints on the Revival of Scriptural Principles in the Anglican Church. By Rev. George Bird, Rector of Cumberworth.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. Plays ascribed to Shakspere.

Le Keux' Memorials of Cambridge. No. 29.

The Death of Christ and Redemption of his People. By Andrew Marshall, D.D., Kirkintilloch.

English Surnames. Essays on Family Nomenclature, Historical, Etymological, and Humorous. By Mark Antony Lower.

Scripture Illustrated by Engravings, designed from existing authorities. Part I.

A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell. Parts XXIX., XXX., and XXXI.

A History of British Forest Trees, indigenous and introduced. By P. J. Selby. Parts VII., VIII., IX., and X.

Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Acts of the Apostles. By Albert Barnes.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR AUGUST, 1842.

Art. I. *General History of the World, from the earliest times, until the year* 1831. By Charles Von Rotteck, LL.D. Translated from the German, and continued to 1840. 4 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1842.

WE cannot sufficiently admire the spirit and enterprise of Messrs. Longman and Co., in bringing before the British public, from time to time, such works as the present. It is beautifully got up, and reflects almost equal honour upon its author, its translator, and its publishers. Professor Von Rotteck has distinguished himself by his lectures at Freiburg, in which university he fills an important chair. He is also an aulic counsellor, and a member of the chamber of deputies in the grand duchy of Baden. His General History has been pronounced by the best critics an ornament to modern times. In Germany alone, more than fifteen editions, and above one hundred thousand copies have been sold; nor can we doubt, but that from its intimate connexion with the principles upon which our institutions are all founded, it will meet with a reception in England, as flattering as that with which it has been greeted in the fatherland of its respected author. We shall probably be much less disposed than our continental friends to admire an occasional tone of expression with regard to the inspired monuments of antiquity, nor do we acquiesce altogether in his chronological system; but all must praise the skilfulness and ability with which enormous masses of material have been shaped and grouped into one magnificent panorama of events. The intellectual prospect, which we have here an opportunity of surveying, is at once comprehensive and particular. Facts are selected with care, and arranged upon principles of unity. The history of the world is

not merely mapped out, as in a large atlas, but it seems to assume vivid outlines and forms. A platform rises before us singularly real, and yet wonderfully varied; with its geographical framework of mountains, and frontiers, and countries; with its rivers, harbours, and cities, and their inhabitants, all alive and moving. We see government growing, and processes of civilization starting from their very commencement. Trade and commerce spring up and expand as we travel along. Opinions and principles are not forgotten. Men increase as rational and yet fallen creatures; pressing forward through the scenes of their probation, *ire pedes quocunque ferunt, quocunque per undas;* nor does the pictorial representation ever halt or flag. Lights and shadows, indeed, rather rapidly succeed each other; and the latter predominate over the former. Yet this also is consonant with truthfulness and accuracy, as those will be the earliest to admit, who know most of poor human nature. Barbarism, as the demon of darkness, has struggled hard to maintain that battle field, which extends from pole to pole. But the philosophy of history, as our author observes, converts all these sterile treasures of memory, whether cheering or otherwise, into nourishment for the head and heart. It has one single object, which is, to analyze and digest a faithful representation of the past. It teaches us, amongst other truths, how vastly more important are the changes of the earth, effected by the hand of man, than those produced by nature herself. We select the following passage, as conveying a fair idea of the style and mode in which the learned professor has illustrated his subject:—

'Consider that land which has not been transformed by the hand of man. It is situated in a most happy climate, has numerous rivers, and a most beautiful vicissitude of hills and valleys. Its aspect, however, is sad: numberless plants are growing in confusion, but the useful are for the most part supplanted by those that are unuseful or noxious; painfully the foot forms a path through thorns and creeping plants, or wanders in the horrific darkness of impenetrable woods. Sometimes a steep rock, sometimes a foaming torrent, sometimes a dead morass arrests the steps of the traveller; cold mists veil the sun from his view; he is tortured by swarms of disgusting insects; and the cave in which he seeks for shelter, conceals the hostile beast of prey. The further we look, the more the terrors increase. Dry deserts that extend further than the eye can reach, alternate with barren rocks. Here you look in vain for a refreshing fountain; and there, the ground on which you stand is submerged by the overflowing of a river, or by the waves of the sea bursting their barrier.

'And now, how has man transformed these same lands! A dismal wilderness is made a blooming garden. The wild confusion of savage vegetation no longer appears, but fields of grain extend over a wide surface. The summit of the mountain is adorned with a noble vege-

tation. Upon the naked rock, man has carried earth, has watered sandy deserts, and subjected poisonous marshes to the plough. The subdued wilderness he has filled with numberless habitations, and decorated with proud palaces. In vain, now, the river wars with its well-guarded banks, the foaming waves of the sea, repulsed by strong barriers, give back their ancient conquests. The earth is man's; he has searched out the most hidden corners. Everywhere you walk in unobstructed roads; no precipice, no torrent, impedes your steps. Man has built bridges over yawning deeps, made highways through threatening cliffs, compelled wild waters to flow in a gentle stream, and united them by canals; has united countries and parts of the earth by roads and connected seas. Finally, he has enriched one country by the productions of others; has conveyed plants and animals from their native soil to distant zones, and has improved and multiplied them; he has even imposed his land upon the temperature and climate. The icy plains have been thawed, the cold fogs have disappeared, the seasons have become milder. After the lapse of centuries, the same country is no longer known; Italy is found in Germany, and Germany in Sweden.'—Vol. i. pp. 8, 9.

After touching upon the changes in our species, and their various causes, as well as upon the object and utility of history in general, Professor Rotteck comes to what he very properly calls his method, or plan. He divides his subject into ancient, middle, and modern history; and then again subdivides these ages of the world, each into three subordinate periods, or phases. Thus, ancient history comprises the infancy, the power, and the destruction of the old world: mediæval history, the irruption, the dominion, and the removal of the barbarism of the middle centuries: modern history, the foundation, the continuance, the dissolution of the new system of states. Of these nine periods, the first extends from Adam to Cyrus; the second, from Cyrus to Augustus; the third, from Augustus to Theodosius the Great; the fourth, from the grand migration of nations to Charlemagne; the fifth, from the restoration of the western empire to the end of the crusades; the sixth, from the Popes at Avignon to Christopher Columbus; the seventh, from the discovery of America to the peace of Westphalia and the establishment of the new European confederacy; the eighth, from the Westphalia treaty to the French Revolution; and the ninth, from that event to our own days. Nothing, as it appears to us, can be better than this lucid arrangement; nor do we object to anything which is developed in its progress, except a certain cavalier treatment of chronology with regard to the centuries before Christ. After throwing the greatest doubt upon the success of all former attempts to construct anything like correct tables of time, he adopts the vulgar Hebrew dates as corrected by Dionysius Petavius, admitting that these, at all events, are full of errors, or about as

not merely mapped out, as in a large atlas, but it seems to assume vivid outlines and forms. A platform rises before us singularly real, and yet wonderfully varied; with its geographical framework of mountains, and frontiers, and countries; with its rivers, harbours, and cities, and their inhabitants, all alive and moving. We see government growing, and processes of civilization starting from their very commencement. Trade and commerce spring up and expand as we travel along. Opinions and principles are not forgotten. Men increase as rational and yet fallen creatures; pressing forward through the scenes of their probation, *ire pedes quocumque ferunt, quocumque per undas;* nor does the pictorial representation ever halt or flag. Lights and shadows, indeed, rather rapidly succeed each other; and the latter predominate over the former. Yet this also is consonant with truthfulness and accuracy, as those will be the earliest to admit, who know most of poor human nature. Barbarism, as the demon of darkness, has struggled hard to maintain that battle field, which extends from pole to pole. But the philosophy of history, as our author observes, converts all these sterile treasures of memory, whether cheering or otherwise, into nourishment for the head and heart. It has one single object, which is, to analyze and digest a faithful representation of the past. It teaches us, amongst other truths, how vastly more important are the changes of the earth, effected by the hand of man, than those produced by nature herself. We select the following passage, as conveying a fair idea of the style and mode in which the learned professor has illustrated his subject:—

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good as the corrupted text of Josephus. Here we are at issue with Dr. Rotteck; nor do we conceive that he has mended the matter by reckoning down to the accession of Augustus, always from the supposed creation of the world, just as the Jews do. 'If the date of an event,' he says, 'be taken from 3983 B.C., the year in which it occurred before Christ will be obtained. To reckon from the deluge affords little advantage, because then the numbers rise to thousands. From the birth of Christ, the more clear and fertile province of history extends back not quite one thousand years. The relief which results from this to the memory, is also afforded by reckoning from the creation, if the first three thousand years are imagined deducted, or if the attention or recollection are almost exclusively directed to the events and numbers occurring after the third thousand years—i.e., from 3000 to 3983; and then it is merely necessary to become familiar with the small circle of 983 years. By this means, the retrograde reckoning will also be avoided, which is troublesome and confusing, on account of its unnaturalness, which designates early events by large, and late events by small numbers.' Against these intimations, however, are to be set off early habits and predilections; nor do we at all concur with the professor in despairing about ancient chronology, for the arrangement of which, we venture to imagine that there exist the soundest materials in the world. The mere naked *numerical dates* of the Masoretic text we admit to be untenable, as they stand in the margin of our Bibles, which, our readers must well know, are copied from the monopolists of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, who have printed and published the holy volume for generations, *cum privilegio*, as the title-pages express it. In all these the chronological blunders are so extraordinary as to form a perfect opprobrium; to allude to no other instance than the anachronism of Abraham, the tenth in descent from Shem being born about forty-eight years before the confusion of tongues at Babel. Doctor Hales, and others, have surely settled these points to the full satisfaction of almost all scholars, whether protestant or catholic.

Since the subject, however, has not been recently touched upon in this journal, we will presume for a few moments upon the patience of our readers, and trouble them with some brief hints for forming a regular chronological system. Let the text of the inspired page, apart from all the glosses of marginal numbers, and as checked and corrected by the Samaritan Pentateuch, be the principal stem or backbone of the arrangement. With regard to the precise duration of the antediluvian period, nothing, in our humble judgment can be decided, which of itself seems to throw up an insurmountable objection to any reckoning but a retrogressive one from the fixed and accurately ascertained era of the

Nativity. From the creation to the flood, there are arguments of almost equal weight for the differing periods of 1556, or 1656, or even 2256 years; or 1307, or 1707. The longest of these is that of the Septuagint, with one or two palpable mistakes of transcription set right by the Alexandrine copy, and supported more than any other by various passages in the uninspired Jewish historian; but from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, the case materially and providentially alters. The Samaritan version informs us that the father of the faithful was born 942 years subsequent to the cataclysm, when Terah was seventy years old, who departed seventy-five years afterwards, at the age of 145, instead of 205, which is rendered, moreover, quite consistent with the then regularly diminishing scale of human life. This intervening space of nearly nine centuries and a half affords sufficient time for the development of all those historical phenomena, which the book of Genesis every now and then unveils, such as the establishment of populous kingdoms in Egypt and the East. The emigration of Abraham to Charran must have occurred 75 years later; whence, to the going down of Israel into Egypt was 215 years more; whilst another period of exactly similar duration elapsed before the Exodus; compare Gen. xii. 4; xxv. 20, 26; xlvii. 9; Gal. iii. 17; LXX.; Exod. xii. 40, 41. From the deluge, therefore, to the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, there are about fourteen centuries and a half, or, more accurately, 1447 years. From the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple, in the fourth year of Solomon, the reigns of the Judges, according to the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and Josephus, give 621 years, demonstrating the correctness of St. Paul in Acts, xiii. 20, where he mentions 'about 450 years to Samuel the Prophet.' From the foundation of the Temple to its destruction, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and the eighteenth or nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, reckoning by the reigns of the kings of Judah, as checked also by the Chronicles, and allowing for the interregnum of eleven years between Amaziah and Uzziah, (2 Kings, xiv. 16—17; xv. 1,) would appear to have been 441 years; and as the Temple was destroyed 586-8 before the Christian era, the Exodus must have been about 1648 years before the Nativity. The emendation of 1 Kings, vi. 1, may be allowed as absolutely necessary, unless we mangle the entire book of Judges, and alter Acts, xiii. 20; but taking generally about thirty-one centuries and a half from the deluge to Jesus Christ, and bisecting them with the Exodus, fourteen centuries and a half after the former, and sixteen and a half before the latter, we obtain an accurate series of ages, which is singularly in accordance with the Assyrian, Egyptian, and even Chinese chronologies, when properly classed and corrected; and from which, ramifications may be carried out, in-

cluding the history of the Shepherd Kings, the Trojan, Oriental, and Grecian annals, Roman affairs, and those miscellaneous fragments of narrative which lie scattered up and down the obscurer regions of antiquity. Of course there are details in the above statement, which might branch off into dissertations and treatises; but our sole object in having adduced it, is just to remove one or two erroneous impressions, which we should be sorry to see left behind by the elaborate labours of Professor Rotteck, whose own mind also, we feel persuaded, is much too candid not to welcome with all fairness and kindness the animadversions of honest criticism. Neither will he expect us to approve of certain careless intimations, that Moses might perhaps have been more politic than sincere, or 'that it is *uncertain* whether his Hebrew traditions *are mere fables*, or relating to *real facts*—that is, to the true history of the tribe.'

We have greater pleasure in alluding to his masterly survey of Egypt and Central Asia. Assyria, Media, and Persia, pass before us, as the members of a vast procession, with the Phenicians and Carthaginians on their respective sea-coasts, preparing the way for navigation and social intercourse. Phrygia, Caria, Lydia, with its picturesque king, Crœsus, and the Greek colonies along the Ionian shores, conduct us rapidly to Greece, with all her attractive associations. 'Here we see the great problem of free governments more efficaciously and fortunately solved than elsewhere in antiquity. Here, in fine, we see bloom the most beautiful and lasting flowers of civilization and science.' The whole country, including even the isles of the Archipelago, only comprehends about from nine to twelve thousand square miles; yet in this area, amounting hardly to a fifth of Germany, perhaps one hundred nations appear under what are termed kings, or in fact, just so many hordes under their caciques. Their national union leads us to their general history until the foundation of republics, the Argonautic expedition, the Theban war, the siege of Troy, the Achæan and Dorian contests. Professor Rotteck then follows out the various and fertile windings of the Mediterranean, from Eubœa and Crete to Cyprus and Rhodes, and even from the Palus Mæotis to the pillars of Hercules. Lacedæmon and its peculiar constitution are subjected to an unprejudiced examination, which pronounces the system of Lycurgus rather monstrous than excellent. He concedes to it, indeed, no slight share of merit, but fails not to point out how short it fell of the dignity and rights of man. The nominal freedom of ten thousand citizens, and the barely tolerable condition of above thirty thousand more, were erected upon the cruel slavery of the Helots, to the extent of perhaps a quarter of a million. It was an anticipation of the United States of America announcing their declaration of independence, with a whip in one hand, and an assertion of what

is viciously called the slave right in the other. But what did Sparta know of Christianity? Athens emancipated herself from both tyranny and aristocracy, under somewhat better auspices, although Solon incorporated the last with the forms of a pure democracy, that the result might prove a dominion of the will of the people, and not of the populace. 'Almost all which was great and good, that proceeded from Athens, may be considered as the fruit of Solon's laws; and whatever deformity and evil were generated there, seemed generally a deviation from their spirit.' The Etruscans and Latins now come upon the stage and diversify the scene. Romulus founds his state upon agriculture and war, followed by his kingly successors, whose existence and authenticity our author by no means impugns, after the example of Niebuhr and others. His account of Carthage is lively and interesting. The vivifying principle of that republic was evidently commerce; conquest served only for its protection and aggrandisement. Majorca and its satellites, Corsica and Sardinia, Malta, with many parts of Sicily and Spain, besides its colonies on the coast of Africa, as far as Senegal, the Canary Isles, Madeira, and Cornwall, if not Prussia in the north, were all portions of a widely-spread and sovereign commercial power. At the head of its government stood the two Suffetes, a Phenician title identical with the Hebrew name of the Israelitish judges, compared by the Romans to their consuls, but by Aristotle to the Spartan kings. Their office was for life, but not hereditary. In fact, even the generals were elective: nor would Carthage have enjoyed that share of internal quiet which fell to her lot, had it not been obtained and watched over by the committee of a hundred, forming, like the celebrated Council of Ten at Venice, a conservative inquisition. Professor Rotteck seems to agree in the main with Professor Heeren, touching both the Carthaginians and Ethiopians; whilst contemporaneously with them, he notices the Celts, Scythians, Indians, and Chinese. He then takes up his second period from the foundation of the Persian empire to the overthrow of the Roman Republic. The countrymen of Homer and Romulus come forward more and more prominently for the promotion and extension of civilization. With the Romans, as with the Greeks, a beautiful climate, some degree of freedom, and strict limitations to sacerdotal power, concurred with the force of native genius to further intellectual cultivation; but the Romans never equalled their teachers, whilst the Greeks surpassed theirs. The causes of this are obvious enough. There was only one Rome—a metropolis on her seven hills, with conquered nations subsiding into submissive provinces at her feet. Greece was multiform, a collection of independent states, generally small, yet full of generous rivalry,

life, energy, enthusiasm, and activity. Rome was a city of war, —Athens a capital of the arts. Jupiter Tonans mythologically, but aptly, represented the one, just as Minerva, clad indeed in armour, yet waving her olive branch, did the other. Rome, after all, we repeat it, reigned through the sword and her *fulmina belli:* Greece more completely demonstrated that *knowledge is power.* The seven hundred triumphs of the former weighed lighter than the chaff of the summer threshing-floor against the language, poetry, eloquence, and taste of the latter. The Roman religion, too, such as it was, never ceased to be solely subservient to the state. It might be termed a cold prosaic superstition, when compared with that of Hellas; 'neither poets nor even priests had devised it, but statesmen only; and they arranged its dogmas and rites, and made it altogether a political machine. Hence it left the heart cold; to the imagination it gave no wings; to the arts, no inspiration.' Homer and Pindar, or Æschylus and Sophocles, as contrasted with Virgil and Horace, and the wretched tragedies of Seneca, or Aristophanes as paired off with Terence, we consider conclusive evidence on this point. When the sceptre of civil government dares to touch invisible things, it may exorcise forms out of the deep and dark unknown; but they will petrify into stone as soon as they appear, and remain monuments for mankind to mock at through future ages and generations. When the oracles of Herodotus are consulted, there is always interest, often real dignity, and sometimes a seriousness and solemnity suited to the occasion; whilst in Livy, the sublime gives way to the ridiculous; and a march is not made, or a battle is not fought, because, forsooth, the holy chickens happened to have no appetite for their breakfast. Rome, moreover, may be said to have rushed suddenly from rudeness into refinement; and just at the crisis when, by an unparalleled career of conquest, immense treasures and correspondent luxury were drawn into an over-crowded city more than half intoxicated by her fortunes. Hence, her ancient simplicity, instead of being exchanged for the Attic graces, became all at once, as it were, supplanted by Asiatic debauchery. The proud mistress of nations already arrayed herself in purple and scarlet, and avowed herself a mother of harlots, the sink of the abominations of the earth.

Each period, in the general survey of our author, is introduced by a summary of political events, and the history of their contemporaneous civilization. He then launches into as much of detail, in subsequent and successive sections, as his space will allow. Within twenty pages he portrays, or, at least, glances at, the contests of Greece against Darius and Xerxes; the peace of Cimon; the achievements of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides, which had preceded it; the splendid ascendancy of

Athens; the era of Pericles and the Peloponnesian war; the dazzling, yet disastrous career of Alcibiades, with the cruel culmination of Sparta over the political shipwreck of her rival. The tyranny of Lacedæmon then succeeds, with the new Persian struggle, down to the treaty of Antalcidas. The short-lived grandeur of Thebes, upborne by its twin heroes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, now blazes in, and quickly falls from the historical firmament, bright and transitory as a meteor. Her own intestinal discord and decay lay Greece prostrate under Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander the Great. The he-goat of a vision in Daniel smites the Medo-Persian ram, trampling him to death in the choler of his indignation, until death also turns the victor into dust, and divides his spoils amongst chieftains who devour one another. The Seleucidæ and Ptolemies, the Parthians and the Maccabees, the potentates of Macedonia and Asia Minor, just live and reign sufficiently long, and with sufficient weakness, to furnish food for Rome's ambition, as it works its blood-stained way from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Pontus and Euphrates. The six successors of Romulus have long been succeeded by stern consuls, severe dictators, profligate decemvirs, sanguinary military tribunes, and a few patriots. Democracy, by slow but sure degrees, lifts up its head amidst patrician execrations, until the Licinian Rogations more effectually humble the aristocracy than our own Reform Bill has as yet done. Plebeians at length obtained the right of being elected to all dignities; class interests crumbled into nothingness, as senates, knights, optimates, and confederates heard and felt the results of an announcement, that the *Plebiscita* should have the force of law *for the whole people;* whilst Etrurians and Samnites, Pyrrhus and Epirus, Sicily and Carthage, all in their turns afforded laurels and triumphs for the legions and their invincible commanders. The Punic, Macedonian, Cimbric, Mithridatic, Syrian, and Gallic wars attested the genuine maxims of Roman policy, which were, never to make peace until the enemy was conquered, and from each campaign to procure the means for further campaigns. Neither Hannibal, nor the king of Pontus, nor Viriathus, could arrest the Roman Bellona. The civil contests, the two triumvirates, the proscriptions, the fields of Pharsalia and Philippi, the battle of Actium, avenged the abuses of liberty, as well as the grievances of an invaded world. The despotism of the Cæsars might have melted into tears even the evil Genius, which, according to Plutarch, on more than one occasion, beckoned the last Brutus to his destiny. The Augustan and Flavian houses gave way to emperors, who for upwards of eighty years maintained that internal, yet superficial calm, under which tranquillity and order became stagnation and corruption;

whilst two thirds of the population were slaves; and those called free by courtesy remained at the mercy of arbitrary and tyrannical power. Freedom disappeared, as laws and lawyers multiplied. Knowledge became darkened, whilst schools and libraries increased. In one word, men ceased to think. Creative intellect will not thrive under the upas tree of autocracy. As the mind dwindled, vice luxuriated—the church of God itself by no means escaping the universal contagion. There can be no permanent self-respect, where conscience, person, and property know nothing practically of the rights which an omnipotent Dispenser has annexed to each as a birthright. The absence or deprivation of these leaves human life without that sunlight in the understanding, which refines while it exalts, and which purifies whilst it enlarges the soul. As a means of happiness and civilization, intelligence must be generally diffused throughout the masses, or otherwise priests and impostors will become sole schoolmasters. Knowledge, indeed, without religion, as we are well aware, can merely puff up and lead astray; but then religion without knowledge, quickly becomes overcast, like the night of the middle ages. God has set everything in its proper place. Learning, cut off from liberty, beheld the taste of an Augustan era degenerate into feebleness and absurdity. Not the improvement of the mind, nor the real advancement of science, was now the business of literature. Philosophers, poets, and historians, had their places occupied by grammarians, critics, and commentators. From Commodus to Theodosius the Great, and the fall of the western empire; and even thence, for another thousand years, seems a long, long Bochim—a valley of the shadow of death—through which the stream of time flows darkly and hurriedly, until it emerges upon the invention of printing, the discovery of America, and the awakening glories of the Reformation.

Yet modern civilization is not to disavow its obligations to ancient freedom, and the master spirits of three-and-twenty centuries ago. As an illustration of this, our author thus eloquently gloats over the plains of Marathon, looking downward even to our own days for some of the mighty results associated with the victory of Miltiades:—

'We have already explained the principal, as well as more immediate causes of the great war between Greece and Persia. This war is, in itself, and in its consequences, of the highest interest, and is conspicuous amongst the great events which have happened in the world. Had the Persians been victorious, the flower of Grecian civilization would have been crushed in its first expansion, and the vast empire of Persia would have become either the theatre of constant barbarian tumult, or if it arose to eminence, a western China! Then no Phidias

and no Praxiteles would have animated the marble—no Pindar would have charmed with his lofty song—no Euripides would have drawn sweet tears—no Herodotus, no Xenophon, would have proclaimed with far-sounding voices, great achievements—no Plato, no Aristotle would have discovered treasures of wisdom—no Socrates, no Epaminondas, would have shone with exalted virtue. The most beautiful types of a free constitution would have vanished from the world before they had borne fruit; and the savage Roman, had he not been oppressed by the Persian power, would not have been softened by the song of the muses. He might have been able, perhaps, to conquer the earth, but not to civilize it; and it might then have been that a friendly fate [Providence] would have effected this miracle in an entirely different way, yet much later; even modern civilization, *which is connected so intimately with the ancient*, notwithstanding the night lying between, would not have risen. It was of so much importance, that at Marathon, at Platæa, and at Salamis, freedom should triumph. But had there been no Persian war, common danger would not have compelled the Greeks to unite, awakened enthusiasm and proud consciousness of power among them, and developed every talent; then they would not have performed their greatest actions, and slowly, perhaps never, would they have filled that career of glory which was now opened to them.'—Vol. i. pp. 154, 155.

Thus it is, then, that all great events are links of one vast chain connecting the whole human family with the throne of Divine Providence. There exist no such things as absolutely insulated affairs. The third period having been dismissed, from Augustus to Theodosius, the fourth includes the grand migration of nations down to Charlemagne. As this revolution was accelerated and completed by impulses from Asia upon Europe, by the Hunnic stream bursting generally and impetuously over the Roman empire, the professor summons our attention to 'that mysterious steppe, whence the inexhaustible fountains spring, of a tide which desolates countries and revolutionizes the world.' The high table-lands, lying at an equal distance from the Indian and Northern Seas, whence flow the Oxus and Jaxartes, the Oby, the Irtish, the Jenisey, the Hoangho and Yansekian of China, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Burrampooter, with others almost equally enormous, but too numerous to mention, comprise two districts, termed respectively the Mustag or Tartary, and the Altai or Mongolia. The empire of the Hiongnu, extended for thirteen hundred years before Christ over the greatest portion of High Asia, came to its termination about the time that the last of the twelve Cæsars was succeeded by Nerva at Rome. Their boldest and most refractory tribes thenceforward began to move westward, pitching their tents wherever they could find pasturage or game, gradually surmounting the Imaus, and at length settling between the Jaick and Wolga. Crossing the

latter of these streams towards the close of the fourth century, they fell upon the Alani and Goths, who in their turn, being thus borne forward by wave after wave of invaders, passed the Danube, and commenced the second principal scene in the migration of nations. From this epoch it is, that one barbarian leader after another sweeps in gory triumph across the historic stage; Alaric and his Visigoths, Odoacer and his Heruli, Attila and the Huns, Genseric and the Vandals, Theodoric and the Estrogoths, Clovis and the Franks, besides the Suevi, Vendi, Sclavi, Lombards, and Anglo-Saxons. Now comes forward the feudal system with its brazen horrors. The constitution and laws of the Germans, as compared with Justinian and his civil code, present us with simplicity and rudeness, with the pride of freedom and conquest somewhat seasoned by glimmerings of common sense, as opposed to sophistication and refinement, the freaks of despotism, and a few beautiful vestiges of the law of nature. The Gauls and Italy grew more and more estranged from Constantinople; but meanwhile, Mohammed sets fire to the enthusiasm of Arabia, and enterprising caliphs found mosques and palaces at Cufa, Damascus, and Bagdat. Doctor Rotteck, according to our humble judgment, passes far too favourable an estimate upon the impostor of Mecca and his Koran. He considers the latter as bearing the impress of original genius, 'containing great ideas, eternal truths, elevating reflections;' and 'it is evident' to transcribe his strong assertions, from which, however, we venture to differ most decidedly, that the

'Mohammedan religion is far superior to all others, with the exception of the Christian, in intrinsic worth; for those parts of it, which are not universally true or good, are adapted at least to some useful purpose, either climatic or national; or by the pure oriental spirit, which they breathe, are strongly recommended to the nations of the east. Accordingly it filled the native proselytes immediately with the most animated, even with fanatical zeal, and as soon as the first opposition, which might have crushed it in the cradle, was successfully overcome, it spread as a flood of fire amongst the tribes of Arabia. When these were once united under the standard of the prophet, arguments and hatred were mute before the victorious sword. From the political condition of the world, the Saracens were sure of victory.'—Vol. ii. pp. 127, 128.

He nevertheless admits, as all candid observers must do, that Islamism deeply injured the interests of the human race. As far as its dominion and settlements extended throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, it threw up more strongly than had existed before, the barriers of the world, the flesh, and the devil, against the progress of the gospel. Whatever it had borrowed from the

corruptions of Christianity it metamorphosed into potent auxiliaries for establishing and enlarging the kingdom of Satan. Turcomans, Tartars, and Turks, enlisted with avidity under banners, which allured them forward to power here, and paradise hereafter, through the gratification of their vilest passions. Charles Martel, or the Hammer, rendered good service to his species, when, as an instrument in the hands of the Almighty, he broke in pieces the chivalry of the Crescent at Tours, and laid a foundation for the restoration of the Western empire, under the auspices of his descendant, Charlemagne.

The apparition of this potentate ushers in the fifth period of general history, reaching down to the close of the Crusades. He reigned from the North Sea to Lower Italy, and from the Ebro to the Vistula and the Theiss. He consolidated the feudal pretensions of an already rampant aristocracy, as well as the primacy of the Roman pope, which had gradually risen over the graves of the apostles, in proud yet solemn majesty. Monachism also grew up as something like an asylum from feudalism. The cloister, with all its superstition and gloom, conferred more good upon mankind than the castle of the noble. Ecclesiastical industry created farms out of many a desert; whilst baronial fortalices frowned, after the fashion of pesthouses, amidst the wildernesses which lordly tyranny and violences had cursed with perpetual barrenness. There, too, the nobler harvests of art and science, such as they then were, might be reaped, in an approximation to security. In the convents the muses enjoyed their only refuge, though that proved a miserable one, during the tumult of arms in the middle ages. 'Many orders have made the sciences the principal object of their efforts; and their collections, their institutions, their elaborate works, have often produced precious fruits, however unacceptable to their founders. Even missionaries, who went mostly from cloisters, have rendered immense service to geography, anthropology, and indeed to most branches of knowledge; and the truly beneficent and humane objects of others, such as the care of the sick and the liberation of captives, have given them the highest claim to gratitude and veneration. Finally, many particular monks have been most gloriously distinguished by virtue, true piety, talents, and zeal for the welfare of their species.' All this is quite true; and it was because monkery presented itself in this light, that it received favour from the Carlovingians and Hohenstaufens. The relations, about the same period, between the emperors and the popes, formed a principal basis for political changes in Italy; and Italy, in these times, with her pontiffs, her rich commercial states and cities, and her ancient associations, formed a main feature in all occidental civilization. Polygarchy gained ground in Ger-

many; hereditary monarchy in France; the Danes and Normans in England; whilst these last also conquered Sicily and Naples, and attacked the Byzantine empire. Spain was a world by itself—a sort of microcosm—in which the contest between Mohammedanism and nominal Christianity went forward upon a small scale; yet with sympathies and results precisely analogous to those which must ultimately occur, when orientalism shall have become Europeanized! Russia, beginning to emerge, under the family of Rurik, from downright savagery, was plunged back again into it by the sword of the Mongols. Bohemians, Moravians, and above all the Hungarians, rushed like avalanches upon countries too weak to ward off calamities, even had they been able to foresee and to prepare for them. But, in fact, foresight and preparation were unknown. Few besides churchmen had either eyes or ears. Constantinople had to engage with the Bulgarians, the Comans, the Seljukians, and the Chazars. The caliphate itself had become languid; but the Gaznevides, the Fatimites, the Atabeks, the Mamelukes, and Zenghis Khan, more than equal to all these put together, scourged the surface of the earth, rather like wild beasts than men. The crusades, however, presented the most marvellous spectacle. A religious idea awoke Christendom from torpor and political somnambulism. 'The only enterprise in which all the nations of Europe have ever united, and which they have pursued with equal perseverance and zeal, thus served merely for a striking monument of human folly.' Yet no sooner had the cataract of superstition worn itself down, than consequences appeared which neither Peter the Hermit nor his wicked imitators had ever predicted. The current of human affairs getting less madly turbulent and precipitous, commerce, freedom, and civil order, could pursue their voyage with better success upon its surface. Chivalry had neither destroyed selfishness, nor subdued the passions. The nature of our species, nevertheless, which can only be *altered for the best* by the converting influences of the gospel of Christ, lies open to many beneficial and interesting external modifications; and we agree with Professor Rotteck, that 'much of refinement in the tone of society, much of the delicacy in friendship and love, the sacred observance of the word of honour, even amongst those who deride the duties of morality, and principally the traits of humanity and generosity, which mitigate sometimes the destructive fury of war—the horrors of the battle-field—are indeed mostly legacies or echoes from the age of chivalry.' National intercourse now vastly augmented. Baronial barbarism had gazed itself half-blind in looking and pondering upon the luxuriance and splendours, which could be witnessed alone upon the banks of the Nile and the Bosphorus. Its ancient prejudices,

therefore, against merchants and mariners, underwent considerable change. Money, moreover, had to be raised for each successive expedition; none but cities and towns, and their inhabitants, possessed this talisman in any abundance; nor would they part with it, unless feudalism would relax its grasp upon society, and sell invaluable privileges at a very low price. Freedom and trade thus waxed stronger every day. Palestine was indeed slowly gained, rapidly lost, and never recovered; but burgher classes were overreaching their lords and sovereigns. Corporations soon demanded, and finally secured, many of the dearest rights attached to person and property. Even knowledge lifted up her head, behind stone ramparts, or under the shadow of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Amalfi, and Salerno. The Arabians in Spain translated the works of the old Greeks and Romans. Some branches of mathematics and natural sciences enjoyed friendly encouragement. Chemistry and medicine put forth occasional shoots of vigour, although choked by the follies of alchemy and astrology. Aristotle waved a sceptre over the mind, more potent than that of his pupil Alexander over the world. Jurisprudence flourished at Bologna; philosophy and theology at Paris and Oxford. Deep ignorance and serfdom might still be, as they doubtless were, the cruel portion of the million; yet the character of Alfred the Great, the struggle about investitures, the valour of the Saxon emperors, the combinations of cities in Upper Italy, the dissensions of Islamism, the augmentation of wealth, the deep thoughts of single individuals who were enabled to leave certain impressions of truth behind them, which neither despotism nor superstition could altogether extinguish, shone out like stars, or the illuminations of the aurora borealis, throughout the midnight of this melancholy period.

Then follows the sixth division of our author, on the removal of the barbarism of the mediæval centuries; from the last crusade to the discovery of America. Feudalism and hierarchy undermined their own power by grossly abusing it. Important changes in the interior of society engendered the seeds of mighty revolutions in external policy. Middle classes were girding up their loins to the gigantic task of commercial, civil, and mental emancipation. Crowns began to feel, and lay to heart, various intolerable insults received from the coronet and the crosier. The genius of the papacy quailed, from the moment that Boniface was arrested by the fierce hands of a layman; and the tiara developed its iniquities at Avignon, rather than at Rome. France and England got familiarized to a monster, which, whilst they continued to coax, they ceased to fear. The secrets of ecclesiastical mummery took wind, and neutralized the influence of its enchantments. It was like acting some deep tragedy of corrup-

tion under the broad face of day; instead of calling candlelight, with all the other deceptions of a theatre, to support the requisite effect. The papal court also, when once located in the Valaisin, dwindled into a puppet to the house of Valois, as opposed to the pretensions of our own Edward the Third and his successors; which, of course, very naturally contributed to alienate the English, and render them willing listeners to Wykliffe. Antipopes too, before the close of the fourteenth century, thundered out reciprocal anathemas against each other. Christendom felt scandalized, and yet delighted; for though the thoughtful might deplore the growth of blasphemy and impiety, multitudes had some vague undefined conceptions, that a grand conjuration was losing its charm; and that matters must yet be worse, that soon afterwards they might be better. Switzerland had unfurled her banners of liberty against the pride and prowess of Austria; and even at Rome, Rienzi dared to proclaim himself tribune! France beheld her sovereigns gradually absorbing the great fiefs, and introducing standing armies. The Moors were cast out of Spain; where Ferdinand and Isabella were preparing a platform for the ambitious designs of their grandson, Charles the Fifth. Portugal quickly culminated into vast prosperity and opulence, opening fresh paths for navigation and commerce. Yet the smaller states in general were falling into the sphere of action, if not into the positive possession of the larger ones. Even in the north, for her single reign, the heroic Margaret achieved the union of Calmar, which made her the undisputed queen of the Baltic shores. Poland was at this period more powerful than Russia. Bohemia shone out under her sovereigns of Luxembourgh; although presently doomed to witness the horrors and devastations of the Hussite war. Hungary enjoyed good fortune and glory under its native prince Mathias Corvinus; whilst the Anjevines wasted away, in obscurity and imbecility, from their Sclavonian and Italian thrones. In the east, the Ottomans swallowed up the relics of the Byzantine empire, from the Euphrates to the gates of Germany. Tamerlane, all over Central Asia, revived the horrible recollections of his predecessor, Zenghis; but Europe only heard, as it were, the wailings at a distance of dissolving sultanates, and savage Tartars. Her civil and political circumstances are thus admirably described:—

'The preceding period has exhibited to us the victory of feudalism over the allodial system, and what was the result of this?—the complete triumph of aristocracy over popular government and monarchy. But this feudal aristocracy sapped the foundations of its power, by carrying it too far, and saw the two opponents, which it had prostrated, rise again in union against it—namely, monarchy and democracy.

These, leaguing themselves against the common enemy, would have easily gained the victory, had their alliance been intimate and true; had their efforts been directed by a clear perception; had they been consequent and free from secondary considerations, and from mutual jealousy. But this was not the case, which proved an advantage for aristocracy.

'Hence originated a complicated contest, multifariously directed by the course of events, as well as by personal talents and passions, and on this account extremely changeable; in which we discern, indeed, as in every political contest, the two principal ideas, liberty and dominion, as the poles of the efforts of the opposite sides; but we see the same ideas, according to the point of view of the combatants, leading to quite different intermediate ends; so that the same principle, dominion, makes kings strive after the union, and nobles after the dismemberment of kingdoms; and so also, one and the same idea, that of freedom, here urges the commons to rally round the throne,—there induces the nobles, in insolent combination, to strive after an independence that abolishes the union of the state.

'Scarcely was the odious intermediate power of the nobility destroyed, or essentially diminished, when the parts changed. Kings and people supposed that they now had less need of mutual assistance, and began to look with apprehension and distrust upon the rising power of one another. And common freedom, as the proud citizens demanded it, was incompatible with the aspiring majesty of some thrones. Then the kings commenced,—several had done so already previously—to restore their favour to the nobles, as the enemies of popular power. Thus between the throne and the nobles, an alliance, not exactly sincere, but confirmed by the true interest of the last, and the apparent interest of the first, was now concluded, to keep down the commons; and it has—setting aside some solitary expectations, which are founded upon particular relations—continued to exist until the latest times.'—Vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

The seventh period introduces Modern History, developing quite new phenomena upon an enlarged geographical arena; and running down to the Peace of Westphalia. The human race now seem approximating much more to the appearance of one large common family, of which the respective members are quarrelsome enough, and wicked enough; yet at the same time presenting a visible and palpable connexion, with various kinds of reciprocal action pervading the several portions. The germs of innumerable inventions rise out of the vast social level. Colonies finances, politics, arts, and sciences, quicken into fresh extension and activity. Every region of thought or speculation widens. The outlines and details of the historic page become far clearer, more authentic, and, as allied with objects of our own experience, more intelligible and instructive than those of distant antiqnity, which retreats into shadows growing darker and darker. The

annals of Europe become to all practical intents and purposes those of the world. Her states now form themselves into a regular system, the pendulum of the political clock being an idea of equilibrium. This idea, however, worked very imperfectly at first; each combination being exposed to abundant errors of calculation. Charles the Fifth, Francis the First, Henry the Eighth, Solyman the Magnificent, and Leo the Tenth, with their several successors, proved themselves but bungling workmen. Nevertheless, a balance of power vibrated on from generation to generation. Meanwhile prince Henry of Portugal, Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco de Gama, and Christopher Columbus, had contributed, with many more illustrious names, to lift up the dark curtains of discovery. Wealth from India, and the precious metals from America, poured into Lisbon and the ports of Spain and Flanders. A still greater degree of interest attaches to what was then passing at home. The nominal church shone with little other illumination than a certain horribly phosphoric glare, which betrayed the putrescence of her corruptions. Luther blew the trumpet of alarm, when he boldly appealed from the decrees of the Vatican to the force of opinion, both public and private. Such a blast had not been heard in all previous ages. Luther, speaking of him as a mere instrument, was strong and almost irresistible, simply because, in faith having committed his cause to God, he clothed himself in the spirit of the times. Thousands rushed around him at his summons, feeling that he was an organ for expressing their sentiments. So writes Professor Rotteck; and as he avows himself a Catholic, our readers may naturally be curious to hear his able summary of the benefits of the Reformation. He considers them to have been far too much underrated; and would no doubt frown upon Puseyism from his chair! 'The internal and external liberty of nations were thereby established upon a firm foundation. For they not only annihilated the threatened preponderance of the double house of Austria; they not only preserved the independence of the less powerful states, and opposed a barrier to political as well as ecclesiastical tyranny; but they elevated nations themselves in mind, which here took the field for ideas, and from their own impulse, not merely as the armed serfs of rulers, and made them equally susceptible and worthy of liberty. The Reformation opened the way to freedom also in the peaceable direction of learned discussion and science. The fundamental idea of the Reformation was liberty, for it was resistance against an intolerable yoke. The friends of liberty were the natural friends of the Reformation, and it gave them an external point of union. But *liberty in one sphere is allied to that in every other: he who has tasted one kind, strives the more eagerly after every other!*' We cordially com-

mend these candid and beautiful statements to the consciences of our tractarian contemporaries at Oxford; unless indeed that celebrated university has set her heart upon a *facilis descensus* towards becoming a Salamanca to the three kingdoms!

From the pacification of Westphalia, in A.D. 1648, religion no longer remained the professed object of nations in making treaties, or declaring wars. France began to succeed Spain in being the grand scarecrow to the lesser European cabinets. The eighth period of Dr. Rotteck brings us as low as the French Revolution. He well remarks that modern artificial policy has demanded enormous sacrifices. If it has suppressed a war here and there by negotiations, it has 'thrown the torches of ten others, which, without it, would have been confined to the boundaries of two countries, perhaps,' instead of spreading conflagration and death over the whole of a continent, or even the more distant quarters of the earth. The affair of Aix-la-Chapelle, a century later than the boasted one at Osnaburg, affords a forcible illustration. The very principle of preserving the social equilibrium has sometimes been made a pretext for prosecuting needless contests, and perpetrating oppressions the most atrocious. Poland exhibited the so-called guardians of the European confederacy, acting in their true character, as vultures rather than conservators. National liberties were thus debased to the secured possessive state of the reigning houses. Governors entirely forgot their responsibilities both towards God and mankind. Commerce itself was always treated by them as a financial question. Popular rights, whenever alluded to at all, came in for no more consideration than might seem beneficial to royal revenues, or the speculations of authors and philosophers. Meanwhile, the vices of courts, which like vampires had subsisted on the property or blood of millions, at length turned into harbingers of vengeance and dismay. Injustice, grown gigantic, had trampled down in its pleasure both industry and freedom; when, in a moment unanticipated, and therefore the more alarming, democracy thundered at the door! Multitudes of people had thought and reasoned, whilst haughty aristocracies had looked them over, as incapable of doing either. Military heroes had been the idols of princes and nobles in the eighteenth century; whilst the lower and middle classes were anxiously yet silently fostering a spirit of intelligence, reflection, and science, before which the edge of the sword would be worthless. That spirit, aided by the press, was destined to change the entire face of affairs. When England, guided by her oligarchy, commenced a violent assault upon America, the old clouds of abuse, despotism, oppression, and hierarchy, opened amidst the fierceness of battle, and let in many sunbeams of hope for popular masses to console themselves

with. An hour was at hand, when the magnificent truth would be propounded and realized, that *government is a trust to be administered for the benefit of the governed.* War, indeed, had first to spread along various shores, and over the fairest districts of the globe; but Washington triumphed at last. His name will ever be as dear to liberal politicians, as that of Luther must be to every section of honest Protestants. Great Britain succumbed to the Peace of Versailles in 1783, recognising the independence of her former colonies, and introducing a new state, pregnant with great things, into the system of the civilized world. 'Europe went over to America. The human race felt momentarily the most multifarious influences; but coming centuries will display the immensity of the consequences of this grand event.'

We can only glance at the ninth and last period of Professor Rotteck, as to that part of it which bears on our own country. He compares the first French Revolution with the Reformation; deeming, moreover, that of July in 1830, as likely to lead to one of three possible things,—either to the suppression of all liberty in Europe, or the total subversion everywhere of absolute and aristocratical power; or, finally, a division of dominion between autocracy and constitutionalism. France he conceives to be no more tranquillized, at present, than a slumbering volcano may be so described. England, however, achieved the Reform Bill in part through the intense sympathies awakened and organized by the success of the Barricades. Our author accurately shews up the treacherous usurpations of the landocracy, whether peers or commoners, in nominating members for the close or rotten boroughs; that many of our most important places possessed no representatives at all; and that the forty-five Scotch deputies had no will of their own. After some not inaccurate delineation of the various struggles between the conservatives and liberals, he portrays the moderate radicals as maintaining, that the 'enormous oppression of imposts, which weighed upon the people, connected with the dearness artificially produced by the Corn Laws, could be remedied only by a true national representation.' The following is his picture of ecclesiastical matters in the sister kingdom; which, from the enormity of their still remaining scandals, he evidently thinks may some day or other help to elevate these moderate radicals into office; the suppression of the Irish bishoprics by Lord Grey is the measure more immediately alluded to:—

'That hierarchy of Ireland, which was more abundantly provided with earthly goods than the catholic priesthood of Italy and Spain had ever been, did not correspond ever with its immediate destination; since most of the incumbents left the care of their churches to curates hired

for a miserable reward. It was not deemed enough that this island suffered from the evils of a surplus population, numbering eight millions of inhabitants to 6600 square miles; but besides, the possession of the soil was in the hands either of a few English families, or of the Anglican clergy, and its produce was consumed by those, as by these, mostly without the island. The Irish benefices afforded to the younger sons of the English aristocracy an excellent maintenance; for they imposed upon their incumbents still less than the ecclesiastical affairs in England, because 6,500,000 of the Irish belonged to the Catholic church. The general hatred of this unfortunate people, produced by political oppression, was directed chiefly against the ministers of the dominant church, who lived on the fat of the land. This church has burdened the people by tithes, and the maintenance of its temples or parsonages have cost large sums, whilst the catholic population, besides these contributions and costs, have had to pay their own clergy; and the price of leases, by which the greatest part of the inhabitants obtained their subsistence, is continually raised by the throng of solicitors, and the gain of labour is reduced to the lowest measure. Amidst the most luxurious fertility of the country, millions of its cultivators languish in a condition, compared with which the lot of domestic animals might almost appear enviable. Such an unnatural organization of civil relations cannot but at last lead to extremities.'—Vol. iv. p. 348.

What may be expected to occur in Ireland will be sure to effect corresponding consequences in England. Perhaps the statesmen of our three kingdoms, encumbered with the trammels of office, or the agitations in parliament of political partisanship, may not very frequently look out of their windows to explore and ponder the signs of the times. Yet *when*, we would venture to ask, have they ever been more important or portentous? What is a survey of General History, like that we have now been hastily running over, but a long lesson to those who will learn; the result of the realizations of the past, pointing towards the anticipations of the future? Is any fact plainer, than that truth alone will abide the approaching trial; or that the element, which has been shaking Europe since 1789, imported thither as it was from the triumph of our transatlantic colonies, is now rife and abroad, and swelling into all conceivable activity and energy in these countries? Its principal food, let it be remembered, is neither more nor less than unredressed grievances! Its potency to overthrow must and will always exist, in its being able to convict national institutions of hypocrisy, and prove manifold oppression to be their palpable and natural consequence. Let the lower classes of any nation be but once brought to believe, or perceive, that their governors are either cheating or plundering them, and we may feel certain that large organic changes are at hand. The annals of every people under the sun go to prove this; and then let us

inquire how affairs stand amongst ourselves. As to our constitution, we profess to be free, to have sat under the tree of liberty for ages; to have even distributed its fruit and leaves indirectly to other nations. Now our starving millions avow by their voices and signatures that they know this to be a fiction and a deception. In reality, we groan under an aristocracy, whose spirit, at once cold, and hard, and cruel, has entered into the very soul of the state! The falsity branded upon its forehead meets us at every turn. It has taught us to deem ourselves a Christian nation, because our territorial surface appears subdivided into parishes, with one or more pastors in each, paid by the state for preaching that gospel, which is righteousness, peace, and mercy. Let the church history of the last hundred years, the persecutions by our prelates of vital godliness, the existing injustice as to church-rates and analogous nuisances, the hostile aspect of a dominant establishment towards civil and religious freedom, its conduct with regard to national education—tell the true story. We write in sorrow more than in anger; under the influence, we trust, of an indignation, not selfish nor unholy, against delusive systems, not in a spirit of hostility towards individuals. What we denounce is, that enormous fraud in both church and state, which has hitherto misled millions, and robbed them so unmercifully of their best rights into the bargain! We profess to have reformed parliament—let election committees tell the true story. We pretend that rich and poor are equal before the law—let the dearness of justice, the withholdment of cheap courts, a comparison with the state of the case on the Continent, the partiality shewn to the opulent and well-connected—let all these, we say, tell the true story! Our magnates declare themselves genuine tribunes of the people—tender nurses of their property and privileges—intent upon a tariff which is to banish poverty from the land; whilst in reality, they levy an impost of from twelve to twenty millions per annum upon the staff of life, to keep up a war rental. They protect sugar, to uphold monopoly, under the most impudent pretext of discountenancing slavery. They have shielded their own many flocks and herds beneath every possible immunity from taxation, and have offered up the *poor man's lamb*, his labour, his little luxuries, if one may call them so without mockery, his bread, his provisions, his industry, to the ruthless shears of an embarrassed and greedy exchequer! Further and further, almost *ad infinitum*, the parallel might proceed; but the heart of philanthropy sickens at the sight, and looking into the glass of history, seems ready to start at the gloominess of the shadows of the future!

Quæ cum ita sint, as Cicero so often says in his orations, we believe matters cannot last; they cannot go on in the manner

they have done. Where is now the once boasted wealth of our middle classes; that opulence, which was not so large to individuals as to corrupt,—but which, mighty and enormous in its aggregate, made us the noblest amongst the traffickers of the earth? Is the vast capital of this country accumulating or wasting? Are the nerves of enterprise braced and healthy, or enervated and sickly? Let gaunt pauperism, with its lank arms, its lean and emaciated body, its pale, withered cheeks, and its sunken, sullen, and angry eye, answer this query at the bar of parliament. Von Raumer observed, some years ago, that the anchor of British prosperity had descended into such deep waters, that the storms which agitate their surface, could but slightly affect it! Yet, what would he say now? Our aristocracy has cut the cables. It held the helm for one hundred and forty years, from the Revolution to the Reform Bill, and again and again would fain have run the vessel upon rocks and quicksands, had Providence not interfered in awakening popular resistance just at the critical moment. How are matters now—the peerage every day boasting that the rudder is once more in their own hands?

'Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antemnæque gemant: ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinæ
Possint imperiosius æquor!'

These last reflections have been strongly impressed on our minds in closing these four volumes. In parting from their author, we would just mention, that his frequent allusions to *Fate*, in our judgment, ought to have been made to *Providence*; although we were in some small degree relieved by a definition in vol. i. p. 140, that what is called *fate*, 'consists in the concourse of all internal and external circumstances, to effect which is beyond the limits of human power and wisdom;' implying afterwards, as we conceive, a recognition, far less full indeed than we could desire, that the Almighty disposer of all events is the King of kings and Lord of lords. It gave us pain, also, to perceive that the suicide of Brutus does not appear to be properly reprobated: vol. i. p. 281; with some other omissions of a similar kind. History, to be really what Dionysius Halicarnassus has described it, must be a 'philosophy' founded upon the principles of true religion, 'teaching by examples' weighed in the golden balances of the sanctuary. Let us also remind the translator, that such renderings as 'accolents,' instead of *inhabitants*, vol. i. p. 77, are intolerable affectations in so good and forcible a language as our own. We love to have as much pure English as possible; and

are quite willing to admit, with much pleasure, that in the main, considering more especially the great extent and comprehensiveness of the work, he has succeeded in 'his sole endeavour to give the ideas of his author accurately, and in the plainest language.'

Art. II. *A History of British Birds.* By William Yarrell, F.L.S., F.Z.S. Vols. 1 and 2. 8vo. London: Van Voorst.

British ornithology has, during the last few years, made rapid progress. Much of this is to be attributed to the improvements in the art of engraving. Thomas Bewick's admirable figures gave life and impetus to the science, and his work has been followed by others on the same branch of natural history, although never surpassed until the appearance of Mr. Yarrell's *History of British Birds.* We have, on more than one occasion, strongly recommended this work to our readers, and the excellence of its illustrations, together with the information it contains, fully justify the praise which we have bestowed. Compared with Bewick's, Mr. Yarrell's engravings must have the preference both as works of art and as delineations of natural objects, though the rich humour of the admirable tail-pieces contained in Bewick's volumes still remains unrivalled. We think, however, that in a scientific work useful vignettes are preferable to humorous ones; and we are glad to perceive that in Mr. Yarrell's 'History' the tail-pieces generally illustrate the structure, nidification, &c., of the species to the notice of which they are attached. The eyes, bill, feet, sternum, &c., are in many instances illustrated; but the most elegant vignettes are those of the nests of British birds. Some are exceedingly interesting, and add greatly to the beauty and value of the work. Take, for instance, the nest of the reed-warbler (vol. i. p. 273), common whitethroat (i. 292), wood-warbler (i. 301), Dartford warbler (i. 316), regulus (i. 321), &c. We believe that our readers, after examining the illustrations to which we have referred, would regret to see them displaced, even though the humorous productions of a second Bewick were substituted. In a few cases, Mr. Yarrell's engravers have attempted the Bewickian style, but with very partial success. Contrast the vignettes at pp. 288 and 520 of the first volume, and at p. 7 of the second, with Bewick's tail-pieces, and there is a raciness and *point* in the latter, with which Mr. Yarrell's can bear no comparison. But whilst disapproving of the introduction of humorous vignettes, we are far from believing that Bewick's were useless. On the contrary, we think it highly probable that

they promoted ... by so doing, popularized the science ...

The elegance of structure and ... infinite variety of notes, with ... are endowed, secure for them notice and ... the most casual observers. It requires, however, ... persevering research fully to appreciate ... interest which this branch of ... be investigated narrowly if ... recesses of her temple, where ... her works are enshrined. We do not, therefore, recommend Yarrell's 'History' as a *substitute*, but as a *guide* to observation, and so regarded, it will, we have doubt, prove highly serviceable both to the student and to the advanced naturalist.

Mr. Yarrell opens his first volume with an account of the British *raptores*, which are arranged under three families,—*vulturidæ*, *falconidæ*, and *strigidæ*. Only one species of vulture has been found in this kingdom, and the two specimens seen of it were very evidently stragglers from another country. The species is the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), a specimen of which Mr. Selby states was shot near Kilve, in Somersetshire, and is now in the possession of the Rev. A. Mathews of that place. When first seen, it was feeding on the carcase of a dead sheep, upon which it had so gorged itself as to be unable to fly far at a time, and was consequently approached and shot. Another bird, supposed to be the mate of the one killed, was seen for some days afterwards in the neighbourhood, but being more wary than its companion, escaped. The Egyptian vulture is most common in tropical Africa, where it is of essential service in clearing away the putrid bodies of animals. They are, consequently, protected by the natives, every group of whom has a pair of these vultures attached to it. In Egypt this species is termed Pharaoh's hen, and Rachamah. Bruce is of opinion that this latter appellation is derived from the Hebrew *Rechem*, which signifies love, or attachment; and this supposition appears highly probable, as the vulture was sacred to Isis, and considered an emblem of parental affection. Mr. Yarrell's figures of the young bird (p. 1) and of an adult (p. 6), were taken from specimens in the museum of the Zoological Society.

The *falconidæ* form the most numerous and interesting family of British *raptores*. Mr. Swainson terms them the typical group, and their powers of flight, vision, and the strength of their talons and bill, are pre-eminent. The food of the *falconidæ* is various; some destroy quadrupeds and birds, others fish, and the smaller species often feed upon insects. None in their natural state feed

upon vegetables, and their carnivorous propensity is so strong, that starvation would not compel them to devour other than their natural food. Placed in the animal world to prevent an undue abundance of vegetable feeders, the rapacious tribes are restricted to animal diet, to which their internal organization is peculiarly adapted. Falcons may, however, by artificial means, be induced to break this natural law. The experiment has been satisfactorily tried by John Hunter, who informs us, in his *Animal Œconomy*, that to a tame kite he first gave fat, which it ate very readily, then tallow and butter, and afterwards small balls of bread rolled in fat or butter, and by decreasing the fat gradually, it at last ate bread alone, and seemed to thrive as well as when fed with meat. Hunter mentions that 'Spallanzani attempted in vain to make an eagle eat bread by itself; but by enclosing the bread in meat, so as to deceive the eagle, the bread was swallowed, and digested in the stomach.'

Mr. Swainson divided the *falconidæ* into the following subfamilies: *aquilinæ* (eagles), *falconinæ* (true falcons), *accipitrinæ* (hawks), *cymindinæ* (kites), and *buteoninæ* (buzzards). Of each of these subfamilies there are British examples.

The *aquilinæ* are restricted in this kingdom to the golden and white-tailed eagles, and the osprey. It is not often that the ornithologist has an opportunity in England of observing the habits of the 'king of birds.' The golden eagle (*aquila chrysaetos*) has occurred, though very rarely, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Derbyshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cornwall, &c., but it is in the mountainous districts of Scotland, and the northern and western isles, that this fine species is to be viewed, in its native magnificence, the denizen of the most inaccessible rocks. When in search of prey it descends with majestic sweeps to the valleys and carries off fawns, lambs, hares, &c. That the vicinity of such a destroyer, however pleasing to the naturalist, is not very gratifying to the farmer, may be inferred from the war of extermination which is at present taking place in the highlands of Scotland. So great, indeed, is the depredation committed by the golden and white-tailed eagles at the lambing season, that every means are employed for their destruction. The number of birds which are annually killed is very considerable, and Sir William Jardine mourns, that if this slaughter continues 'we shall ere long look in vain for this appropriate ornament of our northern landscape.'

The osprey (*pandion haliæëtus*) feeds almost exclusively upon fish. Its habits have been graphically described by Alexander Wilson, who states that the height at which the osprey 'glides is various—from one hundred, to one hundred and fifty, and two hundred feet—sometimes much higher, all the while calmly re-

connoitring the face of the deep below. . . . At once, from this sublime aerial height, he descends like a perpendicular torrent, plunging into the sea with a loud rushing sound, and with the certainty of a rifle. In a few moments he emerges, bearing in his claws his struggling prey, which he always carries head foremost, and, having risen a few feet above the surface, shakes himself, as a water spaniel would do, and directs his heavy and laborious course directly for the land.' Dr. Richardson remarks that 'the versatility of the outer toe of the osprey, the strength, curvature, and sharpness of its claws, and the roughness of the soles of its feet, are peculiarities of structure adapted to the better securing its slippery prey; and the shortness of its thigh feathers, unusual in the falcon tribe, is also evidently connected with its fishing habits.'

The sub-families, *falconinæ* and *accipitrinæ*, include the various species, once so highly esteemed in the diversions of falconry or hawking. This 'noble art' appears to have been introduced in the most remote ages. In the Bayeux tapestry, Harold, afterwards king of England, is represented with a hawk upon his hand. Indeed, from his days until Charles II., it was the principal amusement of noble and royal personages. Stringent laws were made to protect the valued hunters, and in the 34th Edward III., it was made felony to steal a hawk; to take its eggs, even in a person's own ground, was punishable with imprisonment for a year and a day, and a fine at the king's pleasure. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Monson is said to have given one thousand pounds for a couple of hawks. This, however, must have been a very extravagant price, as, in an account book of the time of Henry VIII., a goshawk and two falcons are valued at three pounds, and five falcons and a tercel (male) at eight pounds. In the language of falconry, the female peregrine (*falco peregrinus*) is exclusively called the '*falcon*,' and was much prized, being larger in size and more courageous than the male, which is termed a '*tercel*,' or '*tiercel*.' But the days of hawking are almost over. Inclosures, with the increased cultivation of the land, and the introduction of other amusements, have sadly depreciated the value of the falcon tribe, and the gamekeepers remorselessly destroy the peregrine and the goshawk, now no longer protected by feudal statutes. So little is the ancient sport regarded in these days, that Sir John Sebright, who with some other gentlemen attempted to revive the amusement in Norfolk, informs us that 'John Pells, now (1826) in the service of my friend, J. D. Downes, Esq., of Old Gunton Hill, Suffolk, and who also manages the heron hawks kept by subscription in Norfolk, is, I believe, the only efficient falconer by profession now remaining; all the others, whom I remember, are either

dead or worn out, and there has been no inducement to younger men to follow the employment of their forefathers.'

Honest Isaac Walton, in his 'Complete Angler,' gives a list of the hawks which were most used in the time of Charles I. This list includes the peregrine, gyr-falcon, lanner, merlin, goshawk, sparrowhawk, &c. In the *Naturalist*, it is stated that 'Captain Green, of Buckden, in Huntingdonshire, has now [1837] in his possession a splendid specimen of the golden eagle, which he has himself trained to take hares and rabbits.' Montague was of opinion that the osprey was formerly trained for hunting, as in an Act of William and Mary, persons are prohibited at a certain period of the year from taking any salmon by '*hawks*, racks, guns,' &c. This opinion is strengthened by the 'bald buzzard,' or osprey, being included in Isaac Walton's list.

The engravings illustrative of the *falconidæ* are very beautiful and characteristic. All are excellent; but we are the best pleased with the figures of the gyr falcon (p. 26), peregrine (p. 32), and common buzzard (p. 76), which in spirit and execution are works of the highest merit. Several of the vignettes are appropriately devoted to the illustration of falconry.

The owls (*strigidæ*) are thus described by Mr. Yarrell:—

'The characters and appearance of owls are so singular and so peculiar, that once having seen them they are not readily forgotten. They have but little external beauty of form. The head is large, the expression grotesque, the body bulky in appearance, the plumage soft and downy. Unlike the falcons which hunt for their food by day, the owls seek their prey during the twilight of morning and evening, and probably during the greater part of the night, if the state of the moon or the atmosphere affords sufficient light for the purpose. From this habit of flying at night, the singular appearance of the bird produced by the arrangement of the feathers over the face, forming a broad circular disk, a peculiar hollow tone of voice unlike that of any other bird, and the additional circumstance of most of the species selecting ivy-covered ruins of sacred edifices as places of resort from the solitude and protection the character of such remains afford, owls have been considered by the superstitious as birds of darkness and ill-omen, and by some even as messengers of death. Thus Shakspeare says—

'Out on ye, owls!—nothing but songs of death.'
Richard the Third.

The eyes of owls are large and appear to be particularly susceptible of impressions from light. If exposed to the glare of day, most of the species seem to be powerfully affected by it, and the eyes are either closed entirely or defended by an internal eyelid, which is brought down with ease and rapidity. The power of hearing in owls is probably more acute than in many other birds; the auditory opening in

some species is [illegible] elevated or closed at pleasure. [illegible] not rapid; and from the soft textu[illegible] [illegible] the wings, their flight is performed with[illegible] noise.—Vol. i.

The notes of owls are various. Most of the species screech and hoot in a very disagreeable manner. The least unpleasant, perhaps, are the notes of the scops-eared owl (*Scops Aldrovandi*), which repeats throughout the night its plaintive and monotonous cry of *kew, kew*, at intervals of about two seconds, with as much regularity as the ticking of a pendulum. The species is a very small one, and rare in England; in Italy, where its habits have been observed by Mr. Spence, it is abundant during the summer months.

Mr. Waterton, in his *Essays on Natural History*, takes some pains to remove the foolish prejudice with which these useful birds are regarded. 'Up to the year 1813,' he remarks, 'the barn owl had a sad time of it at Walton Hall. Its supposed mournful notes alarmed the aged housekeeper. She knew full well what sorrow it had brought into other houses when she was a young woman; and there was enough of mischief in the midnight wintry blast, without having it increased by the dismal screams of something which people knew very little about, and which everybody said was far too busy in the churchyard at night-time. The gamekeeper agreed with her in everything she said on this important subject; and he always stood better in her books when he had managed to shoot a bird of this bad and mischievous family.' But the amiable squire on his return from Guiana broke up the league between the crone and gamekeeper, and the persecuted owl now finds a safe retreat in the ivy-covered ruins of the old gateway at Walton Hall. The quantity of mice which a single pair of the barn owl destroy in the course of a year must be immense; it is therefore to be hoped that the time is not far distant when these 'churchyard visitants' will be protected, and their services duly appreciated. The barn owl (i. p. 126), and snowy owl (i. p. 134), are admirably figured. Vignettes of the crystaline lens and bony ring of the eye of the snowy owl are given at p. 138; and the orifice of the ear in *Strix otus* is figured at p. 117.

The second order of birds, *insessores*, is a very extensive one, including more species than any other of the primary divisions of the feathered race.

'They are distinguished as an order by possessing the largest volume of brain in proportion to their size, and a corresponding degree of intelligence; the vocal organs are present in the highest degree to be found in the class, and several of the species are capable of imitating

the sounds of the human voice; by the perfection of the foot it is adapted to the greatest variety of purposes, and the hind toe is always present, and always articulated on the same level or plane with the foretoes. I am indebted to Mr. MacLeay for the knowledge of another character; the young of all the insessorial birds are hatched naked, not then exhibiting those filaments of down which precede the first feathers.' —Vol. i. p. 150.

The thrushes (*merulidæ*) are general favourites, and their habits are consequently almost universally known. Mr. Yarrell has arranged in this family the dipper (*cinclus aquaticus*), which has been a puzzle to most ornithologists. Systematists have disputed upon the group in which this remarkable bird should be placed, whilst its habits have been a fruitful source of controversy amongst observers. The former point has, we think, been well settled by Mr. Swainson, who regards the dipper as belonging to the sub-family, *myotherinæ*, or ant-thrushes, which are closely allied to the true thrushes (*merulinæ*.) The habits of the dipper, as its name implies, are aquatic, and it has been the opinion of some naturalists that this bird has the power of *walking below* the water. An amusing controversy upon this question was carried on a few years since in Loudon's *Magazine of Natural History*, between the Rev. F. O. Morris and Mr. Waterton. It is to be regretted that the combatants waxed wroth, and the retorts were personal. Mr. Waterton, who, in our opinion, had the best of it, both in wit and argument, justly remarked, that 'the rivulets frequented by the water-ouzel [or dipper] afford numberless opportunities to the observer who wishes to watch the motions of this bird. He has only to conceal himself behind some rock that rises from the stream, or to show himself suddenly on the bank of the brook where the water-ouzel is found, and he will see the little bird go under water, and he will be able to trace its downward process. He then fancies that he sees it walk on the ground, when, in fact, it does no such thing; the observer's own eyes, in this instance, giving him false information.' Mr. Macgillivray, whose ornithological abilities have acquired him considerable reputation, and who, we are glad to learn, has recently obtained the chair of natural history at Marischal College, Aberdeen, agrees with Mr. Waterton respecting the habits of the dipper. The professor has paid considerable attention to the subject, and gives the result of his observations in *The Naturalist*, where he states that the actions of the dipper under water are precisely similar to those of the divers, mergansers, and cormorants. Great force is, of course, necessary to enable the bird to counteract the effects of gravity, and to keep itself at the bottom; and Mr. Macgillivray has perceived it 'not merely using the wing from the carpal joint, but extending it

considerably, and employing its whole extent, just as if moving in the air.' He adds, that 'the assertion of its walking below the water, which some persons have ventured, is not made good by observation, nor countenanced by reason.' Mr. Waterton exclaims, 'if the water-ouzel can walk on the ground at the bottom of the water, then

> 'Omnia naturæ præpostera legibus ibunt,
> Parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter.'
>
> 'All nature's laws will tumble in decay,
> And e'en the world itself will lose its way.'

The affection which is naturally inspired by the inoffensive habits and beautiful notes of the common song-thrush (*turdus musicus*), will not be lessened by the following anecdote:—

'Mr. Knapp, in his *Journal of a Naturalist*, has related an interesting fact, in reference to the thrush, in the following terms:—'We observed, this summer, two common thrushes frequenting the shrubs on the green in our garden. From the slenderness of their forms, and the freshness of their plumage, we pronounced them to be birds of the preceding summer. There was an association and friendship between them that called our attention to their actions. One of them seemed ailing, or feeble from some bodily accident; for though it hopped about, yet it appeared unable to obtain sufficiency of food. Its companion, an active, sprightly bird, would frequently bring it worms or bruised snails, when they mutually partook of the banquet; and the ailing bird would wait patiently, understand the actions, expect the assistance of the other, and advance from his asylum at its approach. This procedure was continued for some days; but after a time we missed the fostered bird, which probably died, or by reason of its weakness, met with some fatal accident.'—Vol. i., p. 195.

The redwing thrush (*t. iliacus*), according to Mr. Hewitson, is called the 'Nightingale of Norway,' a distinction which it shares with the ring ouzel (*merula torquata*). Both are admirable songsters, and well deserve their Norwegian appellation. The common blackbird, or more correctly, *black ouzel* (*m. vulgaris*), is possessed of considerable powers of imitation, having been known to crow exactly like the common cock, to imitate closely part of the song of the nightingale, and to cackle as a hen does after laying. Its own notes are very beautiful; and the black ouzel, like the other thrushes, is exceedingly useful in destroying vast numbers of larvæ, insects, snails, &c., which would otherwise seriously injure the horticulturist. We might have expected that these good qualities would have been some protection from the ruthless persecution of man. But the black ouzel has, unfortunately, too great a partiality for various kinds of fruit to be liked by the gardener, who, unmindful of the

derived from the bird, destroys it; however, is not its only enemy: many persons in the land, whose barbarous to kill for 'sport' the most lovely of the melody of the thrush is too often of an amateur sportsman. We the practice, which should be held Grahame, in his poem on the Birds of the jealous gardener on behalf of the

> his timid wing away,
> deaden viewless shower,
> tube, arrest his flight,
> gaping bill with blood.'

is a very extensive one, and of great use in destroying innumerable vegetation. The size of the warblers delicate and elegant. They are possession of considerable vocal powers. that many of the species are re- 'lords of creation.' Thus, the and the confidence it displays in man is repaid with kindness and has cast its mellow tinge over the have driven to warmer climes still utters its cheerful hops into the farm-yard, a tenement. To the same family which, to use the words of Isaac sweet music out of her little instru- make mankind to think that miracles midnight, when the very labourer as I have very often, the clear airs, warbled rising and falling, the doubling of her voice, might well be lifted above earth, Lord, what music hast thou provided for the saints in where thou affordest bad men such music on earth!'

The habits of the nightingale are thus described by Mr.

The localities frequented by the nightingale are woods having low coppices plantations, and hedgerows. The commons around London, which are cultivated by market favourite haunts with this bird: low damp meadows, are also frequented; and M. Vieillot says, they are par- the vicinity of an echo. From the pairing time to the hatching young, the male continues in full song, not only singing at

intervals throughout the day, but frequently serenading his partner during the night; and Pennant says, the name of the bird is derived from our term *night*, and the Saxon word *galan*, to sing. The nest of this bird is almost always placed on the ground: advantage is taken of a slight depression in the soil, some dead oak and hornbeam leaves are deposited therein, with a few dried bents and portions of rushes, lined internally towards the bottom with fine fibrous roots, but so loosely constructed, that it is generally necessary to pass thread or string several times round the whole nest, before removing it, if desirous of preserving its form. The eggs are four or five in number, of a uniform olive-brown colour, and measuring ten lines in length by eight lines and a half in breadth. The eggs are produced in May, and the young are hatched in June. From this period the song of the male is heard no more; a single low croaking note is uttered as a warning, should danger threaten, occasionally changing to a sharp, snapping noise, made with the beak, which is considered to be a note of defiance. Colonel Montagu took a nest of young nightingales early in June, and placing them in a cage, observed that the parent birds fed them principally with small green caterpillars. The adult birds feed on insects of various sorts, flies, moths, spiders, and earwigs.'—Vol. i., pp. 276, 277.

Every locality in which insects are found is assigned as the habitation of some of the warblers. The hedgerows, gardens, &c., are tenanted by the hedge accentor, redstart, black-cap warbler, garden warbler, common and lesser whitethroats, chiff-chaff, &c. In swampy grounds, or on the banks of streams, amongst the willows, reeds, &c., are found the sedge and reed warblers, and the nightingale. Dry commons and heaths, partially covered with furze and brushwood, are the localities of the stone-chat, whin-chat, Dartford warbler, and other species. And lastly, the wood and willow warblers seek their insect prey on tall trees, in plantations, &c.

The scarcity of insect life in this kingdom during the autumnal and winter months, renders it necessary for the majority of the *sylviadæ* to migrate to warmer climes. Most of the species leave this country about September, and return again in April. Our earliest spring visitants are the wheat-ear and chiff-chaff, which arrive here by the middle of March. The only warblers which remain with us the whole year, are the robin, hedge accentor, stone-chat, Dartford warbler, and golden-crested regulus. Two authenticated instances are recorded of the whin-chat having been found in England during winter. One of the specimens was found dead by the Rev. R. Holdsworth,—'in one of the warmest spots in England,'—having evidently been killed by the frost. The whin-chat can only, therefore, be regarded as a summer visitant. Amongst the rarest of the British *sylviadæ* are the Alpine accentor (of which three specimens have occurred),

the blue-throated warbler (two specimens), the black redstart, and the fire-crested regulus (*R. ignacapillus*). The last species has most probably been confounded, by many observers, with the common golden-crested regulus, and it is very likely will be found to be not so rare as it is at present regarded. It was first discovered in England by the Rev. L. Jenyns, and may be distinguished from the common species by a white streak above the eyes; the reddish colour of the crest is also much more vivid than that of the same parts in the golden-crested regulus. We invite the attention of our ornithological readers to these species, as we fully anticipate that careful investigation will lead to the discovery of the beautiful *ignacapillus* in most parts of the kingdom. A third species of *regulus* has been described by Mr. Gould, under the name of *R. modestus*, a single specimen of which appears to have been captured by Mr. Hancock, on the Northumbrian coast. Mr. Yarrell was probably not aware of this occurrence of *R. modestus*, or he would have given his opinion on the species. At present, it seems doubtful whether it is not merely an immature specimen of one of the other species. Mr. Gould's description was taken from a single specimen which was shot in Dalmatia, and Mr. Hancock's is the only other occurrence of *modestus* at present known. The last-named gentleman inserted a minute description of it in the *Annals of Natural History* (vol. ii., pp. 310, 311), and the editors of that periodical mention that Mr. Hancock had stated to Mr. Selby, as a reason for considering the species distinct, that the covering of the nostrils in his specimen was not composed of a single plumulet, as in the other known *reguli*. If an immature specimen, we are inclined to believe that it will be *R. ignacapillus*, to which it is evidently closely allied. It is probable, however, that further investigation may substantiate the species.

The *reguli* naturally lead us to the family *paridæ*, or titmice, which

'Are remarkable for the beauty of the colours of their plumage, and the well-defined character of the markings. These birds also attract attention from their vivacity and incessant activity. They are indefatigable in their search for food, and being fearless in disposition, may be readily observed climbing the trunks of trees, or by the aid of their strong toes and hooked claws, hanging suspended from the under surface of branches, while examining every cavity, leaf, or bud, that is likely to afford shelter to any of their numerous insect prey. These birds exhibit several peculiarities common to different groups of the dentirostral division. The great tit, so called, and placed first in the series, because the largest in size, will frequently kill small birds, accomplishing his purpose by repeated blows of his hard and sharp beak on the skull of the victim, and afterwards picking out and eating the brains.'—Vol. i. p. 327.

The British species of this family remain with us the whole year. From their habit of searching the buds of fruit-trees for insect prey, the blue tits have been considered injurious to the gardener. We fully agree with Mr. Selby in believing, that 'the trifling injury occasionally committed by the abrasion of a few flower-buds is more than compensated by the destruction of innumerable larvæ and eggs of the insect tribe, which are usually deposited in or about those essential parts of fructification, and which, if allowed to proceed through the necessary changes, would effectually check all hope of produce.' Other naturalists confirm this opinion. The poor tits have, however, a 'bad name,' and a price is, in some cases, set upon their heads. Mr. Knapp, in his *Journal of a Naturalist*, records an item passed in a churchwarden's account 'for seventeen dozen of tomtits' heads!' 'In what evil hour, and for what crime,' he remarks, 'this poor little bird could have incurred the anathema of a parish, it is difficult to conjecture.' The present excellent Bishop of Norwich, in his *Familiar History of Birds*, notices an instance of the great tit (*parus major*) having been seen in latitude 40° N., and longitude 48° W., more than half way across the Atlantic. The long-tailed tit (*P. caudatus*) is the architect of a very beautiful nest, which is admirably figured at p. 348 of vol. i. 'In shape, it is nearly oval, with one small hole in the upper part of the side by which the bird enters. The outside of this nest sparkles with silver-coloured lichens adhering to a firm texture of moss and wool, the inside profusely lined with soft feathers.' The food of the bearded tits (*P. biarmicus*) in winter is principally the seed of the reed; and so intent are they in searching for it, that Mr. Hoy has taken them with a bird-limed twig attached to the end of a fishing-rod. Mr. Dykes states, in the *Magazine of Natural History*, that he found the crops of three specimens of the bearded tit completely filled with the *succinea amphibia*, the shells of which were unbroken. In one crop, the shells were so closely packed together, that it contained twenty, some of them of good size; in addition to which, there were four specimens of the *pupa muscorum*. The shells appeared to be taken into the stomach entire, and were then destroyed by the action of the stomach, assisted by sharp angular fragments of quartz, which had been swallowed for the purpose.

The habits of the wagtails (*motacillidæ*) are pretty generally known. Most of our readers must be familiar with the elegant pied wagtail that frequents the margins of ponds, streams, &c., where it may be seen in constant activity, running about, taking short and undulating flights, or wading in shallow water, in search of aquatic insects, larvæ, &c. Its tail, like that of the other species in this family, has a 'graceful fanning motion,' which

adds to the sprightly appearance of the birds, and has secured to them their characteristic appellation. The food of the wagtails consists principally of insects, but we have the authority of Mr. Rayner, of Uxbridge, for believing that the pied and yellow wagtails have other prey. That gentleman keeps a variety of birds in a large aviary, and he informed Mr. Yarrell that he had, 'during the summer and autumn of 1837, several wagtails, the pied and yellow, both of which were very expert in catching and feeding on minnows, which were in a fountain in the centre of the aviary. These birds hover over the water, and as they skim the surface, catch the minnow as it approaches the top of the water in the most dexterous manner; and I was much surprised at the wariness and cunning of some blackbirds and thrushes in watching the wagtails catch the minnows, and immediately seizing the prize for their own dinner.' We are not aware that any other naturalist has observed the remarkable and interesting facts which Mr. Rayner has recorded.

The grey wagtail (*M. boarula*) is less common than the pied (*M. Yarrellii*), which it resembles in frequenting marshes, the banks of streams, &c. Sometimes the grey wagtail may be seen wading in shallow water in search of aquatic insects, and it also feeds upon a common species of fresh-water bivalve (*cyclas cornea*), and probably upon other molluscs. At other times these birds 'run upon the tops of the weeds, which are partly submerged in the ditches,' and obtain from thence their insect prey. The common yellow wagtail is not so aquatic as the species last noticed, although it is not unfrequently found in the vicinity of water. Its principal localities, however, are 'open downs and sheep pastures, fields of young green corn, and not unusually dry fallows, where, perched on a clod of earth, or upon a stone, this bird may be seen fanning its tail, and exhibiting its rich yellow breast to the greatest advantage.'

Considerable confusion exists in the synonymy of the species of this family. Until recently, there were only three wagtails entered in our fauna, *Motacilla alba*, *flava*, and *boarula*. The two former were considered to be identical with the common *alba* and *flava* of the Continent. Mr. Gould having investigated the matter with much attention, has proved that our species are distinct from those of the Continent, and has therefore named the British pied wagtail, *M. Yarrellii*, 'as a just tribute to the varied acquirements' of Mr. Yarrell as a naturalist. To the common yellow wagtail of this country, Mr. Yarrell very appropriately proposes the name of *M. Rayi*, after the pious and intelligent John Ray, by whom the species, to which his name is now attached, was first described. The pied wagtail (*M. Yarrellii*, *alba* of British authors) is distinguished from the continental and

true *M. alba*, the following characteristics, which are quoted by Mr. Yarrell from an article communicated by Mr. Gould to the *Magazine of Natural History*:—

'The pied wagtail of England is somewhat more robust in form, and in its full summer dress has the whole of the head, chest, and back of a full deep jet black, while in the white wagtail (*M. alba*), at the same period, the throat and head are of this colour, the back, and the rest of the upper surface, being of a light ash grey. In winter, the two species more nearly assimilate in their colouring; and, this circumstance has, doubtless, been the cause of their being hitherto considered as identical, the black back of *M. Yarrellii* being grey at this season, although never so light as in *M. alba*. An additional evidence of their being distinct (but which has, doubtless, contributed to the confusion) is, that the female of our pied wagtail never has the back black, as in the male, this part, even in summer, being dark grey, in which respect it closely resembles the other species.'—Vol. i., pp. 363, 364.

Mr. Yarrell, at p. 365, has given figures of the British species in summer and winter plumage, and at p. 369, similar figures of the continental white wagtail, which satisfactorily illustrate Mr. Gould's description. We fully anticipate that future investigations will lead to the discovery of the white wagtail in this country. It may probably have been confounded by many observers with the common species. A few specimens of the continental yellow wagtail (*M. flava*) have been met with in England, and were named by Mr. Gould, who regarded them as a new species, *M. neglecta*, an appellation which is now set aside. This species differs from our common yellow, or Ray's wagtail, (*M. Rayi*, *flava* of British authors,) 'by the white elongated line over the eyes and ear coverts, which appears to be permanent at all seasons, and by the grey head, which is more or less conspicuous, also, at all seasons, but particularly in summer. In Ray's wagtail, the line over the eye and ear coverts is yellow, and the head, I believe, invariably of the same colour as the back of the bird. The females of the two species most resemble each other.'

We have made these remarks on the distinction between the foreign and British species of *Motacilla*—hitherto confounded together—in the hopes of exciting the attention of our ornithological readers, as we doubt not, further observation will lead to additional discoveries, and, possibly, new species.

The pipits (*anthidæ*) are closely allied to the family last noticed, and conduct us to the true larks (*alaudidæ*) which are arranged by Mr. Yarrell at the commencement of the tribe *conirostres*, or hard-billed birds. The species contained in this division of the *insessores* are distinguished by the conical form and great strength

of their beak. Their food consists principally of grain, for the consumption of which their strong bill is peculiarly adapted; some of the species, however, partially subsist upon insects, larvæ, &c. The typical family are the finches (*fringillidæ*), and the common house sparrow may be cited as a familiar example. Many of the conirostral birds, from their granivorous habits, are regarded as injurious to man, and, in consequence, a war of extermination is carried on against them. Like the blue-tits, the sparrows are 'anathematized' by the parish authorities, and churchwardens still offer rewards for their destruction. Rate-payers in vestry assembled are called upon to provide, at the same time, for the due support of the church, and for the speedy extinction of the feathered takers of tithe. We think, however, that it may be proved that the indiscriminate destruction of the *conirostres* is very injudicious. Mr. Yarrell states that—

'An extensive experiment appears to have been made in some of the agricultural districts on the Continent, the result of which has been the opinion that farmers do wrong in destroying rooks, jays, sparrows, and, indeed, birds in general, on their farms, particularly where there are orchards. In our own country, on some very large farms in Devonshire, the proprietors determined, a few summers ago, to try the result of offering a great reward for the heads of rooks, but the issue proved destructive to the farms, for nearly the whole of the crops failed for three successive years, and they have since been forced to import rooks and other birds to restock their farms with.'—Vol. ii., pp. 95, 96.

Rooks have long suffered persecution from the mistaken idea of the farmers, that 'protection to agriculture' rendered the destruction of these really useful birds necessary. That this idea—like other notions of the farmers about 'protection'—is really erroneous, has been proved by the facts stated in Mr. Yarrell's work, and by the testimony of Knapp, Waterton, Jesse, Selby, and of many other intelligent observers of the habits of birds. The usefulness of the rook consists in its devouring vast quantities of the larvæ of the cockchaffer (*melolontha*), and of many other insects, which would otherwise, as, indeed, has been shewn by the experiments above cited, be of incalculable injury to the agriculturist. The wisest course for the farmer to pursue, is obviously to regard the rooks as his friends, and to content himself with guarding his fields from their attacks during the seed time, when his grain has been newly sown.

We have selected the rook as an example, and the remarks which have been made will apply, though less forcibly, to the other *conirostres*. The farmer may shoot the *fringillidæ*, because he sees them too busy in his corn-field; and although, by so doing, he may prevent some trifling immediate injury to his

crops, yet we much question the policy of his proceeding. Mr. Mudie remarks of the *conirostres*, that 'in such climates as that of England, their grand feeding time is in winter, because the fields are then covered with seeds, which are softened and sweetened by the action of the weather, but have not begun to sprout; and perhaps there is no race of wild animals so serviceable to cultivation in such climates as these birds. They come in vast crowds, and clear the stubble field of the seeds of weeds, which, if they were to spring up, as of course they would do, if not gathered by the birds, would completely choke the crops in the following season.'

The *conirostres* are the typical or most highly organized of the perching birds, and they appear to be also pre-eminent in amount of intelligence. In connexion with this fact, it is worthy of remark, that this tribe are possessed of a larger volume of brain, in proportion to their size, than the species of any of the other orders. The goldfinch (*carduelis elegans*) is remarkably docile, and its elegance of plumage and sprightly habits render it much prized as a cage bird. Mr. Yarrell remarks of these birds, that—

'They are taught, without much difficulty, to perform a variety of amusing tricks, such as to draw up water for themselves by a small thimble-sized bucket, or to raise the lid of a small box to obtain the seed within. Mr. Syme, in his History of British Song Birds, when speaking of the Sieur Roman, who some years since exhibited goldfinches, linnets, and canaries, wonderfully trained, relates, that one appeared dead, and was held up by the tail or claw without exhibiting any signs of life; a second stood on its head with its claws in the air; a third imitated a Dutch milk-maid going to market with pails on its shoulders; a fourth mimicked a Venetian girl looking out at a window; a fifth appeared as a soldier, and mounted guard as a sentinel; and the sixth acted as a cannoneer, with a cap on its head, a firelock on its shoulder, and a match in its claw, and discharged a small cannon. The same bird acted as if it had been wounded. It was wheeled in a barrow to convey it, as it were, to the hospital, after which, it flew away before the company. The seventh turned a kind of windmill; and the last bird stood in the midst of some fireworks which were discharged all round it, and this without exhibiting the least symptom of fear.'—Vol. i., pp. 491, 492.

The figure of the goldfinch (engraved by Thompson) is excellent, although not equal to that of the starling by the same artist. The latter species is, like its congeners, remarkably intelligent, and having 'a retentive memory and great flexibility of voice, the males are often kept in confinement, where they learn to whistle tunes, and imitate some of the various sounds of the human voice with facility and correctness.' Mr. Yarrell men-

tions at pp. 439—441 of vol. i., two remarkable instances of cunning displayed by the black-headed bunting. Our limits will not allow us to do more than to refer to these cases, one of which displays a considerable amount of sagacity. But the palm of intelligence must be awarded to the crow family (*corvidæ*), which, in cautious and secretive habits, retentive memory, powers of imitation, and in general rationality, have no superiors amongst the feathered tribes. Colonel Montagu relates many curious habits manifested by a specimen of Cornish chough (*fregilus graculus*), which he kept for some years in his garden. Its 'curiosity' was intense, leading it to pry into and examine everything with which it was not familiar. It manifested all the usual pilfering habits of the tribe, and the gardener's nail box was frequently robbed. When hungry, it tapped incessantly at the kitchen window until fed or let in. Although fond of caresses, and partial to those from whom kindness was experienced, the chough 'challenged strangers vociferously,' and approached them 'with daring impudence.' Mr. Yarrell quotes the following instances of sagacity in the rook (*corvus frugilegus*):—

'At an old mansion, not far from London, surrounded by a number of fine elms, a singular mark of the sagacity of rooks was recently observed. Many of these trees had become very old, and it was therefore determined to fell a few of them every year, and plant young ones in their place. The oldest of the trees were accordingly condemned to be felled, and a portion of the bark taken off to indicate those which were to come down. These trees were soon forsaken by the rooks, and it was subsequently observed, that immediately after any of the other elms were marked in a similar manner, the rooks at once forsook the trees, as if fully aware that the removal of the bark was a notice for them to quit.' Another instance is thus noticed:—'Mr. Wingate, steward to Mr. Templer, of Lindridge, remarked, in various years, that certain trees were not built upon by the rooks; if one nest were built, the others destroyed it; and he invariably found that such trees were decayed, and were generally blown down during some storm.'—Vol. ii., p. 93.

Mr. Yarrell adds, that he is 'disposed in these cases to believe that the age, or incipient decay of the trees, had produced its effect on the upper branches, and that the rooks found these twigs less fit for their purpose than those of more healthy trees which were close by.' As far as regards the *latter case*, we think Mr. Yarrell's explanation is satisfactory; but in the former account it is stated, that '*immediately after any* of the other elms were marked, the rooks *at once* forsook the trees.' Now we cannot regard it as probable, that in *every case*, 'immediately' after the process of marking, the rooks should 'at once' discover that the 'upper branches' of the trees were decayed, and desert them

sequence. We are inclined to think, therefore, if the ac- may be relied upon, that Mr. Yarrell has done injustice to gacity of the rooks; and considering the acknowledged ns of intelligence which these birds manifest, we see no ility in believing that the observation of the invariable following the peculiar marking of certain trees, might lead oks to regard the 'removal of the bark as a notice to quit.' Yarrell seems to believe that the habit of the hooded crow, soars into the air with a cockle or mussel in its bill, and drops it upon the rock in order to obtain the enclosed mol- may be 'referred to knowledge, gained by experience' 84); and why should not the habits of the rooks be re- to the same cause? The jay (*garrulus glandarius*), like her *corvidæ*, is remarkable for its powers of imitation. It een known to imitate the bleating of a lamb, the mewing of the barking of a dog, the neighing of a horse, and many sounds, in the most admirable manner; so that, in some ces, the imitations 'could not be distinguished from the al.' In the account of the raven, Mr. Yarrell has intro- an interesting dissertation on the powers of voice pos- by various birds considered in relation to the structure of windpipes or tracheæ. Of these organs several figures are at pp. 69, 72, 74, and 76 of the second volume. The vings of the raven and of the rook are inferior, both in cter and execution, and are not to be compared with the of the carrion crow, which is one of Mr. Thompson's est efforts. It is but justice to that artist to remark, that gravings are, in most cases, decidedly superior to the other ations of Mr. Yarrell's work.

had intended to have noticed, before leaving the *conirostres*, tructure of the beak of the crossbills (*loxia*), which has impiously termed by Buffon, 'an error of nature and a s deformity,' but we cannot do more than recommend to aders the admirable description of this remarkable structure is given at vol. ii. pp. 27—33, where Mr. Yarrell clearly s this 'useless deformity' to be of the highest importance in onomy of the *loxia*.

e next tribe (*scansores*, or climbers) commences with the peckers (*picidæ*), the habits of which we have partially bed on a recent occasion. The *scansores* also include the es *certhiadæ* (creepers) and *cuculidæ* (cuckoos).

e tribe *fissirostres* is composed of insectivorous birds which re their prey upon the wing. In order that this may be plished with facility, they are provided with great width of and their powers of flight are pre-eminent,—the feet, not-

being of so much importance in their habits, are slightly developed. The swallows (*hirundinidæ*) which during the day sweep the air in search of food, and the night-jars (*caprimulgidæ*) which, in like manner, 'prey upon night-flying insects, may be instanced as familiar examples of this tribe.' 'The swallow,' says Sir Humphrey Davy, in his *Salmonia*, 'is one of my favourite birds, and a rival of the nightingale; for he cheers my sense of seeing as much as the other does my sense of hearing. He is the glad prophet of the year—the harbinger of the best season; he lives a life of enjoyment amongst the loveliest forms of nature; winter is unknown to him, and he leaves the green meadows of England in autumn, for the myrtle and orange groves of Italy, and for the palms of Africa.' The habits of the *hirundines* are not only elegant and pleasing, but exceedingly useful, and it is with pain, therefore, that we often witness the havoc which is committed amongst them by thoughtless and cruel marksmen. The Rev. W. T. Bree, in the second volume of *The Naturalist*, states his opinion that the swallows, and more especially the swifts, are diminishing everywhere, and he asks, 'may not this be owing to their wanton destruction?'

The common night-jar (*C. Europæus*), of which a very spirited engraving is given at p. 242 of the second volume, is the only species of the *caprimulgidæ* found in this kingdom. Its food consists of cockchaffers (*melolontha*) and moths, which it captures on the wing during the hours of twilight. The mouth of this bird is surrounded by bristles, which are of much assistance in securing the prey upon which it subsists. The claw of the middle toe is 'flattened and dilated on the inner edge, and the margin is divided so as to form a small comb of seven or eight teeth.' White, in his *Natural History of Selborne*, records that he had observed, with much interest, the night-jar, when on the wing, more than once put out its short leg and by a bend of the head deliver something into his mouth. He was inclined to believe that the bird, on these occasions, captured its prey by the foot, and that the serrated claw assisted in securing the insects. This opinion is confirmed by Mr. Atkinson, who, in his *Compendium*, states that he has witnessed the night-jar take moths and beetles by its foot, and convey them to its mouth with 'great deliberation.' Other writers have held different opinions with reference to the use of the serrated claw, namely, that it is 'to comb out the hairs set along the upper edge of the mouth on each side, or to clear the delicate edges and angles of the mouth from the sharp hooks on the legs of insects, while some have supposed that they are supplied to rid the birds of vermin.' Mr. Yarrell does not state his own opinion; and we think further observation

re consequently adapted, in an especial manner, for walking,
; strong and robust; the hind toe is elevated, and in some
es is very small or entirely wanting. The bill is short and
g. The food of rasorial birds consists of various kinds of
; their habits are inoffensive; they are easily domesticated;
heir flesh and eggs are savoury and nutritious. Some of the
as stock our farm-yards; and others are kept in the parks
he grounds of the rich, where they are jealously guarded by
-laws and game-keepers.

: the commencement of the order are arranged the pigeons
ubidæ), which, in many respects, are closely allied to the
ores. Their powers of flight are much greater than those of
true *rasores*, from which the pigeons also differ in their
eal habits; in the state of the young at birth; in the
ion of the hind toe, which is placed on the same level as the
oes; in their being uniformly monogamous; and in several
important particulars. Some naturalists, in consequence
ese peculiarities of structure and habits, have regarded the
bidæ as belonging to the *insessores*, rather than to the *rasores*,
hich order they have been arranged by Cuvier, Selby,
nson, Yarrell, &c. Other authors have contended that the
ns should constitute a distinct order, and we are inclined to
ur in this opinion. That some of the species very closely
aximate to the true *rasores* can be no reason why a group,
e *typical* characteristics are so peculiar and so evidently dis-
; should be incongruously arranged as a minor division of an
r with which it has scarcely any points in common. We are
g to pay every deference to Cuvier's opinion; but we cannot
l thinking that Mr. Swainson and the other *ordinary* authors
classed the *columbidæ* with the *rasores*, in order to meet the
irements of their system, which would not allow of six pri-
r divisions of the feathered creation. Our limits will not
it us to enter more fully into the question, upon which some
interesting and important observations, by Mr. Thomas
, will be found at p. 57 of the second volume of *The*
ralist.

will be unnecessary to occupy much space in describing the
ts of the *columbidæ*, with which our readers must be well
ainted. Since the time of the flood, when the dove returned

to the ark with the welcome olive branch in its mouth, it has been regarded as an emblem of peace; a character well sustained by the gentle and tender habits of its race. In Russia the dove is esteemed sacred, and is termed 'God's bird,' from the circumstance of the Holy Spirit assuming that form; and the Russians regard the killing of a dove as an act of the greatest impiety.

The many remarkable varieties which are kept by pigeon-fanciers, are descended from the rock dove (*C. livia*). Mr. Yarrell remarks that—

'One of the first consequences of domestication, it is well known, is the production of various colours, generally, however, retaining some indication of the original race, or reproducing some of the original traits, if selection be not attended to. The numerous and remarkable varieties among what are called fancy pigeons, however first established, are now maintained and perpetuated by selection and restriction, and some of them are among the most curious of zoological results.'—Vol. ii. p. 263.

The 'jacobins,' 'broad-tailed shakers,' 'tumblers,' 'carriers,' &c., are surprising instances of the varieties which have been produced and perpetuated from the original stock. The powers of flight possessed by carrier pigeons are universally known. Mr. Yarrell mentions that in 1833 twenty-four carriers were sent off from Rouen, whither they had been conveyed from Ghent. The distance, which in a straight line is about one hundred and fifty miles, was traversed by one pigeon in an hour and a half; sixteen arrived in two hours and a half; three in the course of the day, and four were lost. Trained carrier pigeons have often been used to communicate tidings of important events both in war and in commerce.

Dr. Fleming, in his *History of British Animals*, records the occurrence, in Fifeshire, of a single specimen of the passenger or migratory pigeon (*C. migratoria*), and it is consequently entered in the British Fauna. The habits of this species are very astonishing, and have been well described by Alexander Wilson. In America, the passenger pigeons associate together during the period of incubation, and in their migrations, in such vast multitudes as almost to exceed belief. In the breeding season these birds select a tract of country extending for several miles, the trees of which they cover with their nests; and the woods are literally thronged with pigeons, so much so that in many cases the branches of the trees are broken down with the weight of the clustering multitudes. One of these roosting places in the state of Kentucky extended forty miles, and was several miles in breadth! On a single tree there are sometimes one hundred nests, each of which invariably contains only one young pigeon.

Wilson states that when these roosts are first discovered, people from considerable distances visit them in the night with guns, clubs, long poles, pots of sulphur, and various other engines of destruction. In a few hours they fill many sacks, and load their horses with them. The young are very fat, and are highly esteemed as delicacies for the table. During their migrations the flocks of this species are immense, and have no parallel amongst the feathered tribes. Wilson noticed, in passing between Frankfort and the Indiana territory, a very extensive flock of the migrating pigeon, and he remarks that 'if we suppose this column to have been one mile in breadth (and I believe it to have been much more), and that it moved at the rate of one mile in a minute, four hours, the time it continued passing, would make its whole length two hundred and forty miles. Again, supposing that each square yard of this moving body comprehended three pigeons, the square yards in the whole space multiplied by three, would give two thousand two hundred and thirty millions, two hundred and seventy two thousand pigeons! an almost inconceivable multitude, and yet probably far below the actual amount. Heaven has wisely and graciously given to these birds rapidity of flight and a disposition to range over vast uncultivated tracts of the earth, otherwise they must have perished in the districts where they resided, or devoured up the whole productions of agriculture, as well as those of the forests.'

The *true* rasorial birds of Great Britain belong to the families *phasianidæ* (of which the common pheasant is the only British example,) *tetraonidæ* (grouse), and *struthionidæ* (bustards). Our space will not allow us to give even a brief analysis of these families; we must not, however, omit noticing an interesting fact, stated by Mr. Yarrell, respecting the common quail (*coturnix dactylisonans*). This species appears to be identical with the *tetrao Israelitarum*, 'of whose instinct it pleased the Divinity to avail himself in supplying the famishing Israelites with food in the wilderness.' Mr. Yarrell adduces the following facts in support of his opinion:—

'Bochart and Dr. Harris state that the Hebrew word used is *selav*, in Arabic *selwee*, or *selvai* (a quail), which is constantly rendered by the Septuagint ὀρτυγομήτρα, a large kind of quail. Aristotle, indeed, calls the rail (*rallus* and *crex*) *ortygometra;* but on the whole, it is to be inferred from Bochart, that the Greeks used the word rather to indicate the size of the ὄρτυξ, than as descriptive of a different *bird;* and Josephus considers ὀρτυγομήτρα and ὄρτυξ synonymous, and states that *quails* abound on the gulf of the Red Sea; and we know that they abound in Egypt, Barbary, Asia Minor, and at certain seasons in Europe at the present day.

'There is another mode to connect the bird of Scripture with the

coturnix dactylisonans, and this is readily done by the simple fact of its being the only species of quail that migrates in multitudes; indeed we have not any satisfactory account that any other species of *quail* is migratory. Aristotle mentions the habit; and Pliny states they sometimes alight on vessels in the Mediterranean, and sink them!'—Vol. ii. pp. 358, 359.

Mr. Yarrell also adduces the testimonies of Belon, Buffon, Tournefort, Temminck, &c., with reference to the migratory habits of the quail, and he adds that

'With these facts before us, considering the positive testimony of the Psalmist [Ps. lxxviii. 26, 27, 28, 29], that the unexpected supply of food to the Israelites was a *bird*, and that *bird*, agreeably to the Septuagint and Josephus, a *quail*, that only one species of quail migrates in prodigious numbers, and that species the subject of the present notice, we are authorized to pronounce the *coturnix dactylisonans* to be the identical species with which the Israelities were fed. We have here proof of the perpetuation of an instinct through 3300 years, not pervading a whole species, but that part of a species existing within certain geographical limits; an instinct characterized by a peculiarity which modern observers have also noticed, of making their migratory flight by night. 'And it came to pass, that at even, the quails came up and covered the camp.' As might have been expected, we see the most ancient of all historical works and natural history reflecting attesting lights on each other.'—Vol. ii. p. 360.

When Mr. Yarrell's *History* is completed, we may probably continue our analysis, and notice the remaining orders, which include the wading birds (*grallatores*) and swimming birds (*natatores*). For the present we take our leave of Mr. Yarrell, whose work is alike creditable to the author, the artists, and the enterprising publisher.

Art. III. *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the Influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral, and Political Respects.* By Count Valerian Krasinski. Vol. II. London: Murray.

We owe an apology to Count Krasinski for having so long permitted this volume to escape attention. We regret our oversight the more from the admirable character of the volume itself, and the painfully interesting circumstances under which it has been produced. An exile from the land of his fathers, deeply alive to all which affects its welfare, intimately acquainted with its history, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of evangelical truth, the noble author has here sought to lay open the source of

his country's ruin, and to reveal to the English public the chicanery and violence by which the papacy has achieved a triumph in Poland on the ruins of religious freedom and national existence. We have reason to believe that it was the intention of Count Krasinski to devote the remainder of his life to an elucidation of the history and principles, the essential immutability and superficial variations of popery, and that the work now before us is the first fruit of such intention. To those who are acquainted with the author, and sympathize with his views, it will appear eminently desirable that he should prosecute his design; and we shall deeply regret if, as we have recently heard, the necessities of his position should compel him to relinquish it. His acquaintance with several European languages, and thorough knowledge of some points of history not usually included within the range of English study, peculiarly qualify him for the task, and lead us to hope that he may yet be able to adhere to his original purpose.

There never was a time when the popish controversy required a more thorough preparation on the part of protestant advocates. The sciolist and the pretender will only do injury by engaging in it, for their inaccuracies will speedily be detected, and their arrogance and blunders will be used as so many missiles against the faith which they have presumptuously undertaken to defend. The advocates of the papacy are learned in that species of lore which the case specially requires, and are eminently dexterous in its use. Unscrupulous and determined, they distort history to serve their party purpose, and readily avail themselves of every occasion which the presumption and ignorance of their opponents furnish, to misrepresent our views or to conceal the enormity of their own. Many of our would-be-champions are therefore easily defeated, and we should not much care about the matter if their defeat terminated on themselves. This, however, is not the case. The public, who witness the failure, regard the blow as falling not so much upon the advocate as upon the cause which he espouses, and their confidence in protestantism is thus shaken, and a state of feeling is induced favourable to the designs of its opponents.

Moreover, it has happened in too many cases that the struggle has been regarded as a contest between two churches equally intolerant and rapacious, alike regardless of the rights of others, contemptuously indifferent to the spiritual welfare of mankind, and intent only on the promotion of their own secular interests. We cannot wonder at this, however we may regret it. The position of the English church, considered as a protestant body, is a false one, and the fact is becoming daily more obvious. The tithe crusades of Ireland, and the church-rate distraints and im-

prisonments of England have broken the spell of her sanctity, and are working—fast working—into the hearts of our people, the conviction that she is part and parcel of that system of abomination over which the 'Man of Sin' presides; and is, therefore utterly unfit to carry to a successful issue the impending struggle between spiritual despotism and the freedom and purity of the church of God. This state of things has not been unperceived by catholic writers. It has given them great advantage, which they have improved with their usual sagacity and tact. The charge of intolerance has been retorted upon the protestant church, and the liberal politics of the catholics of Ireland have been triumphantly contrasted with the rampant toryism of the English clergy. The result of all this has been a mighty—though for a season, an unrecognised—revolution in the feelings of the English public. A local and accidental circumstance has overruled a general fact; the exception has been substituted for the rule; and even where this has not been entirely accomplished, where protestantism has still been loved and cherished for its scriptural character and religious fruits, yet our people have failed to realize the inherent sympathy of popery with civil tyranny and religious persecution. The speeches of O'Connell, breathing as they do the very spirit of religious liberty, outstripping in the clearness of their statements and the force of their logic most of the protestant advocates by whom he is surrounded, are amongst the marvels of the day. Yet the marvellous in them admits of easy solution. They are but the utterances of a people, the natural tendencies of whose creed have been checked by the presence of an unscrupulous and grasping church. In the school of persecution even the catholics of Ireland have been taught the language of religious liberty.

We look to the dissenters of Great Britain for the remedy of these evils, in order to which, it is necessary that they should address themselves with earnestness to the deep study of this great question. This should be done promptly, and in a spirit of zealous consecration. The attainments of the last generation will not meet the requirements of the present day. Our men must be more deeply read in the history and literature of the controversy, must be more thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy of the system, and be better prepared to meet the varying and insidious aspects under which the popish faith is presented to our protestant countrymen. We would especially commend to the attention of our dissenting readers the comparative effects of romanism and protestantism on the civilization, political institutes, and social habits of nations. Let them guard against hasty generalizations, but seeking to take in the whole compass of modern history, let their conclusions be founded on a calm survey of its record. The character of the work before us, and

its obvious tendency to aid such an investigation, must be our apology for having detained our readers with these preliminary remarks.

In our notice of Count Krasinski's former volume, we recorded our high estimate of its worth, and are glad to be able, in still stronger terms, to repeat, on the present occasion, the same judgment. The work is now before us in its complete form, and we have no hesitation in affirming, that it constitutes a valuable addition to our ecclesiastical literature. Its style and general temper partake of a foreign complexion, though the construction and idiomatic peculiarities of our language are preserved with singular felicity. It is rarely that we meet with a work from a foreign author in which this is effected to so happy an extent.

The volume commences with the interregnum which followed the death of Sigismund Augustus, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Poland was at this time divided into several religious parties, each of which was anxious to secure the election of a monarch favourable to its own views. The Roman Catholics had an able leader in Cardinal Commendoni, whose object was to secure the vacant throne to the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian the Second. For this purpose, he entered into a secret convention with some Polish grandees, which, if carried out, would have involved the country in a religious and civil war. The archduke was, in the first place, to be elected grand duke of Lithuania, 'after which, he was to levy an army of 24,000 men, in order, if necessary, to compel the senate of Poland' to choose him as their monarch. Against this confederacy, which threatened the political, as well as the religious liberties of the country, the protestants were prevented from making an effectual stand by the divisions which existed amongst them. Some of the leading Lutherans, apprehensive of the ultimate triumph of the Helvetian church in Poland, joined the Romanists, but the scheme, though hopeful for a time, was ultimately frustrated by the prudence of the emperor, and the subsequent course of events. The protestant party under Coligny, enjoyed at this period temporary influence at the French court, and a plan was devised to secure the Polish crown for Henry of Valois, Duke of Anjou. In the meantime, the cause of religious liberty gained a signal triumph in the diet which assembled at Warsaw, January 6, 1573.

'The first and the most important object of that Diet was, to settle in a peaceful manner the differences between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The clergy, who saw the impossibility of crushing their opponents, and even the danger to which they were themselves exposed, were the first to propose such a measure. Karn-

kowski, Bishop of Cujavia, composed the articles, in which he ensured a perfect equality of rights and privileges to all the Christian professions in Poland. The same act guaranteed the dignities, rights, and privileges of the Roman-catholic bishops, but abolished the obligation of the church patrons to bestow the benefices in their gift exclusively to Roman-catholic clergymen. This wise act was, however, disgraced by an article which ensured to the landowners a perfect authority over their subjects, even in matters of religion.

'This remarkable transaction gave to the Protestants a legal existence in Poland, because the former enactments, although they gave them a complete freedom, did not grant them that perfect equality with the Roman-catholic church which they now acquired; but the article which confirmed and extended the power of the land-owners over the peasants, may be considered as a most deplorable event in the Polish history. It was undoubtedly brought about by the troubles which the blind zeal of some reformers had excited in Germany, and the report of which was industriously circulated and magnified by the Romanist party. Its effect was particularly injurious to the progress of the Reformation, as it estranged from it the inferior classes of society, and prevented it from taking a deep root in the national mind.'—pp. 11—13.

We cannot stop to trace the intrigues which secured the final triumph of the French prince in Poland. The policy of that court was conducted with inimitable skill, and Henry, in consequence, arrived in Poland on the 25th January, 1574. He had previously confirmed by oath the religious liberties of the country, yet the Protestants had little faith in his word, and resolved jealously to watch his movements. It was well that they did so, as the sequel showed. It was the policy of Henry and of his Romanist advisers to evade, at his coronation, a repetition of the Paris oath, guaranteeing the religious liberty of the Protestants. Firley, as leader of the Protestants, insisted on the oath being repeated, whilst the king, not daring openly to refuse, sought to delude them with vague and general promises. The decision and intrepidity of the grand marshal, and of his co-adjutor, Dembinski, at length wrung from him the required pledge.

'When the ceremony of the coronation was proceeding, and its final act, the placing of the crown on the head of the monarch, was about to be performed, Firley, seeing that no oath to the Protestants was taken, interrupted the solemnity, declaring that, unless the abovementioned oath was pronounced, he would not permit the coronation to proceed. He and Dembinski, grand chancellor of Poland, who was also a Protestant, presented to the monarch, who was kneeling on the steps of the altar, a scroll containing the oath he had sworn at Paris. This boldness terrified the monarch, who rose from the place where he was kneeling. The by-standers were mute with astonishment;

but Firley took the crown, and said in a loud voice, '*Si non jurabis, non regnabis.*' This bold step created great confusion; the Romanists were terror-struck, and dared not to oppose the high-minded palatine of Cracow, who remained firm, although some Protestants, as Zborowski and Radziwill, began to waver. The king was obliged fully to repeat his oath of Paris, and the generous act of Firley ensured the triumph of the cause of religious liberty.'—pp. 41, 42.

The reign of Henry of Valois lasted only four months, and was terminated by a hasty and secret departure on intelligence being received of the death of his brother, Charles the Ninth of France. Advantage was taken of the interregnum which followed, to secure a confirmation of the religious rights guaranteed by the confederation of January, 1573, and all who should infringe such rights were declared to be punishable with loss of civil and political privileges. Taught by recent and bitter experience, the Protestants now resolved, if possible, to secure the throne to one of their own body, or at least to one favourable to their creed. With this view, they looked to Stephen Battory, Duke of Transylvania, to whom the crown was offered, on condition of his marrying the Princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus. Battory agreed to the condition, and the Protestants exulted in the prospect of his election, as a pledge of their own security and of the triumph of their faith. 'The election of a Protestant to the throne of Poland seemed to ensure the final triumph of the Protestant cause in that country; but the Romanist clergy who saw their danger, despatched Solikowski, a clergyman of eminent talent and learning, in order to gain over the new monarch to their party.'

Solikowski was completely successful in his mission, so little reliance is to be placed on the religious professions of political men. The envoy had to contend with great difficulties, but having obtained a night interview with the monarch, he secured his adhesion to the Catholic party.

'This interview was fatal to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, because Solikowski succeeded, by his arguments, in persuading Battory that he had no chance of maintaining himself on the throne of Poland, unless he would make a public profession of Romanism. Solikowski's arguments were supported by the consideration that the princess Anna, being a bigoted Romanist, would never have accepted of a Protestant husband. Battory was weak enough to listen to those arguments; and on the next day, the Protestant delegates beheld with dismay the monarch on whom they had founded the final triumph of their cause, devotedly kneeling at the mass. This act reanimated the hope of the Romanists, who considered otherwise their cause as ruined in Poland.

'Battory confirmed without the least hesitation the liberties of the

anti-Romanist confessions; but although he had no inclination to persecute those confessions, the prospects of the Reformation were entirely obscured by his submission to Rome.'—pp. 47, 48.

The influence of the Jesuits in Poland was established during the reign of Stephen Battory, who at once, and with singular inconsistency, cordially maintained the laws, guaranteeing to the Protestants their religious liberty, and patronised the class who were the bitterest and most able advocates of intolerance and persecution. When the former appealed to the monarch for protection from the persecutions excited by the latter, he promptly interposed on their behalf, maintaining that, 'wherever religion was supported by fire and sword, and not by doctrine and good conduct, it always led to internal commotions and domestic war. That God himself predicted the coming of scandals and heresies, that he did not wish to coerce any man's conscience, which he left to the judgment of God, and that, fulfilling the conditions he had sworn, he would protect the Protestants whose liberties were secured by the laws of the country. Thus 'this great monarch,' as our author remarks, 'endeavoured to prevent the consequences of his own work, we mean the patronage he bestowed on the Jesuits, who were the principal instigators of all the above-mentioned religious troubles. But although his strong hand succeeded in repressing the deplorable effects of a cause which he had himself created, the control which was exercised over that dangerous order ceased with his life, and its pernicious influences increased during the subsequent reign in rapid progression.'

Battory was succeeded by Sigismund the Third, a bigoted Romanist, under whose reign the seed sown by his predecessor, bore ample fruit. His ecclesiastical policy, and the results which flowed from it, are thus described by Count Krasinski:—

'The election of such a monarch was ominous to the Protestant cause in Poland, already endangered by the lamentable partiality which Stephen Battory had shewn to the Jesuits, and the Romanist re-action, beginning under his reign, had been chiefly promoted by the schools which that order was everywhere establishing. If the Romanist re-action succeeded in making such progress under the reign of a monarch anxious to maintain the liberties of the nation, what could it not expect from the blind zeal of the bigoted Sigismund the Third? The long reign of that infatuated sovereign, 1587—1632, presents one uniform system of policy,—this, namely, the promotion of the supremacy of Rome in all the foreign and domestic relations of Poland, in utter disregard of the interests of the nation. This deplorable system undermined the welfare of Poland, and planted the seeds of all the evils which caused the decline and fall of that unfortunate country. The anti-Romanist party was still sufficiently strong

to render unsafe all attempts at open persecution, which, moreover, were prohibited by the laws of the country. Sigismund, therefore, guided by the advice of his Jesuit counsellors, tried, and with lamentable success, to obtain by corruption what he dared not effect by oppression. Although the authority of the monarch was in many respects limited, yet had he the distribution of honours and riches, and he made it a point never to bestow either, unless forced by circumstances, except on Romanists, and among these, most lavishly on proselytes whom interest had converted, though argument left them unconvinced; following this line of policy during a reign of forty-five years, he left in the senate, which at the death of Sigismund Augustus was almost entirely composed of anti-Romanists, but two Protestants. Considering human frailty, and the great influence which motives of ambition and avarice frequently exercise over the upper classes of society, we must rather lament than wonder at this event, especially if we consider that under the short reign of James the Second, a monarch possessed much less of the arts and means of seduction than Sigismund the Third, and in a Protestant country such as England, several persons were induced to abandon their creed, in order to gain the favour of the sovereign by conforming to his religion. Another means employed by the king to exterminate the anti-Romanist party, was to leave unpunished all the aggressions made on them in open breach of law. Thus, by ensuring impunity for crimes which deserved capital punishment, he accustomed the nation to contempt of the law, by which he undermined the very foundation of the social edifice, and sowed the seeds of future anarchy and disorder.'—pp. 92—95.

This state of things was fearfully ominous to the Protestant cause, the danger of which was not diminished by the internal condition of its disciples. Instead of uniting to oppose the Romanist reaction, they were torn by intestine divisions, and regarded each other with the bitterness and rancour of theological polemics. The bigotry and intolerance of the Lutherans on the one side, and the daring speculations of the Unitarians on the other, did equal damage to a cause which required the combined energy and enlightened service of all. It is melancholy to reflect on the injury which has been done to the truth of God by the misconceptions, prejudices, and bad passions of its professed friends. The history of Lutheranism affords many illustrations of this; none, perhaps, more instructive than those which occur in the annals of Poland. The union of Sandomir promised, for a time, to heal the divisions existing amongst the leading protestant sects, while the synod of Thorn, convened in August, 1595, evinced the possibility of yet warding off the dangers which thickened around them. All that was wanting to success, was a better temper in the men themselves, a more scrupulous regard to what was due to others, a more scriptural

estimate of their spiritual vocation, and of the limits within which its functions and privileges were confined. These things, however, were wanting, and the consequence is seen in the ecclesiastical statistics of Poland at this day.

The civil war of 1606-8, which was partly political and partly religious, proved injurious to the Protestant cause by weakening many of its friends, and by throwing additional power into the hands of the king. The laws were yet in their favour, but the executive was against them, and they were subjected in consequence to a thousand annoyances. 'The party of reaction being unable to bring any legal measures to bear against them, pursued a system of local persecution, which, although committed in open breach of the laws, was sure to be sheltered from punishment by the favour of the monarch.'

Sigismund was succeeded by his eldest son, Vladislav the Fourth, whose character was entirely the reverse of his father's. He unhesitatingly confirmed all the religious and political rights of the nation, and held out to its discordant sects the prospect of tranquillity and equal protection.

'Vladislav's mind was enlightened by considerable instruction, which, with his experience of the evils drawn down on the kingdom by the bigotry of his father, rendered the counsellors who had directed his father so distasteful to him, that he would not admit any Jesuit to his court. His naturally benevolent disposition and upright character made him loathe persecution and every deviation from conduct strictly honourable. We must not omit mentioning the noble answer which he gave to Prince Radziwill, chancellor of Lithuania, who advised him not to attach any real importance to the promises given to the anti-Romanist confessions, 'What I promise with my lips I shall fulfil by my actions.'

'Such conduct gave rise to a suspicion that he was inclined towards Protestantism. We are unable to decide whether this suspicion had any grounds or not; but, certainly, to be just and impartial was quite enough to suggest such a surmise to a party accustomed to the blind devotion with which Sigismund the Third promoted their interests on every occasion. Whatever may have been the internal convictions of Vladislav, certain it is that difference of religion had no influence on his mind; and he distributed charges and offices without any regard to the persuasion of the individual. He even accepted, as Sigismund Augustus had done, the dedication of a Protestant Bible, which was addressed to him by Prince Christopher Radziwill, immediately after his election.'—pp. 219, 220.

The tolerant spirit of this monarch was not, however, shared by the Catholic clergy, whose primate interdicted the circulation of the Protestant Scriptures. His prohibition was approved by the Synod of Warsaw in 1634, which declared that 'the doctrine which allowed every Christian to search the Scriptures, was

introduced by Satan himself.' The pope confirmed the resolution of the synod, and the general tone of the popular mind had become so prejudiced against the Protestant professions, that the property and persons of their members were frequently exposed to the violence of infuriated mobs. The influence of the Jesuits had diffused throughout the country a spirit of bitter hostility towards them, which evinced itself in acts of brutal violence. The students of the university of Cracow were foremost in these disgraceful outrages, and were, on most occasions, screened by the authorities from the punishment which they merited. The following may be taken as an example of what frequently occurred:—

'A Protestant lady having died, her friends apprehending an attack from the students, requested Princess Radziwill, who belonged to the same communion, to lend her carriage to take the body secretly to a place, where its burial might be performed in safety from Romanist profanation. This request was readily granted: but the students having been informed of it, stopped the carriage, took the body out of the coffin, and threw it into the mud. This insult, however, did not satisfy the rage of these wretches; they put back the body into the coffin, bound it with a chain, and carried it about the streets, pelting it with stones, amidst savage yells, and indecent songs. This scandalous scene created different impressions upon the spectators: there were some who approved of it; but many were so shocked by the scandal that they shed tears. The rector of the university, Naymanowicz, is said to have witnessed this shameful action without interfering; perhaps, because he felt that his authority would be disregarded by the fanatical rabble which disgraced the learned institution over which he presided. The students, after having inflicted every kind of insult on the body, threw it into the river; but the friends of the deceased recovered it, and committed it to the grave. This enormity excited strong indignation amongst many persons, and the king ordered that justice should be done on the disturbers of the public peace. Three of the principal leaders of the riot were discovered; but the rector of the university succeeded in screening them from punishment, except one, called Valentin Iskra, who was notorious for violence, and was convicted of having insulted the dead body, and of being the author of all the riots. He was condemned to death, and the king confirmed the sentence; but the felon found many influential patrons, and the Protestants being threatened with vengeance in case he should be beheaded, did not press the execution of the sentence. Iskra was pardoned, and six professors gave, in the name of the university, security for his good behaviour.

'On August 15th, 1641, the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, fifteen pilgrims to the Mount of Calvary, after having performed their devotions, resolved to complete the pious occupation of the day by pillaging heretics. They invaded the house of a Protestant named Kolay, who lived at Chalowice, a neighbouring village, bound all the servants, and endeavoured to compel Kolay and his wife, by

threats of murdering them, to give up their money. These felons stole everything which they could lay hold of, avowing that they did it in order to avenge the true religion on heretics. Some accident, however, which induced them to retreat hastily for fear of being surprised, prevented them from putting their threats into execution. Several things which, in their precipitation, they forgot to carry away, proved that those pilgrims were students of the university. They were discovered and prosecuted before the criminal court of Cracow. The students did not deny their actions, but justified them; maintaining that it was a duty to destroy Protestants: they said that the clergy permitted and approved of such proceedings, and that without similar persecutions, heresy would become victorious, and the Roman Catholics be defeated. They even cited Scripture to prove that the slaughter of heretics was commanded by God, and quoted the ancient laws of the country against seceders from the Roman-catholic church. They put forward in their defence the excesses committed by the students at Poznania, Lublin, and Vilna, which remained unpunished. Their arguments, however, proved unavailing; and perhaps this open and frank avowal of their principles was too premature for the designs of the leaders of the Romanist re-action; they were condemned to death, and, notwithstanding the clamours of many zealous Romanists, who considered them martyrs to the good cause, were executed.'—pp. 226—229.

The death of Vladislav made way for the accession of his brother, John Casimir, in 1648. This monarch, successively a Jesuit and a cardinal, brought with him to the throne much of the spirit which had animated his previous career. Protestantism was in consequence discouraged, and its abettors were subjected to every form of annoyance and persecution. Their schools were closed, their places of worship pillaged, and their lives frequently exposed to imminent peril. 'In short,' remarks Count Krasinski, 'this reign was so fatal to the Protestant cause in Poland, that since that time it may be considered as having been utterly destroyed.' Their numbers were still considerable, and the laws promised them protection, but their rights 'were only nominal, and their confirmation a solemn mockery.' To such extent had a Romanist reaction taken place, that in 1668 a law was passed, prohibiting, under severe penalties, Catholics from becoming Protestants.

'The cause of the Reformation in Poland,' our author remarks, 'was entirely crushed during the reign of John Casimir, and though there were still many Protestants in that country, Protestantism itself had ceased to be an element of national life. Everything was placed under the control and influence of the Romanists, who, with the adroit policy peculiar to them, succeeded in representing their antagonists as the enemies of the country. At the diet of election in 1669, the Protestants failed not to represent their grievances, and to demand

the strict maintenance of the laws which guaranteed religious freedom to all citizens. Although Wierzbowski, Bishop of Pomania, at the instigation of the papal nuncio, pronounced in the cathedral church of Warsaw an anathema against heretics, declaring them unworthy of the protection of the law, and ordering their expulsion from the province of Mazovia, the diet as usual confirmed the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanist confessions—a confirmation which experience showed to be nothing better than an unmeaning formality. It enacted, however, a new law, by which the progress of Protestantism was rendered impossible, as it prohibited the abjuration of Romanism under the penalty of death or banishment. The same diet enacted that the kings of Poland should be Roman Catholics, a condition which, although rendered indispensable by circumstances, was, for the first time, converted into a law.'—pp. 410, 411.

Our space prevents our entering into a consideration of the influence of Unitarianism on the fortunes of Poland. Count Krasinski has furnished much information on this point, to which we can do little more than direct the attention of our readers. Faustus Socinus arrived in Poland in 1579, and became united by marriage to some of the first families in the country. The anti-evangelical doctrines which he reduced to a system obtained, in consequence of his influence and talents, extensive currency, and produced divisions which operated seriously to the detriment of protestantism. The school of Rakow was the chief head of Polish Socinianism, which prevailed greatly between the years 1585 and 1638. Their subsequent history was one of bitter persecution, and is briefly told.

'The diet enacted a law, by which it was forbidden, under the severest penalties, to profess or propagate Socinianism in the Polish dominions; and all those who did so, or in any way favoured that profession, were threatened with the immediate punishment of death. There was granted, however, to those who should persevere in that sect, a term of three years for the sale of their property and the recovery of their dues. Perfect security was promised to them during that term, but the exercise of their religion was prohibited, and they were not allowed to take any part in the affairs of the country. This enactment was not based on political considerations, neither did it impute to the Socinians any act of treason, but it was entirely founded on theological grounds, and chiefly on the fact that they did not admit the pre-eternity of Jesus Christ. A rather odd reason in a country where Jews were tolerated and Mahometans admitted to all the rights of other citizens.

'The term of three years granted to the Socinians by the diet of 1658, was abridged to two by that of 1659, which decreed that, on the 10th of July, 1660, all the Socinians who had not embraced Romanism should leave the country under the penalties prescribed by the diet of 1658. By the same enactment, those Socinians who might abjure

their persuasion were forbidden to embrace any other confession than the Romanist, because many of them had become Protestants to avoid the severity of the law of 1658.

'Owing to the shortness of the time, the state of the country, ruined by war, and the greediness of purchasers who took advantage of their unfortunate position, the Socinians were obliged to sell their property for prices which bore no proportion to their real value. Meanwhile persecution of every kind was heaped on them; they were regarded as outlaws; and as every kind of religious exercise was disallowed to them, nothing was more easy than to find cause for persecuting them on that ground.

'Nothing then remained for them but to leave the country before the expiration of the appointed term, a measure which was accompanied with great hardship, notwithstanding the attempt of several eminent noblemen to alleviate their sufferings, who, although professed Romanists, were connected by ties of blood and friendship with many Socinians. They dispersed into different parts of Europe, where they expected to find a safe asylum from religious persecution. A great number went to Transylvania and Hungary; but a party of these unfortunate emigrants, composed of three hundred and eighty individuals, was attacked on their way to the last-named country by a band of robbers, sent on purpose, as it is supposed, and completely stripped of their remaining property.'—pp. 396—401.

Thus closed the history of the Socinian sect in Poland, and whatever may be thought of its theology, no difference of opinion can now be entertained amongst reflecting men respecting the manner of its overthrow. This was vicious and culpable in the last degree, pre-eminently adapted to alienate confidence from the orthodox faith, and to predispose inquiring minds to sympathize with the propagators of error. That the influence of Socinianism was as pernicious as its doctrines are unscriptural, we cannot doubt. 'The daring theological speculations in which they indulged, their practice of trying the Scriptures by the test of weak human reason, and perverting the simple words of the sacred text into a forced sense, led very soon to conclusions subversive of Revelation itself, which, unsettling the minds of men, struck terror into many timorous consciences, and made them seek a refuge in the absolute authority of the Roman church.' But notwithstanding all this, both Protestants and Romanists were deeply criminal in the means to which they resorted against the rising heresy. Their weapons should have been spiritual, and not carnal; the word of the Lord, and not the sword of the magistrate. They accomplished, indeed, their design, so far as the political existence of the obnoxious sect was concerned, but their success was dearly purchased, and involved, in the course of its achievement, a thousand crimes.

In closing our notice of Count Krasinski's work, we empha-

tically repeat the commendation already expressed. It is not a book of light reading, one fit to be taken up at a leisure hour, and glanced over with a drowsy eye and a listless mind. To those who resort to it in any such mood it will prove unattractive, but to other and more discerning readers, it will present points of interest and instructive lessons, of the most practical and enduring character. Its scholarship is sound, its spirit of research perhaps too profound for its popularity, and its whole air and temper such as bespeak at once the gentleman, the man of letters, and the Christian.

Art. IV. *Luther, a Poem.* By Robert Montgomery, M.A., Author of the 'Omnipresence of the Deity,' 'The Messiah,' 'Satan,' &c. Second Edition. London: Baisler.

It would seem from this title-page that Mr. Robert Montgomery, in his own opinion, is a poet of established reputation, yet there is no writer whose productions have elicited critical opinions so much at variance with this proud assumption. He belongs to no class, certainly not to the order of genius, nor will his works, so popular in his own day, be read by another generation. 'The Omnipresence of the Deity,' the first of his poetical effusions, was so egregiously puffed off at the time of its publication, so bequoted and bepraised in newspapers and periodical journals, and the 'second Milton,' 'the bard of heaven,' was so paraded before the public, that many who were insensible to his prodigious merit did not dare to confide in their own judgment. There were a few, however, that would not be carried along the stream; who read for themselves, and who soon discovered that Mr. R. Montgomery was not destined to introduce a new era in poetry; that the divine omnipresence was a theme above his powers and beyond his attainments. This poem, as it is called, now lies before us; we have reperused it, and it appears to us, both in a religious and poetical view, to be a wretched performance. With its author omnipresence is simply omnipresence. But how it dwells in the soul as an inspiration and a religion, how it is the source of living truth and immortal principle; how, while it seems to do nothing, it does everything; how it works by evil and by good; and how it is to be reconciled with the existence, continuance, and reign of sin in this nether world, he has not troubled himself to inquire; nor has he grappled with a single difficulty. He has dilated, indeed, on many of the phenomena which appear to militate against the doctrine of providence, conducted by a Being of infinite purity, justice, and benevolence; but he has contented himself with merely rebuking

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the objector, without silencing his doubts or refuting his impieties. The almost unprecedented popularity of this poem, with two or three others which better deserve it, has induced some of Mr. Montgomery's friendly critics to assume a tone of triumph, which we scarcely think can be acceptable even to him. Twenty-one editions in less than as many years must be highly gratifying to the feelings of any man, and would seem to furnish proof of enduring fame. But Mr. R. Montgomery, in an extract from D'Israeli, has furnished evidence that works which promise to live the longest, were little known till their authors were in their graves. Verulam bequeaths his name to posterity *after some generations shall be past.*

'Satan' was an entire failure. It was this long, prosing, sermonic affair, that produced the dialogue in the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ' on religious poets, between Christopher North and the Ettrick Shepherd.

'North—Pollok was a true poet, and the 'Course of Time,' though not a poem, overflows with poetry; but the apes of that angel must be bagged, and stifled in the cesspools of the cities where they ——.

To this the shepherd replies, after a long parenthesis:—

'A' the pious poets are plagearcesin' frae Pollok. They'll a' be forgotten in the course of time. Preserve me! there's a pun!

'North—And a very fair one too, James.

'Shepherd—A' this work wi' religious poems reminds me o' the shooten' o' a wild swan ae day, about twenty years syne, by a shepherd, in the loch. It was, indeed, a maist majestic, and at the same time beauteous creatur, seeming as it lay dead on the green sward, baith foreign and indigenous, to belong equally to all the snow mountains o' the earth. Hunders flocked frae a' pairts o' the forest to gaze on't, and there was some talk of stuffen't; but ae nicht it unaccountably disappeared; and a lassie that was comin' by hersel' across the moonlicht hills, said she saw something spiritual-like sailing among the stars, on wings that, as they winnowed the blue air, were noiseless as a cloud; but the simple thing at the time never thocht of a swan. Weel nacthing would serve a' the shepherds in the forest, but to gang ilk a idle day to the loch a swan-shootin'!—so they ca'd it, though niver anither swan was shotten on't frae that day till this; but when the chiels now and then got a wild guse, and not unfrequently a wild dyuck; and on ae grand occasion I remember Jock Linton bringing to Fahope's an auld drake and an auld dyuck, wi' aboot a dizzen flappers, as he ca'd them, as tame as ony that ever waddled about the dubs of a farm-yard. The truth is, they were Fahope's own quackies that had stravaiyed to the loch; and daft Jock never doubted they were swans and cygnets.

The application, sir, is obvious. Pollok's poem is the bonnie and magnificent swan; a' the lave are but geese or goslins, dyncks or dyucklins. Yet every Cockney shooter's as proud as puir Jock Linton, and thinks himself an Apollo, or as Homer—that's Pope—says, 'The god with the silver bow.'*

"This somewhat severe censure of Professor Wilson we know not how to soften. The author of 'Satan' is essentially deficient in originality. His thoughts are indistinct and confused. His affectations are abundant; his epithets often harsh, meaningless, and inappropriate; and his general style wearisome and monotonous. Description is his forte; yet even in description his range of objects is miserably circumscribed. His materials are few, and he is perpetually repeating himself. Sun, moon, stars, ocean, mountains, streams and flowers, tempests and calms, have a thousand changes rung upon them. Whatever he appropriates lies upon the surface of nature, and he has no deep insight into the mysteries of mind. His imagination fails him at his utmost need, and he has no philosophy to atone for the want of it. His best passages remind us of better things in other writers. In his metaphors he attempts to illustrate his meaning by fancies which have no reality. Puerile conceits and hyperbolical extravagances he often substitutes for natural similes and obvious analogies.

It is of his 'Satan' the Ettrick Shepherd is made to say, 'The verra deevil himsell's got dull in the haun's of that Rab Montgomery. . . . .'

Of this melange of all sorts of heterogeneous things, in three books, Mr. Robert Montgomery, in all probability, took the idea from the 'Course of Time,' and as Mr. Pollok had made a glorified spirit the narrator of all that ever was or ever will be, till the hour of final doom, it probably occurred to his successor that the same objects and events contemplated by the author of all evil, with the sentiments and feelings which in the mind of such a being they would naturally excite, would form the subject of a poem even more sublime and popular than the 'Course of Time;' a conception which, if realized, would have conferred upon him a renown only surpassed by that of his immediate predecessor. But the idea was far too mighty for his grasp. Could he have induced his imaginary Satan to reveal his felicity and glory as the firstborn son of light up to the period of his revolt; the causes which led to his rebellion; his motives for raising a standard against the Almighty; his discomfiture and ruin; his determination to select the earth as the scene of conflict with the power that had defeated him, and the reasons of such selection; and how he had been the secret and principal agent in producing all the forms and shades of evil

which have rendered our world one dark scene of crime and misery; the sorceries, sophistries, and influences by which his empire had been maintained, so that all that is properly satanic upon earth might have been defined and traced to its spiritual source; the nature and success of the opposition which he had encountered from good angels, and from the power and influence of the Deity working in the consciences and hearts of men, by natural and revealed religion; the shifts and expedients to which he had been reduced, and his unconquerable malice inflamed by every disappointment; how he had governed empires and presided in the cabinets of princes; in short, had he been made to disclose, as far as imagination could conceive them, the secret counsels of Pandemonium, as they have influenced the destinies of time; his views of prophecy; his preparations, in spite of all that he foresaw, to carry on perpetual war with heaven, even up to the moment of the consummation of all things; his plans to suppress Christianity and to restore the reign of superstition, or establish that of atheism; and a multitude of other collateral topics which would have presented themselves to the mind of a Christian poet; then, indeed, might Mr. Robert Montgomery have produced a poem which the world would not willingly let die. But nothing of this kind has he achieved; nothing like it has he attempted.

Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer's beautiful essay on 'The True Spirit of Religious Poetry,' was written with the friendly purpose of rescuing Mr. Robert Montgomery from the severity of unjust criticism; and to prove to 'the satisfaction of every candid reader, that his powers had been greatly maligned, and that, whatever the rank to which as a poet he belongs, he at least possesses many and not inconsiderable attributes of his high calling.'* But his estimate of the 'Messiah,' the other poem which figures in the title-page of 'Luther,' is substantially the same with that we have now given of 'Satan.' 'The crying sin,' he observes, 'of modern poetry, the want of greatness in the whole, is especially marked and prominent in the 'Messiah.' There is no large scheme, no mighty plan, no method—in a word, no conception visible in the great task which the designer has undertaken. Mr. Montgomery seems to have formed no adequate notion of the vastness of his attempt; he has not approached it with slow and reverential steps; he has not suffered the majesty of the theme to sink deep into his soul, cherished and worshipped by the vigils of years, so that the whole mighty tale he was to relate might gradually shape itself forth in his meditation, a complete, clear, harmonized conception, before a single line in the execution was

* New Monthly Magazine for August, 1832, p. 147.

reluctantly ventured upon. He seems to have thought that a great subject was a great conception; to have rushed into the theme with the Bible on one side, and half a dozen volumes of novels on the other, so as to open one for an event, and the other for a description; and he goes wandering heedlessly on his dread emprise, stringing together, without discrimination, and with equal pomp of verse, the various wonders of our Saviour's life, the loaves and fishes multiplied, and the dead raised; and interlarding the whole with the most unseasonable digressions to the most incongruous subjects. So little, indeed, does he seem imbued with the grandeur and awe of the loftiest subject which a Christian poet could choose, that he breaks in upon the sufferings and glories of the Godhead with evidently delighted recurrence to himself; and even immediately after the ascension, Mr. Montgomery suddenly breaks out into the important notification that it was on an autumn morning that he 'struck the chorded lyre to this surpassing theme.' The longer and the better portion of the conclusion of the poem is equally impertinent, being composed of an eulogium upon poetry in general, worked up from associations utterly incompatible with the august and unearthly grandeur which belongs to the re-union of God with God.'

We have thus dwelt on these three earlier productions of our author, because he has again obtruded them upon our notice, and awakened our remembrances of his poetical delinquencies, and because we are able to justify all we have said by quotations from the present poem of 'Luther,' which yet has certainly more redeeming qualities than any of his former productions. Of his harsh, meaningless, and inappropriate epithets, we take the following specimens. In the second line of the opening of the poem, Christ is addressed as '*vast* and *viewless* Lord.'

> 'How shall man, so *erringly begirt*
> With clay and darkness, to the heights of sense
> Incarnate lift one clear and cloudless view.'

'By creed *Almighty* signed.' This word Almighty, which frequently occurs, is so incongruously introduced that it always offends taste, and sometimes disgusts piety. 'Like the spell of some *Almighty* breeze.' What can this mean? We pass by '*colossal* person'—'In each *high* lineament, the *plastic* God'—'He sank and melted into *mindless* tears'—'*Æolically* tuned'—'In the quick heart of *God-created* man'—'A focus where *emphatic* Godhead brought'—'All are a living, though a *sightless* race.' How are we to understand this? Is the race blind? or are they invisible? Has it the same meaning here, as in the following line:—'Where Shakspere dreamt, and *sightless* Milton

soar'd.' Again, apparently, we have the former sense, where he talks of 'The *sightless* finger of the fairy breeze.'

Of the wearisome monotony of this tedious affair our readers will soon be convinced when they sit down to the task of perusing it.

False metaphors, puerile conceits, and hyperbolical extravagances, abound even in this last and most finished of Mr. Robert Montgomery's works. We shall give a few instances as we meet with them in turning over again the pages where we had marked passages for quotation.

'And thou, O Christ! the *diapason* wert
Where all the harmonies of heaven unite
Incessant, far beyond the *harp* of mind
To echo, or the ear of man to drink.'

'The sacred deep
That chants his lone and everlasting hymn
Of waters, *like* the psalmody of waves
In worship.'

'And Christian, what art thou but human Christ?' 'Christ the counterpart of Godhead.' 'The man of sorrows forms no man of smiles.'

'The kings of mind,' the master spirits of the world, however misunderstood, persecuted, or maligned, at last receive due honour—'Time is their justice.' And how is this fine thought illustrated?

'When their tombs are rear'd,
Then wonder dares to consecrate their deeds,
Will call them *primates* in the church of man;
Great nature's own *episcopate* they form,
And rule like *metropolitans* of mind.'

The following is absolutely unintelligible. The fulcrum supports the lever; the lever does not lift the fulcrum, and therefore not the soul in which it is fixed:—

'They find the lever Archimedes sought,
And fix its fulcrum in the soul of man,
And nobly lift it to the destined skies.'

What incongruity, extravagance, and false taste, have we in the following passage, which has been elaborated with great care:—

'*Lust* becomes a brutal flame,
(Is it not always so?)
And all those moral harmonies which make
Nature a noble, man a godlike thing,
Have perished! Life is then a form of death;

The heart's *insolvent*; mind, a *bankrupt* too;
Jehovah in *eclipse* himself retires;
And thus, in *ghastliness*, all earth appears
A *bloodless shambles*, whence our orphan'd souls
Down unto death by myriads will be dragg'd,
Slain by false doubt, or slaughter'd by despair.'

'Blood, heart, and brain, the beautiful inhale,
Matter and mind *a very duel* fight.'

'e have said of Mr. Robert Montgomery's other poems, that best passages remind us of better things in other writers.' meet with an illustration in the sixtieth page, where the fine eption—

'The child is father to the man'

us diluted and spoiled:—

'Thus in after life
Back on him boyhood darts explaining gleams,
And proves the child did prophesy the man;
Luther, a germ, may now in heart be seen;
For what is manhood but the child drawn out—
The mere expansion of that moral seed
That buds and blossoms into perfect man,
Whose ripened germ is character full blown.'

hat a poor conceit do these lines exhibit:—

'Are those ties of heart
Broken on earth, no more in heaven renew'd?
If here below, our fondest cravings prove,
Affections make the vowels of the mind;
And like a consonant, when left alone,
Man without love seems unpronounced and mute.'

ıd is not the next either literal nonsense, or a mere conceit ıerile as the last?

'Those capitals of light,
Jehovah's imprimatur in the skies.'

gain—

'But in these prebends see a title page,
An imprimatur of immortal life.'

what authority does he use the verb imprimatur as a ? and where does he find '*imprimamur?*' It must surely misprint.
this reverential?

'And from *the reservoir* of Godhead drew
His faith intense, his fortitude divine.'

Is the cockney idea conveyed in the following somewhat confused description worthy of the grandeur of the subject?

> 'And earth, redeem'd, Messiah's *palace* be,
> To shine, as round *his central throne* she rolls
> The loved *metropolis* of sumless worlds.'

Is it not absurd extravagance to say—

> '*All* mercies waft th' Almighty on their wings.'

'The liturgy of rolling stars' may be very appropriate from the reverend 'bard of heaven.' Is the Holy Spirit treated with the awe which becomes every mention of his name, when he is called 'Vicar of Christ'? We object again to making the Deity a mere senatus academicus, granting the honour of 'precedence noble in the scale of mind,' by diploma. 'The great diploma of our God.' This chaplain to Apollo seems more intent to preserve his sacerdotal than his poetical character. To 'the *liturgy* of rolling stars,' we have to add, 'Nature's *litany* of weeping hearts.'

> 'The vaulted heavens,
> Studded with stars, like scripture gemm'd with truths.'

Would not a schoolboy have a double imposition for such a palpable violation of one of the most common rules of rhetoric? Had he written, 'Scripture gemm'd with truths,' and illustrated it by the vaulted heavens, studded with stars, it might have passed, had it been appropriate to the subject.

We implore our readers not to think of Milton,* when Mr. Robert Montgomery tells them about—

> 'Burning jewels dug from mines of light,'

which

> '*Flash* on the forehead of the *mellow'd* sky.'

And we ask them, have they ever seen such jewels? Where are the labourers in these mines? and where is the forehead of the *mellowed* sky? Yet such there must be, for Mr. Robert Montgomery assures us that they are—

* The noble lines, of which the text of Mr. Robert Montgomery are a wretched travestie, are, however, too exquisite not to be remembered:—

> 'So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
> And yet, anon, repairs his drooping head,
> And tricks his beams, and with new spangled ore,
> Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.'

The mystery is, how even Mr. Robert Montgomery could read Lycidas, and write Luther.

'Nature's diamonds, on her night-dress thrown
In countless sparkles.'

There are also certain 'dewdrops' that 'gleam like' them.

Is not the following something worse than a poetical hyperbole:—

'Creation once her own Creator slew,
In flesh embodied, when for sin he died.'

The same grand defect is manifest in the poem of 'Luther,' of which Sir Edward Bulwer complains in the 'Messiah.' It wants method and completeness; its parts are strung together, not moulded into one consistent whole.

In 'Luther,' as well as in the 'Messiah,' its author seems to have mistaken 'a great subject for a great conception.' Still, with all that we have been obliged to censure, justice demands that we should acknowledge the improvements which Mr. Robert Montgomery has attained as a religious poet since he last appeared before us. In the first place, he is a much better theologian. His views are not only orthodox, but they are also quite as tolerant as could reasonably be expected from a *ci-devant* Oxford graduate. He appears, too, to be more ardently imbued with the true spirit of Christian piety than he was, and we have less reason to complain of his egotism and vanity. Instead of half-a-dozen books of travels to furnish him with materials, he has surrounded himself with the best works that illustrate the character of Luther, and convey just impressions of the commencement, progress, and results of the reformation. With extracts from these he has enriched his Introduction, and crowded his Appendix. While we make allowances for Mr. Robert Montgomery's partialities and prejudice as a churchman, we must be allowed to question the wisdom that pronounces unqualified eulogium on his own, as an apostolic and Catholic church, especially when the church of Rome is severely condemned for certain characteristics which find their counterpart in the church of England. The following passage offers a text, the elucidation of which, drawn from the internal structure and constitution of the church, and her past history, would fill a very instructive volume, not at all, however, after the fashion of Mr. Robert Montgomery's:—

'Her *creed* is UNITY, her HEAD is Christ,
Her forms primeval, and her *creed* divine
And CATHOLIC; that crowning name she wears.'

If it be true that fiction is of the essence of poetry, then are these the most poetical lines in this bulky volume. We must not speak of her divisions under the head UNITY, nor of the

sovereign that really sways the sceptre over her, by way of shewing that CHRIST is her head, nor of her notoriously sectarian and persecuting spirit and conduct, in order to prove her CATHOLICISM. The only unity in the church of England is the act of uniformity; and her 'creed divine!' What is it? She has three creeds, 'which come from different ages, express different theologies, represent different schools, and contradict one another point blank.' Her spirit is most exclusive, her curses most bitter, and her true doctrines so neutralized by her soul-destroying errors, as to render her the shield of many heresies, and the grand distiller of moral poison through the length and breadth of the land. We are indebted to Mr. Robert Montgomery for his manly defence of Luther, and especially for that portion of the poem which treats of Satanic agency. One passage, that shews he does not want power when the felicitous moment arrives for putting it forth, we quote, and we may observe, *en passant*, that there are many of equal merit scattered through the volume:—

> 'And are we to some lacerating dream
> Such agonies as rent th' undreading heart
> Of Luther. Dare we thus the whole refer?
> Was it with phantoms of a brain diseased,
> Or Fictions out of gloomy thought evoked,
> Fanatical and false, that saints of old
> Contended? Or, with dismal cloud oppress'd,
> Did prophets only with the air contend?
> Were brave apostles, when their spirits bled,
> By Satans of the mind alone convulsed?
> Or did the GOD-MAN (in his day of flesh,
> Tempted like man) no thrilling combat face,
> But simply by stupendous vision rapt,
> Fight with black nothing, and baptize it, Fiend?
> Let dread Gethsemane a response bring!
> There, where the bloody sweat from Christ was wrung,
> As round him, in his human weakness, rush'd,
> With eyes that hunger'd on his pangs to feed,
> And wings that flutter'd with a fiendish joy,
> The hosts of darkness, let the sceptic ask
> If *that* be air which made Immanuel shake!'

In the Appendix, we are favoured with Luther's celebrated German hymn in the original, accompanied by a translation. The hymn was composed by the reformer immediately after his noble appearance at the Diet of Worms, when, refusing to retract, he uttered the memorable words, 'It is neither safe nor prudent to do aught against conscience. I cannot do otherwise. God assist me. Amen.' With this hymn, and the

translation, we had intended to close our notice, but our space is already exceeded, and we must therefore abstain from doing so. He must excuse our having constantly joined the distinguishing prefix to his cognomen; we have done it in consequence of an extract from one of his critics which is stitched into the volume, and which we transcribe for the benefit of our readers, and our own justification. 'Robert Montgomery is certainly THE Montgomery; whatever genius is between the pair has fallen to his lot!'

Art. V. ***The History of the Knights Templars, the Temple Church, and the Temple.*** By Charles G. Addison, Esq. Longmans. 1842.

THE projected restoration of that beautiful and interesting relic of the middle ages, the Temple Church, first suggested, as the writer informs us, the present work; and we are pleased that the task has fallen into such well qualified hands. Mr. Addison has executed his undertaking with considerable ability, and we thank him for the service rendered. We are gratified too, that another work is thus added to the list of those which have been recently produced to illustrate specific portions of mediæval history, since it is only by treating subjects like the one before us, separately, that we are qualified to estimate either their contemporary influence or ultimate effect. The necessity, indeed, for this, has seldom been more strongly shown than in the case of the order whose history is now before us. Peculiar in their character, their usages, their duties, the Knights Templars have been represented in every strange and contradictory light. By some writers they have been viewed merely as bold and gallant knights, by others as warlike priests—'militant priesthood' has been the term—while by others they have been represented as crafty politicians, pledged to the overthrow of the European states, in order to establish a military despotism upon their ruins, or as intelligent seceders from popery—precursors, indeed, of the reformation; or, on the other hand, again, as criminals of blackest dye, in league, not alone with the assassins of Asia, but with Satan himself. Now it must be obvious to the reader that such conflicting opinions arise from imperfect knowledge; and that a clearer view can be obtained only by tracing the progress of this formidable and valiant order, from the period of its foundation, to that of its sudden and forcible suppression.

The institution of the Knights Templars, or 'Knighthood of the Temple of Solomon,' originated in the wild enthusiasm of the first crusade; and in an age when everything partook of a warlike character, the organization of a body of soldiers, separated

'from the common cares and interests and relations of life, by the obligation of the conventual vow,' was far from presenting that anomalous appearance which it does to the modern reader. This association of the military and monastic character, indeed, fully answered the designs of its founders, for the firmest bulwarks of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, were the Templars and their brethren, or rather perhaps their rivals, the Knights Hospitallers; and so effective was their aid during the long struggle of the Crusades, that Gibbon himself allows that, although 'founded by fanaticism,' policy must approve their institution. The original founders of this powerful confraternity, the Knights Templars, were nine knights, who at the commencement of the twelfth century formed themselves into a brotherhood, for the purpose of protecting the European pilgrims through the dangerous passes and defiles of the mountains to the Holy City. They pledged themselves to this duty in the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem; and struck with the self-devotion and enthusiasm of the little band, St. Bernard himself became their eloquent advocate, and so powerfully pleaded their cause, that before the close of that century, the Templars became the wealthiest, no less than the most powerful confraternity the world ever saw. Nor did they, at any period of their history, withdraw from the duties to which they were pledged—they fought in the van of every battle, from the day when the red cross banner first surmounted the Temple, to that when, after sustaining a siege of unexampled severity, and the loss of nearly all their brethren, the small remnant quitted Acre, never again to visit the Holy Land.

The fierce persecution of this powerful order, so soon after the abandonment of their Eastern possessions, and the tales of mysterious horror that were circulated so successfully against them, together with their utter suppression, have rendered the question whether the Templars were really atrocious criminals, or most cruelly used men, one of great interest to the student of middle-age history. Still, until the appearance of M. Raynouard's elaborate work, and that now before us, the writers who have taken either side of the question, have been too indolent to refer to the original legal documents relating to the suppression of the Templars, but have contented themselves with quoting the opinions of contemporary chroniclers, who decided according to the limited view afforded them of passing events. The work before us furnishes ample information on this point, drawn from the proceedings against the Templars, and it also throws great light on the character of their warfare in Palestine, through the medium of the Arabian historians.

It has become the received opinion of a large class, that the

crusades were an unwarrantable interference of the Christians of Europe with the religion and political institutions of the inhabitants of Palestine; and that the various expeditions for the recovery of the Holy City, had about as much justice as that displayed in the modern partition of Poland. Now, without entering into the abstract question of the Crusades, it is important to remark that Palestine, until the year 637 was a Christian country. When at this period the Caliph Omar seized Jerusalem, he granted to the patriarch letters of safety, which expressly ensured to the inhabitants not only protection to themselves, but to their churches; and for four hundred years, under the liberal sway of the Saracen caliphs, pilgrims from every part of Europe visited the Holy City in safety. In the year 1065, Palestine passed into the hands of the Turcomans—a fierce and barbarous race, who massacred three thousand of the Christian inhabitants, plundered the churches, and drove back the wearied and exhausted European pilgrims at the point of the sword. It was then that 'the wild enthusiasm of the crusades' burst forth, and really as a question of abstract right, the Croises could advance about as just a claim to Palestine, as the barbarians by whom it had recently been overrun. Nor were these new possessors of the Holy Land merely fierce and barbarous; they were bigoted almost to madness, and the superior liberality of the Saracen dynasty towards its Christian subjects, excited the utmost fury of the invaders. Thus, the war in the East became a war of *a l'outrance*, and if the Templars saw visions of St. George and St. James leading the Christian army to battle, the Moslem troops advanced to meet them with shouts of triumph, believing that 'the loss of limbs would be supplied by the wings of angels,' and that the 'black-eyed girls of Paradise' stood visibly before them, ready to receive the departing spirit of the warrior. Thus the fierceness of Moslem warfare was no fiction of the old romancer, but a well-attested fact; and this fierceness seems to have been the characteristic, too, of a hero of the modern romance writers, who has been represented in very different colours.

'As soon as Saladin grasped the power of the sword, and obtained the command of armies, he threw off the follies of his youth, and led a new life. He renounced the pleasures of the world, and assumed the character of a saint. His dress was a coarse woollen garment; water was his only drink; and he carefully abstained from everything disapproved of by the Mussulman religion. Five times each day he prostrated himself in public prayer, surrounded by his friends and followers, and his demeanour became grave, serious, and thoughtful. He fought vigorously with spiritual weapons against the temptations of the world; his nights were often spent in watching and meditation, and he was always diligent in fasting and in the study of the Koran.

With the same zeal he combated with carnal weapons the foes of Islam, and his admiring brethren gave him the name of *Salah-ed-deen*, ('Integrity of Religion,') vulgarly called Saladin.

'At the head of forty thousand horse and foot, he crossed the desert and ravaged the borders of Palestine; the wild Bedouins and the enthusiastic Arabians of the far south were gathered together under h standard, and hastened with holy zeal to obtain the crown of martyrdom in defence of the faith. The long remembered and greatly dreaded Arab shout of onset, *Allah acbar*, God *is victorious*, again resounded through the plains and the mountains of Palestine, and the grand religious struggle for the possession of the holy city of Jerusalem, equally reverenced by Mussulmen and by Christians, was once more vigorously commenced.'—pp. 61, 62.

The reader is aware that after a sanguinary struggle, Saladin obtained possession of Jerusalem. The following account of his proceedings, extracted from the Arabian historians, gives a vivid picture of the fierce enthusiasm of the conqueror :—

'Saladin restored the sacred area of the Temple to its original condition under the first Mussulman conquerors of Jerusalem. The ancient Christian church of the Virgin (otherwise the mosque *Al Acsa*, otherwise the Temple of Solomon) was washed with rose-water, and was once again dedicated to the religious services of the Moslems. On the western side of this venerable edifice the Templars had erected, according to the Arabian writers, an immense building in which they lodged, together with granaries of corn and various offices, which enclosed and concealed a great portion of the edifice. Most of these were pulled down by the sultan to make a clear and open area for the resort of the Mussulmen to prayer. Some new erections placed between the columns in the interior of the structure were taken away, and the floor was covered with the richest carpets. 'Lamps innumerable,' says Ibn Alatsyr, 'were suspended from the ceiling; verses of the Koran were again inscribed on the walls; the call to prayer was again heard; the bells were silenced; the exiled faith returned to its ancient sanctuary; the devout Mussulmen again bent the knee in adoration of the one only God, and the voice of the imaun was again heard from the pulpit, reminding the true believers of the resurrection and the last judgment.

'The Friday after the surrender of the city, the army of Saladin and crowds of true believers, who had flocked to Jerusalem from all parts of the East, assembled in the Temple of the Lord to assist in the religious services of the Mussulman sabbath. Omad, Saladin's secretary, who was present, gives the following interesting account of the ceremony, and of the sermon that was preached. 'On Friday morning at daybreak,' says he, 'everybody was asking whom the sultan had appointed to *preach*. The Temple was full; the congregation was impatient; all eyes were fixed on the pulpit; the ears were on the stretch; our hearts beat fast, and tears trickled down our faces. On all sides were to be heard rapturous exclamations of 'What a glorious sight!

What a congregation! Happy are those who have lived to see *the resurrection of Islam.*' At length the sultan ordered the judge (doctor of the law) *Mohieddin Aboulmehali Mohammed* to fulfil the sacred function of Imaun. I immediately lent him the black vestment which I had received as a present from the caliph. He then mounted into the pulpit and spoke. All were hushed. His expressions were graceful and easy; and his discourse eloquent and much admired. He spake of the virtue and the sanctity of Jerusalem, of the purification of the Temple; he alluded to the silence of the bells, and to the flight of the infidel priests. In his prayer he named the caliph and the sultan, and terminated his discourse with that chapter of the Koran in which God orders justice and good works. He then descended from the pulpit, and prayed in the Mihrah. Immediately afterwards a sermon was preached before the congregation.'

'This sermon was delivered by *Mohammed Ben Zeky.* 'Praise be to God,' saith the preacher, 'who by the power of his might hath raised up Islamism on the ruins of polytheism; who governs all things according to his will; who overthroweth the devices of the infidels, and causeth the truth to triumph. . . . . I praised God, who hath succoured his elect; who hath rendered them victorious and crowned them with glory, who hath purified his holy house from the filthiness of idolatry. . . . . I bear witness that there is no God but that one great God who standeth alone and hath no partner; sole, supreme, eternal; who begetteth not and is not begotten, and hath no equal. I bear witness that Mahomet is his servant, his envoy, and his prophet, who hath dissipated doubts, confounded polytheism, and put down LIES, &c. . . . .

'O men, declare ye the blessings of God, who hath restored to you this holy city, after it has been left in the power of the infidels for a hundred years. . . . . This holy house of the Lord hath been built, and its foundations have been established, for the glory of God. . . . . This sacred spot is the dwelling place of the prophets, the *kebla*, (place of prayer,) towards which you turn at the commencement of your religious duties, the birth-place of the saints, the scene of the revelation. It is thrice holy, for the angels of God spread their wings over it. This is that blessed land of which God hath spoken in his sacred book. In this house of prayer Mahomet prayed with the angels who approach God. It is to this spot that all fingers are turned after the two holy places. . . . This conquest, O men, hath opened unto you the gates of heaven; the angels rejoice, and the eyes of the prophets glisten with joy. . . . .'—pp. 133—136.

Driven from Jerusalem, the Knights Templars established themselves at Antioch, whence they proceeded to the succour of Tyre, where they achieved an important victory over Saladin, by whom it had been besieged, and who, overwhelmed with grief, took, according to his Arabian biographers, the singular and barbarous mode of manifesting it, by 'cutting off the ears and

tail of his horse, and rode that same horse through his whole army.'

We have remarked upon the prevalent error of viewing the Templars as a priesthood. The order was divided into three classes, knights, priests, and serving brethren. The first of these alone bore the name and exercised the power, subject however to a grand master, whose authority was inordinately great, and whose decision on all subjects, was final. It was necessary that these knights should be of noble birth, and should have received knighthood according to the laws of chivalry. These wore the white mantle with the red cross on the shoulder, which well nigh covered their chain-mail armour. Each was to have three horses, and each had some of the serving brethren to attend him, whose duty on the field of battle was to supply him with fresh weapons, or a fresh horse; indeed, to perform the general duties of an esquire. The priests were to perform the religious services; and a portable chapel always accompanied the Templars on their marches, which, when they rested, was pitched in the centre of the camp.

The rule of the order, which was framed chiefly by St. Bernard, and from which Mr. Addison has given large extracts, is curious, and exhibits much of that mixture of sincere devotion and childish superstition which might be expected in a document of the kind, originating from so superstitious a man. Constant attendance on the services of the church, frequent fasts and watchings, are enjoined, 'that being refreshed with heavenly food, none might be afraid of the *fight*, but be prepared for the *crown*;' silence during meals, too, and the eschewing of all frivolous conversation, in emulation of the Psalmist, who saith, '*I have set a watch upon my lips*;' and the rejection of all rich or ornamental apparel, as well as of all secular amusements, and the not being allowed to receive gifts, or to send or receive letters, except by the express licence of the master. Some portions of the rule, however, contain much good advice, as the following extract will shew:—

'LXXI. Contentions, envyings, spite, murmurings, backbiting, slander, we command you, with godly admonition, to avoid, and do ye flee therefore as from the plague. Let every one of you, therefore, dear brothers, study with a watchful mind that he do not secretly slander his brother, nor accuse him, but let him studiously ponder upon the saying of the apostle, '*Be not thou an accuser or a whisperer among the people*.' But when he knoweth clearly that his brother hath offended, let him gently and with brotherly kindness reprove him in private, according to the commandment of the Lord; and if he will not hear him, let him take to him another brother, and if he shall take no heed of both, let him be publicly reproved in the assembly before

all. For they have indeed much blindness who take little pains to guard against spite, and thence become swallowed up in the ancient wickedness of the subtle adversary.'—pp. 25, 26.

The Templars advanced to battle preceded by their 'Balcanifer,' bearing the great banner of the order, the 'Beauseant,' and after the trumpets had sounded the charge, they rushed on the enemy singing the psalm '*Non nobis Domine.*' Thus combining the excited religious feelings of the convent, with the enthusiastic valour of the ancient knight, we are scarcely surprised to find that this energetic order, long after the fervour of the crusading spirit had died away in Europe, fought almost single-handed, the battle of what in the two preceding centuries was considered as the cause of Christendom. But the advancing power of the Moslem was not to be withstood; under the conduct of the Sultan Khalil, 'an innumerable people of all ages, and every tongue, thirsting for Christian blood,' assembled, and the two warlike orders of the Templars and Hospitallers had now to bear alone the shock of that contest, which had before been shared by the thousands of European Croises. Still, the Templars fought bravely, and Acre bore witness to their unequalled valour; but, overpowered by numbers, they were at length compelled to quit Palestine, little deeming that they returned but to receive as a reward for that valour the doom of traitors and heretics.

'With the loss of all the Christian territory in Palestine had expired in Christendom every serious hope and expectation of recovering and retaining the Holy City. The services of the Templars were consequently no longer required, and men began to regard with an eye of envy and of covetousness their vast wealth and immense possessions. The privileges conceded to the fraternity by the popes made the church their enemy. The great body of the clergy regarded with jealousy and indignation their exemption from the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The bull *omne datum optimum* was considered a great inroad upon the rights of the church, and broke the union which had originally subsisted between the Templars and the ecclesiastics. Their exemption from tithe was a source of considerable loss to the parsons, and the privilege they possessed of celebrating divine service during interdict brought abundance of offerings and alms to the priests and chaplains of the order, which the clergy looked upon as so many robberies committed upon themselves. Disputes arose between the fraternity and the bishops and priests, and the hostility of the latter to the order was manifested in repeated acts of injustice, which drew forth many severe bulls and indignant animadversions from the Roman pontiffs.

'The Templars, moreover, towards the close of their career, became unpopular with the European sovereigns and their nobles. The revenues of the former were somewhat diminished through the immu-

[illegible] conceded to the Templars by their predecessors, and the paternal estates of the latter had been diminished by the grant of many thousand manors, lordships, and fair estates to the order by their pious and [illegible] ancestors. Considerable dislike also began to be manifested to the annual transmission of large sums of money, the revenues of the order, from the European states, to be expended in a distant war-fare in which Christendom now took comparatively no interest. Shortly after the fall of Acre, and the total loss of Palestine, Edward the First, King of England, seized and sequestered to his own use the moneys which had been accumulated by the Templars, to forward to their brethren in Cyprus, alleging that the property of the order of the Temple had been granted to it by the kings of England, his predecessors, and their subjects, for the defence of the Holy Land, and that since the loss thereof, no better use could be made of the money than by appropriating it to the maintenance of the poor. At the earnest request of the pope, however, the king afterwards permitted their revenues to be transmitted to them in the island of Cyprus in the usual manner.'—pp. 194—196.

His son, Edward the Second, followed the same example; and, as Mr. Addison remarks, 'the impunity with which these acts of violence were committed, manifests that the Templars no longer enjoyed their ancient power.' The case really was, that the Templars had outlived their date. The wild enthusiasm of the Crusades had passed away, and the wild, as we may well term it, and devotional, but deeply superstitious feeling which impelled the wealthiest nobles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to fling property, which makes the utmost exertions of modern times look mean and contemptible, into the treasuries of a church that required poverty rather than wealth, had passed away also. The denunciations of the earlier sects against a wealthy and endowed church had, in the thirteenth century, been sternly re-echoed by the united voice of the mendicant orders, and men began rather to seek for reasons to strip the church of her possessions, than for excuses to heap riches upon her. The return at this crisis of a well organized body of warriors from the East, possessed of twenty-eight thousand manors in various parts of Europe, and pledged to the maintenance of that church which had so highly honoured them, might therefore well excite feelings of anxiety, if not of alarm.

It was reserved, however, for the pope, not for the opposing sects, to attack this valiant order; and Clement the Fifth, a pontiff as unscrupulous as he was avaricious, joined with his late royal master, Philip the Fair of France, in a persecution of the Templars, as flagitious as it was extravagant. Suddenly, on October 13, 1307, all the Templars throughout France were arrested, and then the marvelling people were told that they had worshipped an idol, covered with a man's skin; that they

lled the cross under foot, and were in league with those infidels against whom they had so valiantly fought for well two hundred years. The French populace listened calmly ese charges; for the French populace can never, in any d of their history, be accused of standing forward to fight attle, save what they believe to be exclusively their own; hen the same charges were made against the English Tem- the king, re-echoing the popular voice, expressed his as- ment, and prayed that the character of the order might ared 'by some fair course of inquiry.' The holy pontiff however, arranged his plan, and therefore the only answer ived, was the command that all the English Templars d be taken into custody. Edward the Second was not only ble, but a needy prince; he was son-in-law, too, to Philip air. The confiscation of the Templars' property seemed an method of filling his treasury, and he therefore caused them arrested in January, and seized their possessions. The edings against the English Templars are given at great h in this interesting volume; and they afford a striking ast to the plain, straightforward mode of dispensing justice, the civil courts of England present. Although committed son in January, proceedings were delayed until the Sep- er twelvemonth; and then, in worthy emulation of Jedburgh e, 'hang first, and try after,' the papal bull denouncing the plars as criminals, and excommunicating all who should ingly harbour any of them, having been read in the churches, enerable ecclesiastical court set about inquiring into the of the prisoners! It is satisfactory to find that the majority judges were foreigners, mere creatures of the pope; and Robert Winchilsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury, laboured, h ineffectually, for justice. The charges exhibited, were d, as Mr. Addison remarks, monstrous and ridiculous. The lipping a cat, a man's skull, an idol with three faces, were g them; and they were besides charged with the most ous crimes. These were all denied by the Templars; nor a single witness brought forward to prove them. After al meetings of the ecclesiastical court, the council decided the inquisitors and three bishops should beseech the king,' hey might proceed against the Templars in the way that d seem to them the best and most expedient for the pur- of eliciting the truth,' a modest request, but one which t that the inquisitors might apply *torture*. It was on this ion that the celebrated and noble reply quoted by Heming- was given to the Archbishop of York, who had inquired her the law permitted him to use torture, if confession could

not otherwise be obtained,' and it was declared by the judges, '*that no torture was ever used in England.*'

This decision probably prevented the king from at once yielding to the ecclesiastical commissioners; but his reluctance was speedily overcome by a special letter from the holy pontiff, in which he bade his 'beloved son' consider whether such reluctance 'was suitable to his honour and safety.' Edward, therefore, in August, sent orders to the constable of the Tower to deliver up the Templars to the tender mercies of the inquisitors, 'and permit them to do what should seem fitting, in accordance with *ecclesiastical law!*' It is gratifying to find that the constable of the Tower and the sheriffs demurred to this demand, and that in the king's correspondence with them, he again and again states that the inquisitors are foreigners, and that he only allows the application of torture, 'out of reverence to the pope.' But torture could not wring from these valiant knights a single confession of guilt. Although they had now been imprisoned nearly three years, half starved and tortured, when brought before their accusers and judges, their only reply was, 'that their accusers lied.' Again were they consigned to their solitary dungeons, where they remained during the whole of the winter, and in April, the examination of witnesses was resumed at the Chapter-House of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Seventy-three witnesses gave their statements, mostly, that they 'had *heard* people say' the most extravagant and ridiculous things. We are sorry to find among these witnesses the names of several members of the mendicant orders, who, hated as they were already by the established clergy, would have acted a more Christian part by refraining from joining in accusations against an order, which, stripped of its possessions, was not likely to become an object of fear to any party.

The master of the Temple and his brethren now drew up and presented a declaration, including a confession as to our Saviour's divinity, nearly in the words of the Nicene creed, assuring their persecutors that they 'believe all that the holy church believes and teaches,' and concluding with the following pathetic remonstrance:—

'And for the love of God, and for charity, we beseech you, who represent our holy father the pope, that we may be treated like true children of the church, for we have well guarded and preserved the faith and the law of the church, and of our own religion, the which is good, honest, and just, according to the ordinances and the privileges of the court of Rome, granted, confirmed, and canonized by common council; the which privileges, together with the rule of our order, are enregistered in the said court. And we would bring forward all

Christians, (i[illegible]) with whom we are conversant, and among whom we have r[illegible]ed, say how and in what manner we have spent our li[illegible] if, in [illegible] examinations, we have said or done anything wi[illegible] thro[illegible] ign[illegible]ce of a word, since we are unlettered men, we are [illegible] for holy church like him who died for us on the bl[illegible]d cr[illegible] And we believe all the sacraments of the church. And we beseech you, for the love of God, and as you hope to be saved, that you judge us as you will have to answer for yourselves and for us before God; and we pray that our examination may be read and heard before ourselves and all the people, *in the very language and words in which it was given before you, and written down on paper.*'—p. 260.

The importance of the supplication will be [illegible] when we remember that m[illegible] of the witnesses, as be[illegible] the lower classes, gave their evidence in English, [illegible] language was utterly unknown to the foreign pr[illegible] T[illegible] demand, too, that 'it should be written down [illegible] the utter contempt of justice which mar[illegible] all t[illegible] of this iniquitous court, no less than t[illegible] should be 'read and heard before ou[illegible]ves all [illegible] But this boon, which had th[illegible] k[illegible] re[illegible] charged with robbing a her[illegible] ro[illegible] na[illegible] co[illegible] the free spirit of the Engl[illegible] co[illegible] tutio[illegible] did the inquisitors know that it [illegible] only by [illegible] public mind by vague charges of heresy, and what w[illegible] yet more dreaded, sorcery, they could hope to succeed. They directed torture again to be applied, and at length one chaplain and two serving brethren, for the *knights* held firm, confessed that they had spit on the crucifix, and prayed for pardon. This was granted on the easy terms of public penance at the door of St. Paul's.

By this time public opinion seems to have interfered, and it interfered effectually. The master and the knights still asserted their innocence; and suddenly, these atrocious criminals, charged with every moral, as well as religious crime, were told that by acknowledging that they 'had grievously erred in believing that the master of the Temple, who was a mere layman, had power to pronounce absolution,' they should receive pardon! To this proposal the poor victims willingly assented, for they had already acknowledged their ignorance on ecclesiastical points; they therefore repeated the required confession, and were absolved, in right clerical form, by the Bishops of London and Chichester, who declaring that 'they had gravely erred concerning the sacrament of repentance,' 'forgave them,' and reconciled them 'once more to the unity of the church.' It is worthy of notice, that in these public confessions, the priests of the order are represented as using Latin, the serving brethren

English, while the knights made their abjuration in that which was still the language of the high-born, Norman-French.

It affords an additional proof of the innocence of this order, that, in the countries beyond the sphere of French influence, the Templars were acquitted. In France, large bodies of them were burnt; in England, although popular feeling eventually interposed, the son-in-law of the French king evinced every desire to find them guilty; but in Spain, Portugal, and Germany, the Templars were openly declared innocent. 'The chief cause of the Templars' ruin was,' as Fuller justly remarks, 'their extraordinary wealth—King Philip could not get the honey unless he burnt the bees.'

The vast property of the order was ostensibly transferred to their rivals, the Knights Hospitallers, but by far the greater portion found its way into the hands of the king and his unworthy favourites. A few months after these proceedings, William de la More, Master of the Temple, died in his dungeon in the Tower, and many others, who had been set at liberty, became dependent for daily sustenance on the charity of their brother orders.

The deaths of King Philip and Pope Clement the Fifth, which followed soon after, were viewed by popular opinion as direct judgments of heaven; and throughout all Europe, the cruel and unjustifiable proceedings against the Templars, added to the hostility which already existed against the papal power. In our own land, the iniquitous proceedings of the ecclesiastical council deepened the hatred with which the church courts had always been viewed. The contrast of the open tribunal, the clear statement of facts, the rigid examination of witnesses, and the trial by jury, of our common law courts, with the close council, the hearsay evidence, the interested witnesses, the foreign judges, above all, the torture of the ecclesiastical courts, was too strongly marked not to deepen that hatred tenfold. And thus we find, not only in the writings of Wickliffe, but also in the rude satire of Piers Ploughman, and the keen sarcasms of Chaucer, abundant proofs how unendurable they had become. An emphatic comment does history, from the time of the Albigenses, and of that illustrious order whose career we have contemplated, afford upon those divine words, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Whenever the church has sought to wield the temporal sword, its character has become utterly changed; for whether the church court has been presided over by a pope or a consistory, an archbishop or a synod, its proceedings have ever been distinguished by a contempt of human rights, and a recklessness of human suffering, far beyond what the annals of the worst civil tribunals can show.

Art. VI. *Children's Employment Commission. First Report of the Commissioners. Appendices, or Reports of the Sub-Commissioners.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

It is neither our intention nor our province to repeat the details of those revolting practices connected with the employment of females, which have been brought before the public by the labours of this commission. These have already obtained such a share of attention from the daily and weekly press, that there are probably few of our readers who have not become acquainted with some of the most striking evils resulting from so degrading a system. The re-publication, too, in some of the cheapest and most popular newspapers, of the wood-cuts illustrating the more outrageous modes of female labour, which have been introduced in the Reports, has rendered these enormities somewhat familiar to the apprehension of the many.

The commission, whose report is now before us, was appointed on the motion of Lord Ashley. Four gentlemen acted as commissioners, of whom two were factory inspectors, and the other two were Thomas Tooke, Esq., and Dr. Southwood Smith. The secretary of state then appointed, at intervals, twenty gentlemen as sub-commissioners, by whom, in point of fact, all the labour of the commission has been executed. To each of these gentlemen was assigned the district which the commissioners judged him best capable of investigating; and the reports of the whole of them form the collection presented in the Appendices, of which the commissioners themselves have merely given an abstract, accompanied with a few general conclusions. The volumes now made public include all such as relate to mines and metal works; and by far the greater proportion relates to coal-mines. A subsequent series (although much less extensive and important) will embrace reports from all such manufactories as employ large numbers of persons under eighteen years of age; and upon the presentation of this series the commissioners themselves promise an abstract of all the evidence collected for them upon the moral condition of the persons under notice. Their first Report now published, refers only to the employment and physical condition of young persons and children; but the sources from which they have compiled it, — namely, the reports of the sub-commissioners, are laid before parliament in their complete form. We have therefore all the documents upon which the commissioners *have* grounded their inferences, in reference to the physical condition of our juvenile mining population, and all those upon which they *will* found their views in reference to the educational and moral condition of the same class.

It is probable that such a plan was the best which could

be devised, not merely for the immediate purpose of ascertaining how children were employed in mines, but also for collecting and arranging a complete body of authentic information as to the general theory and practice of mining in Great Britain, and as to the exact state of education and moral conduct amongst her miners. With the former points we have perhaps less to do than with the latter, yet we had hoped to possess in these Reports a more systematic and precise account of the economy of mines than they furnish. Some districts, and these are fortunately the most important, including that of the Newcastle collieries, have received as minute and judicious an investigation as the time would allow. But to require a complete report of the enormous Newcastle mines, and an exploration of their recesses, in the short space of three months was, when all the obstacles detailed are taken into consideration, together with the extent of the other branches of the inquiry, an exaction of labour so severe, that we do not wonder to find the commissioners reporting of the sub-commissioners, 'that nearly all of them incurred serious indisposition,' which compelled one of them to relinquish his engagement, and very much impeded some others. Numerous other circumstances might combine to render the results of the labours of these inquirers unequally satisfactory, and we shall say no more than that the loose and even ungrammatical style observable in one or two of the reports, might as well have been avoided. The plain facts, too, connected with the employment of females and young children in coal-mines, are so striking as to suffer, in effect, by long gossiping comments. A parliamentary report on such a subject should be written in a cautious, severe, and concise style. We are much gratified with the plan adopted by some of the gentlemen, of making the larger portion of their documents to consist of the 'evidence' collected from the principals, agents, working adults, and children themselves. By this arrangement the reader is enabled to assume the position of a judge, and he only refers to the actual report of the sub-commissioner for concise explanations, or for elucidations of matters which could not conveniently be made to assume the form of evidence.

We have said that we suppose our readers to be in some measure acquainted with the enormities brought to light, in reference to the employment of females in mines, and the apprenticeship of very young pauper children to subterranean duties. We shall therefore merely add, that such practices are chiefly confined to the East of Scotland, and some parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, &c. In the coal-fields of the East of Scotland, the greatest number of female children are employed, the proportion being one female under thirteen years of age to ten males. With

respect to the general management of collieries as matters of business, and of colliers as workmen, we gather from a perusal of the reports, precisely what will be in accordance with the expectations of all—namely, that the more extensive and valuable the mines, the more systematic and scientific are the arrangements for conducting them. A glance at coal-pits on the most extensive scale will be a necessary preliminary to our remarks upon the people who work them.

The pits at Newcastle have long been celebrated as by far the largest and most important in the world, and these we take as the best example. Those who desire a minute and elaborate account of them, must refer to the report and evidence upon that district by J. R. Leifchild, Esq. That gentleman has illustrated his details by maps and plans of various kinds, which initiate attentive readers into all the mysteries of these Cimmerian regions. The general map of the mines, which he has prefixed to his report, shows this district to be a very conglomerate of collieries, all communicating with the river Tyne by a complete net-work of waggon-ways or colliery railroads. In the tract of country lying between the mouths of the rivers Wear and Blyth, it would almost seem that one could scarcely take any direction without encountering a coal-pit. It is utterly beyond our power and our limits to follow the sub-commissioner through all the details of his folio, of more than two hundred well-filled pages. We can only stay to bestow a look here and there, and to indicate the references to those who seek full information on the various points in question. Mr. Leifchild first reports concisely upon the general subjects of inquiry, and then enters into matters of detail connected with the establishment and management of collieries. These portions form what is denominated the 'Report,' to which we shall refer by the number of paragraphs. Then follows the overwhelming mass of 'Evidence,'—that is, of the depositions of the principals, agents, work-people, medical men, clergymen, and other persons in the district, who were possessed of information upon the subjects under consideration. The witnesses thus examined were six hundred and sixty-eight.

Some idea of the importance of a Newcastle pit may be formed, from the fact, that the expense of sinking a single shaft, including outfits and machinery, varies from 10,000*l.* to 40,000*l.*, most frequently approaching to the latter. (§ 204.) There are commonly two shafts sunk, one called the 'downcast,' and the other the 'upcast' shaft; or in cases of mining difficulty, one shaft is made to answer the purpose of two by a longitudinal partition. From the position of the most valuable seams of coal, the perpendicular depths of these shafts are greater than those of any other coal-mining district. The depths of three out of the twelve

which the sub-commissioner descended are, 1044, 1070, and 1590 feet, the last being, we believe, the deepest in the world. All these three are 'upcast shafts.'—that is, they are, in fact, the chimnies by which the smoke and vitiated air of the pit escape. A roaring furnace blazes at the bottom of each such shaft, for the purpose of accelerating the upward course of the vitiated air; and the visitor to the mine, when, as in these cases, the other shaft is not accessible, has literally to perform the far from agreeable duty of descending an apparently interminable chimney. 'My sensations,' says the sub-commissioner, 'during the descent and ascent of the upcast shafts, enabled me fully to appreciate the complaints of the witnesses in reference to them.' (§ 34.) The unpleasantness must be by no means diminished by the liberality with which one is offered the choice of an oscillating coal-basket, sometimes, indeed, banging against the sides of the shaft, or a 'loop' at the end of the rope for the accommodation of one leg, the other being left free as a kind of rudder. The whole arrangements for ascending and descending are described in § 215—222. Certainly the 'cage' which slides upon perpendicular rods or rails must be the most safe and agreeable. The cost of a pair of ropes for the deepest shaft is *550l.*, and the weight of this pair five tons and three-quarters; yet they last only about ten months.

The visitor is lowered or raised by the same means as the coals,—viz., steam-engines. The accumulation of steam power for 'winding' and pumping at most of these collieries is very great, and must be worked at considerable cost to the proprietor.

The plates representing the mode of working and ventilating these enormous mines, which Mr. Leifchild has liberally supplied, enable us to form some idea of a region which we apprehend few, if any, of our readers have ever beheld. We scarcely know how, in the absence of the plates, to convey a better representation of the ground plan of a pit, than by requesting them to suppose themselves looking down upon a window lying in a horizontal position upon the ground. If they imagine this window to be a very old fashioned one, in which the panes of glass are small and numerous, and the intervening wooden or leaden strips broad, and frequently intersected, they will possess a tolerable notion of the appearance of the plan of a coal-pit on the Tyne. The panes of glass will represent the pillars of coal left to support the roof, and the intersecting strips will stand for the passages by which the coal is brought to the shaft, and the pit traversed. The coal is excavated upon this plan, and the greater the quantity of coal obtained, the more numerous these passages and pillars; so that the horizontal section of a coal-mine presents the appearance of a large piece of panel

work. When the vein of coal becomes inconveniently situated, or inferior in quality, any further increase of the dimensions of the mine is abandoned, and the pillars themselves are worked off as far as is consistent with safety. Various indications of the instability of the roof are given during the progress of the pillar working, which are aptly denominated 'active and quiescent *creep*,' since the floor and roof of the mine exhibit a tendency, more or less violent, to unite, in consequence of the pressure of the superincumbent strata. When this tendency is very decisive, the remaining props of wood are knocked out, with very considerable risk of life, and the mine is finally relinquished. (§ 200—214.)

The pits in this district abound in inflammable gases to a far greater extent than is known in any other. Here, therefore, alone is the ventilation of a coal-mine a matter of complicated system and science. Mr. Leifchild has traced this system from its early and very imperfect state, to its present really wonderful development. (§ 160—193.) We cannot pretend to follow him in this interesting account, and can only notice that the general outline of the practice appears to be this:—A large and constantly flaming furnace placed at the bottom of one shaft, or one division of a shaft, creates a draught by which the pure air is brought down the cool or 'downcast' shaft, and expelled by the heated or 'upcast' shaft. Between the periods of its suction and expulsion, it has been made, by the intervention of various stoppings, partitions, crossings, and doors, to permeate every one of the passages of the vast mine. It has, in fact, been controlled and regulated like a stream in a canal, by the aid of locks, but in a far more complicated manner. By the introduction of this stream of pure air, the noxious and inflammable gases are diluted, and finally carried away through the upcast shaft.

This dilution cannot, however, always be effected to a sufficient extent. Hence the fearful explosions with which we have from time to time been made acquainted. Either the quantity of pure air is insufficient, or the course of the current is deranged by accident or neglect. In either case the inflammable gases predominate and explode at the first contact with flame. Several pages of this report are devoted to the consideration of the causes, effects, and possible preventives of such catastrophes, and extensive tables of their number, and the circumstances connected with each, are introduced. There exists also a great variety of causes productive of accidents less destructive in their effects than explosions of carburetted hydrogen gas. There are casualties arising from partial inundations; falls down the shaft; falls of coal or stone from the roof (a very frequent case); and

the upsetting of coal-waggons. These mostly terminate in the injury or death of one, two, or three individuals. They are, however, exceedingly numerous, as is evinced by the mention of some remarkable facts, and by the very slight sensation which their occurrence occasions. Any injury terminating short of death appears to be considered in the district as too trifling for sympathy or record. A colliery surgeon is provided, and what more can owners and agents be expected to do than to secure the means of amputation, and to put the sufferer on the quarter-pay list? So say the owners themselves; and truly, the only objection refers to the origin of the accident. Is *every* precaution adopted? This question has many bearings, but the evidence and remarks of the sub-commissioner induce us to conclude that nothing short of general government supervision, devoid, indeed, of all vexatious interference, will compel attention to minute arrangements for safety. A pit can be conducted consistently with *ordinary* safety, and yet at the same time, far from consistently with *perfect* safety. In some less important districts than that under consideration, the least possible expenditure which can render a mine workable, seems to be considered all that is necessary. Certainly, in the Newcastle district, a vast outlay is incurred for the general security and comfort of the mine; nevertheless, it is indisputable, that an additional expenditure, not very considerable, would, in all probability, ensure its entire safety. We have not space to fortify this conclusion by extracts from the Report before us, but it is one at which most careful readers of that document will arrive. From the tables there published of accidents arising from explosions and casualties, 'it may be stated that, *at the very least*, fifteen hundred lives have been sacrificed in or about the Tyne and Wear collieries in little more than the last forty years.' (§ 234.) Further observations evince that this computation is unquestionably the minimum. No records of deaths, nor, indeed, of accidents, are kept in the mining districts, and these tables were constructed with great difficulty from extraneous sources of information, and from the recollection of such agents as were willing to task their memories. During the brief period in which Mr. Leifchild was pursuing his investigations, no less than forty lives were lost in or about these pits. Thirty-two of these were sacrificed at one time by the explosion of a pit, while that gentleman was in its vicinity. He immediately descended the exploded mine, and the minute details which he collected from the agent, together with its illustrative plan, place the awful scene before us most vividly. A very pleasing trait in the character of the miners is, their cheerfulness and courage in rendering all the assistance in their power after such explosions,

even when they are necessarily within the precincts of immediate danger—a second and more violent explosion frequently taking place. The description of the moment at which such an event was really expected by the oldest and most stout-hearted in this mine (for it had taken fire and was in a blaze), is more interesting than the crisis of any novel we ever read. We regret that we cannot make room for it.

The supposed cause of this explosion, and of many others, brings us to a very important point. It appears that in those passages of the mine where a constant transit of coal-waggons renders a 'stopping,' or air-lock inadmissible, wooden doors called 'trap doors,' are erected. These are tended by mere children from six to ten years of age, whose duty it is to open them when a train of coal-waggons is near, and to close them instantly after its departure. By this means the traffic of the pit is carried on consistently with the existence of ventilation. If, however, a boy tending an important door neglect to close it, the immediate consequence is a derangement of the ventilation in that part of the pit. According to the period which elapses before this neglect is discovered, is the degree of danger. In some positions, the opening of a trap door for half-an-hour will peril the lives of every human being in the mine. Now, in the above instance, the agent himself unhesitatingly acknowledged that the inevitable conclusion derivable from all the evidence offered is, that one little boy went to play with another similarly engaged, and that in this childish neglect must be found the cause of the almost momentary death of thirty-two persons, and that, too, in the most horrible manner, as his own description testifies. Another explosion, distinctly traceable to the same cause, the neglect of a door-keeper, occurred shortly afterwards, by which nine lives were lost, all the victims but one being young persons and children. A plan of the pit in which this catastrophe occurred exhibits the parts of the mine in which the bodies were found. 'In adverting,' says the sub-commissioner, 'to the tremendous responsibility unconsciously incurred by these almost infantile keepers of the lives of scores of human beings, all their superiors in age, and commonly including their own fathers, we cease to regard the door-keeper as a mere mechanical adjunct to the mine. Viewed in this light, the onus of his duty can scarcely be overrated,' &c. 'How many mining catastrophes are due to the negligence of door-keepers, it is neither possible to affirm, nor judicious to conjecture, inasmuch as the violence of the explosion at the spot where it originates, usually sweeps away all indications of its immediate cause. While few explosions have happened, the origin of which has been so distinctly traced, and so readily assigned to the heed-

lessness of trappers (other cases are enumerated), yet the liability to such fatal occurrences is neither disputed nor diminished.' (§ 67.)

Much evidence is given upon the possible substitutes for these trappers, which is deserving of serious attention; but, again to quote the reporter,—

'Whether the boys may be advantageously replaced by old men, or whether the doors may be so constructed as to act without the intervention of human agency, may long remain questions open in theory, while they are decided in practice; nor does it appear that it will be ascertained how far the problem admits of a mechanical solution until some more powerful incitement to its investigation shall be brought into operation.' (§ 69.)

These trappers are the youngest boys in the pit, although their duties are amongst the most important. The facility with which they may be performed causes the employment of mere children, who of course receive children's wages. The pith of the objections taken by agents and owners to all plans proposed for the adoption of other aid, appears to lie far more in the greater cost of such aid, than in its presumed inefficiency.

The coal is obtained by means of blasting and the use of the ordinary pick. The men who extract it are denominated 'hewers.' They tear down the coal, and a class of stout boys from 14 to 18 years of age, called 'putters,' fill the baskets or tubs with the coal, and then 'put' or propel and drag their loads on a small carriage placed upon a railway, until they reach a crane in a more open and higher part of the mine. By this crane the loads are transferred to waggons ('rollies') drawn by horses, and the horses are driven by the class of boys called 'drivers,' whose ages vary from 11 or 12, to 14 or 15. The only other large class of boys are the trappers before mentioned: but there are numerous small companies of boys employed in assisting the putters and drivers in various ways. Some take in wood for propping the pit, and carry back water: some clean the waggon or railway, to render the transit facile and uninterrupted; some 'help up' the putters when a difficult place is to be passed; others perform desultory work about the various parts of the mine. The margin of the top of the shaft and its immediate neighbourhood, in the open air, is called the 'bank,' and thereabouts are employed a number of adults and boys. The boys pick out stones and impurities from the coal, or assist the men who are engaged in transferring the coal-baskets as they come from the pit to the railway which leads to the place of shipment. Such is a very brief abstract of the catalogue and descriptions laid before us of the chief employments below and above ground. (§ 197—214.)

The 'putters' (a term which is generic, and admits of distinctions

in reference to the ages and duties of the boys) are those who undergo the greatest actual labour in proportion to their ages. They are consequently usually muscular to an excessive degree, and equally impudent. They will work for periods incredible to agricultural and town-bred youths, and at labour, one day of which would render the latter, claimants for a month's holiday for the purpose of regaining their strength. The number of putters who state that they have repeatedly pursued their exhausting duties for twenty-four and even thirty-six consecutive hours, is very far from inconsiderable. 'In endeavours temporarily to increase his earnings, the putter is frequently regardless of fatigue, and were he permitted, would ofttimes only terminate his toil by entire physical exhaustion.' (§ 56.) Their ignorance is as incredible as their physical endurance; the question of their own age sometimes involving too complicated a mental process to secure an answer. The ability to spell their names is far from common.

The drivers are not engaged in employments so laborious as the putters, but they are much more exposed to the 'dangers of the road.' A kick from an unruly horse, a fall from an unsteady waggon, or a collision with a brother driver's train, are the ordinary varieties of their daily life. Unfortunately, the effects of such events are not always trifling. Hence a majority of the drivers can detail a catalogue of injuries which we should rather expect from an old soldier than a young pit-boy. A broken leg or arm has frequently fallen to the share of a driver, but then an invincible tendency to recover most speedily and astonishingly from a calamity which would have finally disabled an ordinary town lad, is to be taken as a set-off against their excess of liability to accident. 'Smart money,' a kind of quarter-pay when they are temporarily laid aside from such causes, is their chief solace, and also that of all injured pitmen.

We have already alluded to the trappers. As to the external man of a pit-worker, we must look to the adults.

'The 'outward man' distinguishes a pitman from every other operative. His stature is diminutive, his figure disproportionate and misshapen; his legs being much bowed; his chest protruding (the *thoracic* region being unequally developed). His countenance is not less striking than his figure; his cheeks being generally hollow, his brow overhanging, his cheek bones high, his forehead low and retreating; nor is his appearance healthful; his habit is tainted with scrofula. I have seen agricultural labourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and even those among the wan and distressed stocking weavers of Nottinghamshire, to whom the term 'jolly' might not be inaptly applied, but I never saw a 'jolly-looking' pitman.' (No. 496.)

We observe that tables of the numbers employed at each colliery give an aggregate of 8503 adults, 2218 boys, and 1514

children (or boys under 13 years of age), as engaged in the collieries which ship their produce by the Tyne. At least 20,000 persons are employed in the Tyne and Wear collieries.

Upon a consideration of the physical injury inflicted, and the outward evils superinduced, by the labours of the children in the pits, we cannot enter at large, inasmuch as our limited space will prevent us from doing full justice to the inquiry. We quite agree with the sub-commissioner himself, who observes—

'That the circumstances of the occupation of the trapper are physically innocuous, the evidence, by assertion or omission, will by no means establish—that they are mentally and morally pernicious, can scarcely be denied. While a determinate analysis of the former, which should assign to each cause its due proportion of effect may be impracticable and unnecessary, it is no unwarrantable assumption to affirm that the unbroken monotony of the duty, in conjunction with its duration, and the darkness, solitude, and other peculiarities of the scene of its performance, must at least indurate the susceptibilities of feeling, obstruct intellectual activity, and nourish a state of mental vacuity that diminishes the capabilities of receiving instruction.' (§ 62.)

The fact that annual removals from one mine to another are both practicable and customary, had certainly struck us as demonstrating the impossibility of oppression towards the children. The following remarks, however, are important, and militate against this conclusion:

'One of the most specious objections, however, to the possibility of oppression on the part of mining employers is that of the facility of removal on the part of the employed to another colliery. Hence it has been deduced as an almost axiomatic inference, that no unwarrantable [illegible] labour from men or boys can exist. Now it must be conceded that the facility of locomotion tends to the establishment of an equipoise [illegible] pressure throughout the district in the matter of remuneration for labour. A preponderance of difficulties in [illegible] must be counterbalanced by a proportionate relief in [illegible] A premium of additional pay will restore the [illegible] but these advantages can be participated only by the men and the elder boys. The mere striplings [illegible] remove with their parents; and should the [illegible] preferences for one colliery, the child cannot [illegible] The condition of the pit may render the labour of [illegible] especially oppressive, while the work of the [illegible] by that condition, or may be especially easy. In [illegible] a still more selfish and unnatural parent, the very ex- [illegible] be the cause of its prolongation. The [illegible] the difficulties, but the difficulties are borne [illegible] while his whole earnings are yielded to [illegible] to his capacity, if not to his extravagance.'—

It must be observed that the same long hours of labour, namely, twelve, are exacted in every mine in this district. Thirteen or fourteen hours, however, usually elapse between the departure and return of a boy to his home, which he commonly leaves at four in the morning, and does not again reach till five or six in the evening. In addition to less obvious evils, frequent complaints were made by the children of headache, nausea, deficiency of appetite, and even of an habitual tendency to eructate. (§ 74.) Upon physical considerations merely, we should dispassionately demand the interference of the state, and agree with the reporter, who says—

'Upon the extent to which the evils of the case are tangible by legislation, it is not the province of your sub-commissioner to enlarge; but it certainly appears to him that no valid objection has been, or can be, taken to at least a limitation of the age at which children are introduced to the mine.'

And here for the present we must leave this matter, merely adding, that whatever claims may be made in reference to children in these mines, such claims are applicable with threefold force to smaller colliery districts, where far greater inhumanities are practised, though upon a much less number of children.

So large a population of miners have naturally become marked by distinctions of conduct and carriage scarcely less conspicuous than those of their persons. We find, however, that many errors have been promulgated respecting their present habits and peculiarities, in a late popular work upon Newcastle and the north. Their past follies were there spoken of as their present characteristics, but, according to Mr. Leifchild,

'Most of those extraordinary peculiarities of dress and habit, which in former years rendered the genuine pitman a truly remarkable being, have, at the present day, become either materially softened down, or utterly obsolete. Their diet-roll, from the scantiness of a pit-bait, to the luxury of a 'singing hinney,' (a rich kneaded cake, so called from the sound it emits when warming,) has undergone alterations; and their language, though even now unintelligible to a stranger, includes far less of the phraseology and accent that must have mainly excluded them from intercourse with all but their 'marrows' (or companions). (§ 14.)

We subjoin the following extracts, as elucidating the origin of the differences between employer and employed, so disastrous in this district, and so instructive at the present perilous period:—

'Although less manageable by strangers, the colliers would seem to have been more manageable by their masters in those their palmy days than at present. The employers seldom meddled with their fancies or

their quarrels, and the men in return seldom interfered with their masters, to whom perhaps they evinced more of the attachment of customary subserviency than is ever now witnessed. Immemorial usages were considered almost tantamount to law. The periodical hirings were probably gone through as a mere matter of form, and the hired spent their money and their lives too with little knowledge of, and less care for, what was going on in the great world above and around them. The hours of labour were longer, and the labour itself harder to men and to boys; but temporary ebullitions of the despotism of the employers and of the turbulence of the employed, subsiding ere they had arrived at the temperature of a 'stick or strike,' were the only discordances in the affairs of the colliery. The spirit of mining speculation had not then extended beyond the Tyne and the Wear, and the magnesian limestone of the southern portion of the coal-field was still permitted to conceal the subjacent fuel.

When, however, the new sources of supply were penetrated, and new collieries were one after another blackening the features of the southerly country—when general competition diminished individual profit, and diminished profits were sought to be increased by diminished wages—then attempted the men to oppose by the force of combination, and then ensued those wranglings and conflicts that could end only in disastrous results to both parties. The masters were no longer ready to afford the usual hiring bounty to the men, and the men were unwilling to accede to the terms of the masters; a strike was the inevitable consequence, at first naturally partial, at length, compulsorily, almost general.' (§ 15, 16.)

One of the most extensive strikes or combinations was that of 1831-2. In detailing the proceedings of the unionists, the sub-commissioner observes—

'Their tactics were rather to stop the supplies and to annoy the enemy, than to rush on to a close contest. Ejected from their tenements, they encamped adjacently in lines of tents, whence issued no niggardly expressions of disapprobation at the passing of an obnoxious viewer. But the viewer *could* pass, and, though secretly armed, there was not, perhaps, great necessity for his precautions, as the men appeared perfectly aware that in jeopardizing his safety they hazarded their own; and colliers do not appear over anxious to run risks out of the mine. Occasional detachments sallied forth, with a show of aggression, and deployed into a motley front. An attack on a well-known viewer's residence was announced; they found it in the possession of a little armed band, abated their valour, and expended the remnants in petty mischief. Some heinous crimes were, however, committed,' &c. (§ 19, 20.)

The result of the whole ebullition was the ultimate return of the miners to their mines, and of their substitutes to their old homes.

'A strong organization of resistance on both sides was daily displayed for a considerable portion of the year, and as no symptoms of

condescension had appeared, the masters were importing numerous adventurers by coach, and their furniture by stage-waggons, from Wales, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, &c., to supply the place of the native pitmen. Bands of Welsh miners were marshalled by agents of the employers, and introduced to the northern collieries; and, notwithstanding the deprecatory warnings of the pitmen, exhibited in the publication of a broad-sheet list of accidents 'by fire and flood,' they descended the mines, but were found incompetent for the labours; and as their reception by the native colliers was more public than pleasing, and the danger of explosions of turbulence above ground as imminent as that of explosions of gas below, dreadfully thinned by the cholera, the immigrants gradually retreated to their old districts, and scarcely one of them is now to be found remaining in the north.' (§ 21.)

'To their gregarious habits, clannishness, and moral insulation, are assignable numerous anomalies and evils, physical and moral,' observable amongst the pit population.

'As a main cause of these,' continues the sub-commissioner, 'may be noticed the entire absence of resident gentry. At the winning of a new colliery the erection of long rows of unpicturesque cottages—the arrival of waggons piled with ill-assorted furniture—the immediate importation of the very scum and offscouring of a peculiar, mischievous, and unlettered race—the novelties introduced, with almost fabled rapidity, into the external features of the country—dense volumes of rolling smoke—the endless clatter of endless strings of coal-waggons—the funereal colour imparted to the district—are surely sufficient to untenant the seats of the wealthy, and untenanted do they speedily become. The arrival of the pitmen is the signal for the departure of the gentry, and henceforward few indeed visit that district but they who traffic with the coals or the colliers.' (§ 31.)

This leads us to the moral and educational condition of the mining population, a topic which we must reserve for another opportunity, and therefore take leave, for the present, of the sub-commissioner, whose report has furnished the materials for our present paper.

P.S.—Since the above was penned, the Mines and Collieries Bill has been making its way to the House of Lords, where it has now (July 18th) been read a second time. As 'amended,' (i.e., opposed and frittered down,) it provides, with reference to under-ground labour, that females shall be excluded from mines, and also boys under ten; that boys aged between ten and thirteen shall be employed only on alternate days; and that apprenticeships shall only be applicable to boys aged between ten and eighteen. In reference to surface work, no lads under fifteen can be entrusted with the machinery whereby human beings are let down into the pit or brought up from it.

Art. VII. *Parliamentary Debates on National Distress. Morning Chronicle and the Times.*

WHAT would be thought of a doctor, who, instead of attending to his patient, of watching his symptoms, of promptly applying the best remedies, and, upon their failure, resorting to others, should rarely visit him, should doubt his testimony of painful sensations, and though implored to examine the case attentively, and to adopt such measures as were needful, should smile at the groans of the sinking man, or coldly speculate on the various causes that had produced his disorder, or bid the patient trust to the medicine of time? Such a doctor is her Majesty's First Lord of the Treasury, and the people of Great Britain are the patients under his care! If the government had been worthy of its power and the confidence of the people, one of its first acts in the early part of this session would have been to issue a commission to inquire into the public distress. Such a commission need not have been gratuitous, and would not have shewn any very supernatural virtue; for it is one of the first and greatest duties of a government, to be soundly informed of the state of the people. Commissions of inquiry are not very rare things in parliament when no unwelcome results are anticipated, and the gentlemen of neither faction are chargeable with reluctance to be found in such jobs. Even if such a commission had been both difficult and unpopular, a patriotic minister would have insisted upon its operation, on the principle that it was neither safe to neglect rumours nor to legislate in the dark. If such a plain duty had been performed, the government would have received the thanks of the considerate, and, at the same time, have kept up the jaded hope of the working classes.

But what are the facts? No commission has been issued, and none intended; and even the cheaper mode of resolving the house into a committee, to report on the national distress, has been opposed as virulently as if the motion had been to abrogate the connexions of the state church, or to abolish the peerage. But why should the government be afraid of inquiry? Does it discredit the national distress? Then why not prove by facts and figures that this distress has been overdrawn by party pens—that people have both good food and good beds—that the earnings of the people are still sufficient, and that the employment of capital is neither hazardous nor profitless. Here was a fine occasion for the government to put down the traders in distress, as the organs of the government insolently term the advocates of untaxed food. A few days of fearless inquiry at Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, would have crushed the falsehood of the free traders, and the ministry might have flouted the members of the league with the returns of 'The Distress Commission.' In-

however, of the usual and natural course, the government
wasted the session in a vain and shameless attempt to
the voice of suffering, to d the eyes of the hungry
ades to fêtes and mock t ; public attention has
raughted from our artisans ng their sad meal once in
or twenty-four hours, to m regicides, and magnificent
as of future kings and que ; and the multitudes of beg-
capitalists, merchants, and t en, have produced less
on the aristocracy, than the w music set to the *Stabat*
dolorosa by Rossini, who h more charms for the mem-
f parliament than the agon of the empire have. In the
ime, the people have told r own tale. A far better
ission of inquiry has been employed by themselves, and
sults of their inquiries have appalled the sufferers with the
that the distress exceeds even their fears. Much is owing
population at large to those brave and humane men, who,
erent parts of the country, have sought out the details of
r. In Manchester, this work has been done by the League,
me independent gentlemen. In Leeds, a few public-spi-
men of all parties have published their statistics of ruin.
effield, the Rev. Mr. Bayley has compiled the case of the
ployed cutlers. In Coventry, Peak, Paisley, and a hundred
places, men have been found to do the same service which
vernment ought spontaneously to have done for all.

t only has no commission to inquire into the distress been
l, but the gratuitous supply of information by the League,
ther bodies of the people who have revealed to the govern-
the ruinous state of the country, has been treated with
mpt; its compilers have been denounced as preachers of
on, and as long as it was safe to disdain all their communica-
it was done. Mr. Cobden, in parliament, has been the
of aristocratic ridicule and reproach; the manufacturers have
denounced to their workmen as monsters of cupidity and
ny; vile attempts have been made to urge the people to an
k on machinery; farces of mock tenderness and zeal have
enacted for chimney-sweeps, factory children, and women
ing in mines, while the iniquitous cause, that has driven the
ren and wives of our operatives to these employments, has
defended on the imaginary ground of the peculiar burdens
nd! A sensible and an upright government would have
grateful for information by whomsoever collected, and the
ks of the House of Commons should have been given to
men who have spent their money and time in circulating
aluable statistics which the League has brought to light, and
h would never have transpired but for their meritorious and
mitting labours.

That we may assume nothing which is not proved, we first invite the attention of our readers to the following statistics, which we shall preface with a tabular view of the frightful increase of pauperism. This document is published on the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners, and applies to districts *purely agricultural*, where it is boasted by the aristocracy, and admitted by the advocates of free trade, that the condition of the labourer is *now* the best.

STATEMENT of the Amount expended for Relief and Maintenance of the Poor in 1837, 1838, and 1840, exclusive of Manufacturing Counties.

(Extracted from the Seventh Annual Report of Poor Law Commissioners.)

Counties.	Average of 1837-8.	1840.	Increase.	
	£	£	£	
Bedfordshire . . .	37,486	39,889	2,403	6¾ per cent.
Berkshire	57,952	70,125	12,173	22 per cent.
Buckinghamshire .	62,481	72,367	9,886	15 per cent.
Cambridge	50,654	75,745	15,091	25 per cent.
Cheshire	69,302	75,894	6,592	9½ per cent.
Cornwall	70,950	77,633	6,683	9½ per cent.
Cumberland . . .	32,555	37,006	4,451	13 per cent.
Derbyshire	48,601	53,635	5,034	11 per cent.
Devonshire	165,572	194,361	28,789	18½ per cent.
Dorsetshire . . .	60,899	81,373	20,474	34 per cent.
Essex	149,005	165,340	16,335	11 per cent.
Gloucester	108,526	125,168	16,642	16 per cent.
Herefordshire . . .	37,509	42,226	4,717	12 per cent.
Hertfordshire . . .	51,116	56,126	5,010	10 per cent.
Huntingdonshire . .	23,432	25,123	1,691	7 per cent.
Kent	179,761	193,526	13,765	7½ per cent.
Leicestershire . . .	60,194	63,604	3,410	5¾ per cent.
Lincolnshire . . .	104,824	99,860	—	
Monmouthshire . .	18,894	21,897	3,003	16 per cent.
Norfolk	172,661	181,058	8,397	5 per cent.
Northamptonshire .	75,612	83,171	7,559	10 per cent.
Northumberland . .	60,404	65,416	5,012	8 per cent.
Nottinghamshire . .	50,782	53,407	2,625	4 per cent.
Oxfordshire . . .	65,398	74,585	9,187	13 per cent.
Rutlandshire . . .	6,450	7,246	796	12 per cent.
Shropshire	53,928	55,022	1,094	2 per cent.
Somersetshire . . .	127,388	156,059	28,671	22 per cent.
Southampton . . .	124,557	141,694	17,137	13 per cent.
Staffordshire . . .	82,500	92,835	10,335	12 per cent.
Suffolk	133,776	141,536	7,760	6 per cent.
Surrey	153,448	169,952	16,504	11 per cent.
Sussex	118,554	144,128	25,574	23 per cent.
Wiltshire	109,447	133,468	24,021	23 per cent.
Worcestershire . .	54,187	60,530	6,343	11 per cent.
York, East Riding . } „ North „ }	120,456	126,445	5,987	5 per cent.
Total . . £.	2,909,351	3,257,540	353,153	Total Increase, 12 per cent.

Such is the i of the po rates in those districts of the country that for fifteen y nave divided the spoil of the corn laws. The leprosy has at l reached the agricultural oppressors of trade; and if, a of prosperity, the increase of the poor rates has o t the increase of people, the time is not distant when t will again burst on the farm, and poor rates will join tu in devouring rent. Before we quit this subject, we beg the attention of the reader again to the foregoing table. Agriculture has been prosperous; the markets for its produce are nearly all at its door; its profits have been great, and yet the wages of the labourer have not exceeded an average of 10*s.* per week! The *agricultural* poor rates have increased twelve per cent. in a time of unprecedented prosperity, and the landlords and their tenants charge the repealers of the Corn Law with cupidity! The agricultural class stoutly maintain the fallacy, that wages rise with the price of corn; through this falsehood they appeal to the prejudices of the labourers; and yet, though the price of corn has been both high and steady, there has been no material increase, but rather a fall, in the wages of farming labourers. If the aristocracy had declared that wages rose with the age of the moon, or with the progressions of the tide, the falsehood might have been more palpable, but it would not have been greater. The charge of cupidity levelled against the millocrats properly belongs to themselves, and no greater proof need be adduced, than a comparison of the wages of the artisan and the predial labourer.

Bad, however, as the case of the labourers on land is, the condition of the manufacturing districts is infinitely worse; and we cannot better supply the reader with a specimen of the state of the commercial districts, than by subjoining the following table. The arrangement is our own, but the materials have been supplied by men of all parties, and we fear the facts are even worse than our representations.

Place.	Population.	Trade.	Decrease of Wages per cent.	Increase of Poor-rates.	Remarks.
Rochdale . .	24,423	Woollen and cotton.	. . . . .	100 per cent. above 1836.	
Derby . . .	35,000	Silk and cotton.	50 per cent. since 1836.	Paupers in poor-house doubled.	
Leicester . .	50,932	Hosiery.	25 to 30 per cent.	Paupers in poor-house increased from 200 to 430.	One house that paid 500*l.* weekly wages now pays only 200*l.*
Nottingham .	53,080	Lace and hosiery .	25 per cent. since 1836.	100 per cent. since 1834.	Persons relieved within the last year nearly 5000.
Stockport . .	25,000	Cotton . .	25 per cent. since 1836.	300 per cent. since 1834; guardians in debt 5000*l.*	Twenty-nine mills stopped.
Prescot . .	6,000	Watches .	. . . . .	150 per cent. since 1836.	
Glasgow . .	12,000 on the relief fund.	Mercantile.	50 per cent. since 1835.	90 per cent. above 1836.	Annual increase of deaths, 468!
Paisley . .	60,000	Cotton . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	One-third of the population dependent on charity.
Manchester .	192,408	Cotton . .	30 to 35 per cent. since 1836.	. . . . .	On the whole cotton district, 7,000,000*l.* per ann. less paid in wages than in 1836.
Kendall . .	11,700	Woollen .	15,860*l.* less paid per annum than a few years ago.		
Leigh . . .	26,588	Cotton and silks . .	20 to 25 per cent. since 1836.		
Bolton. . .	. . . .	Cotton . .	201,600*l.* less paid in wages than in 1836.	300 per cent. . .	1500 empty houses.
Colne . . .	20,648	Cotton . .	35 per cent. less than 1831.	100 per cent. since 1836.	
Ashton-under-Lyne .	. . . .	Cotton . .	17 per cent. since 1836.	120 per cent. above 1836.	2000 out of employ.
Bury . . .	. . . .	Cotton and machines.	Wages 50 per cent. since 1835.	120 per cent. above 1839.	
Oldham . .	42,593	Cotton . .	. . . . .	Near 200 per cent. since 1836.	5000 out of employ.
West Bromwich .	43,902	Iron . .	25 per cent. since 1836.	100 per cent. since 1838.	
Pontypool .	14,000	Iron . .	30 per cent. since 1838.	100 to 150 per cent. since 1835.	Population in 1836, 17,000, now only 14,000.
Sheffield . .	100,000	Cutlery .	From 10 to 50 per cent. since 1836.	From 100 to 150 per cent. since 1836.	Poor-rates in township of Sheffield alone, in an average quarter of 1836, 16*l.* in 1842, 423*l.*!

If it be objected that this brief view of the condition of the people is not sufficiently ample to form a judgment of the case, we beg the reader's attention to two or three cases selected from a multitude before us, which would make a patriotic government tremble, and might even induce, for once, an aristocratic one, as the climax of its self-denial, to waive the pleasure of a prorogation.

Barnsley.

Such has been the state of trade in this district, that from 1838 to 1841 inclusive, sixteen linen manufacturers &c. have

failed, the amount of whose liabilities was £296,500, on which the dividend paid has not averaged one shilling in the pound. The following statement will still further illustrate the general depression of the manufacturers of that neighbourhood:—

From 1833 *and* 1835.

17 shops, containing 60 looms, earned per week, £22 14 6, or about 7*s.* 7*d.* per loom per week.

From 1839 *to* 1841.

17 shops, containing 60 looms, earned per week, £14 7 0, or 4*s.* 9¼*d.* per ditto.

Difference - - - - £8 7 6 per week, or 2*s.* 9¾*d.* per ditto.

Difference, 37 per cent., accompanied with a reduction in wages of about 12½ per cent., and a reduction in amount of employment of 24½ per cent.

Goods finished at the two principal Calenders.

No. 1, Calender.			No. 2, Calender.*	
1833 . .	55,984 pieces.		1836	
1834 . .	55,228 —		1837	Total, 163,838.
1835 . .	57,229 —		1838	
	Total 168,441 pieces.			
1839 . .	46,094 —		1839	
1840 . .	34,071 —		1840	Total, 143,358.
1841 . .	33,966 —		1841	
	Total 114,131 pieces.			
Deficiency -	54,310		Deficiency	20,480

Leeds.

From 1838 to 1841, twenty-nine woollen houses in the township became insolvent with liabilities of 515,000*l.* Ten houses of another department failed, owing 38,100*l.* Eighteen firms of the flax and tow trade failed, whose debts were reckoned at 217,800*l.* Sixteen machine makers, whose capital amounted to 47,600*l.*, have also failed. Nine stuff houses and worsted spinners failed, whose liabilities were 457,800*l.*, making a total of loss by bankruptcies alone, of 1,451,000*l.*, which did not pay a dividend of 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound.

* The years 1838 and 1835 could not be obtained, but they would probably have shown a greater deficiency.

Wages of			
Machinists have fallen -	45 per cent.	since	1835.
Common spinning - -	30	—	1835.
Handloom weavers	40	—	1833.
Cutlers - -	10 to 50	—	1835.
Combers - -	25 to 40	—	1834.
Tailors - -	10 to 25	—	1836.
Shoemakers -	5 to 30	—	1834.
Builders - -	5 to 25	—	1836.

Bolton.

Out of fifty mills, which gave work to 8124 persons, thirty are either shut up, or partially employed. 2110 mechanics employed in 1836, now only 1325; carpenters at work in 1836, 150, now 49; bricklayers in 1837, 120, now 16; stonemasons in 1836, 150, now only 50; in 1836, five hundred tailors fully employed, now only about half the number.

Summary of particulars derived from a survey of the cases of distress in the borough of Bolton, December, 1841.

1003 families visited, consisting of 5305 persons.

	£	s.	d.
Their nett earnings per week were - -	339	15	7
Parish relief and donations - - -	52	8	5
	392	4	0
Amount of weekly rents, if paid - -	82	3	4
Left for food, fire, clothing, &c. - -	£310	0	8

or making an average of 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 2½*d.* per head per week.

There were 950 families, having in all—

1553 beds; more than half of these were filled with straw or chaff, &c.; and 716 were filled with flocks.

466 blankets were found, or about 10½ persons to each blanket.

53 families were wholly without beds; and

425 persons were sleeping on the floor.

Furniture found amongst the whole:—

2876 chairs.
642 stools.

3518 being about two seats for every three persons.

1380 tables.

511 families were accustomed to pawning, and 609 families had no change of linen.

Such is the state of the country at the close of the first conservative session, after an expulsion of the party for nearly ten

years from office. The times are altered, indeed, but the party may justly boast of its identity. The whigs complained, and justly, that their best projects were thwarted by the tories; some, in consequence, only exist in mutilated remains, and others have been abandoned altogether; but no such extenuation can be pleaded by the present government. The distress has spoken in every tone of emphasis and warning, but the ears of the aristocratic junto were deaf to the voice of sorrow. The distress wailed louder and more piteously, and then the government affected that it was the mere whine of party. Hunger gathered its multitudes at Stockport, Colne, and Dudley, in formidable array, and at length the slow-to learn government admitted the 'slight depression of trade.' Beaten from every subterfuge and shabby haunt of sophistry, and flouted with his own acts and speeches, silenced by the facts of working men, the premier at length confessed that the distress was incontrovertible. That point achieved, it might have been expected that the government would have speedily brought in a measure of relief; but no; the only symptom of quickened action was in the greater hurry with which it prepared for the recess! As long as it was possible to doubt the distress, it was denied; when that was established, then began the shuffle to mystify its causes, which was managed by Sir Robert Peel, we confess, with adroit evasion of the real evils. That minister knows both the cause and the remedy, as well as Mr. Cobden, but he is bound by party, and cannot be himself. He has fought the battle of the session almost alone. His partners in office have rendered little parliamentary services beyond their votes. All the drudgery of speech-making has fallen on the premier, whether of choice or necessity, we care not, but we rejoice that it has done so. Nothing can be hoped now from the possibilities of his silence. He has gloried in his great measure of reform, and his greater measure of finance, but he will gain no power from the former, and the recoil of the latter measure is to come. The tax is yet to be collected, the scrutinies are yet to be made, the auctions are yet to be held of the goods of the recusants, and we are deceived if he do not lose many from his own ranks in the country, when they feel the new screw of *taxation*, while the false sympathies that his party had created among the working classes by their mock denunciation of the Whig Poor Law, will be converted into contemptuous indignation.

Thanks to the power of truth; the confession is at length wrung from aristocratic lips, that the country is in peril from the popular suffering. It is no petty triumph that the labours of the friends of free trade should have forced this reluctant faith on the government; a faith, however, which,

being without any of the signs of virtuous and spontaneous action, is no more honourable to its possessors than the belief which the Thames or the Tower forces on its beholder. A more contemptuous opinion could not be expressed of the aristocracy, than is conveyed in their own tardy conversion to palpable truths. It is one of the invariable attributes of our lordly government to be the last to arrive at the truth. The signs of the times glare upon us in the famished thousands of our artisans, in the mills glutted with noiseless machinery, in the crowded poor houses, in the idle vessels that lie in our rivers, in the appalling increase of bankruptcies, in the rapid subsidence of wages and capital, and in the emigration to other shores, or in the retirement from business, of our manufacturers; but the glazed eye of aristocracy can only see 'some temporary distress at Nuneaton,' or 'a slight depression in the cotton district!' Prosperity has forsaken all the markets and the shops; men of all creeds wail over the ruin that has prostrated their trades, and are pale with apprehension of further calamities; and all that the government of Great Britain can be induced to say, is the reluctant admission that there 'is considerable derangement of the national commerce!'

Our notion of a government is, that it should be composed of men who are among the most sagacious of their age. They should be the first to see the danger, to lift the voice of warning, and to propose a sound and adequate remedy. Has this been the case with the government of our country? Committed as it is to alternations of the two factions of whig and tory, it has been the fate of the British empire to be the prey of both, and deep has been the injury it has sustained at their hands. The ultimatum of both factions is office; the calamity most dreaded by either is to be driven into opposition, and all the improvement that the nation obtains in the management of its affairs is derived from the party bidders out of place, who hang out the popular flag to beguile the people, and thus overthrow the antagonist faction. If the gifts of office could be enjoyed by poth parties, there would be an end to progression, and patriotism would become obsolete, even in terms.

The government of this country has always been conducted on principles of falsehood and expediency; and the natural consequences of tortuous legislation are rapidly coming home to all classes. The agricultural interest has risen in the stilts of monopoly, and the trading community has had to pay the cost of this iniquitous departure from political justice. So long as the makers of the law remain comparatively irresponsible to the people, the two great departments of human enterprise, land and trade, will continue to exist in mutual hostility. But why

should the hostility continue? One simple word is the remedy—justice. The return of the government to equitable legislation would adjust the apparent opposition of agriculture and commerce. But justice cannot become the basis of legislation until the virtue of the aristocracy has risen to the wants of the state, or the people have applied their force to the House of Commons. Never were the exigencies of the nation greater than they now are; but the aristocracy have not risen with the occasion. They are the same creatures of expediency and shift. The great rule of justice would at once gauge the distress, and find the remedy; but there is nothing our rulers so much fear, or less intend to apply. They alter the Corn Laws, indeed, because they can no longer maintain them, nor bear the indignant gaze of a ruined people: but their reform will be a mere change of miserable expedients, if the people do not prevent it. Their maxims are all for the day. They have no eye to futurity. Trade and commerce, population and morals in 1890 they never anticipate. An end must come to the farce, and the aristocracy know it; but all their labours go to waive off the reckoning to the future. When the Corn Laws are repealed, they will fall upon the Bank and the moneyed interest, and afterwards upon the church, but those reforms, also, will be effected in the spirit of mere expediency. Great principles are as strange in their hands as the plough, or the rasp, or the hammer; and vain indeed is the hope of the people who expect equitable reforms from them. The class who are born to dictate are never taught great principles, and they know no more of patriotism than the abused application of the term to the interests of their own clique. It is remarkable in the discussions of both Houses of Parliament, how seldom questions are argued upon the mere grounds of right and wrong. The moral reasons of legislation are rarely noticed; and when they are touched upon, it is frequently amidst the ridicule of the house. The opera party sways where the voice of distress is excluded; the battle for place, or a party division, are the only things that awaken our aristocratic governors, and when that is over, the petitions of the people lie as unregarded on the table of parliament as the notes of the powdered clerks who sit before the speaker.

A stranger to the English government would naturally conclude, after having visited the countries of Prussia and the Czar, and become acquainted with our distress, that a parliament was a device for securing the misery of the people, for cheating the masses out of their power and money, for perpetuating the abuses of former ages, for involving the nation in debts greater than were ever heard of in the history of man, and for pampering one or two pet factions at the expense of the multitude. That this

is the condition of *our* nation cannot be denied, but how was it achieved? It has never been of late without a parliament: most of the towns have their charter: the books of law declare that every man has a voice in parliament, and that no one can be taxed without the consent of his representative; but how do these pretences harmonize with the actual state of things? Despotic governments, the stranger might remark, have no parliament, but they have no national debt of any consequence. Their towns are not chartered, but their inhabitants are in comparative affluence. They have a national church, but the clergy sympathize with the people. One will is universal law; but commerce is constantly increasing. They have nobles, indeed, but they are no more the masters of the nation than their serfs. Those countries have been occasionally the seat of war, but they suffer inconceivably less than Great Britain, the victor of the world. They have no free press, the boast of England, but the people are better educated. And if, from such a comparison of facts, the stranger visiting England should attribute the distress of the country to the existence of its parliaments, he would be justified by the memorable assertion of the nobleman who said, 'that England can never be undone but by her parliaments.' If these evils result from the parliament, where is its utility? If they are produced in spite of such an institution, where are the boasted benefits of its guardianship?

The praise of the people's patience by the aristocracy is but an insult, and should be thrown back upon the oppressor. For what is this praise given? That the working classes have not risen in the power and spirit of vengeance, and trampled their gay oppressors to the dust. Nothing more is intended than to pet the dog that is suspected of a disposition to worry. Nothing is said of the patience of the English people during the ages of misrule which they have endured from their lordly rulers. The successive series of jobs, wars, and plunderings of the national income; the natural growth of the pensionary hordes, and the mischievous race of placemen, the sectarianism of the national church, the iniquity and extravagance of the laws, the shameless state of the suffrage and education, the dabbling with the national currency, now changing it from gold to paper, and then from paper to gold, the prodigal allowances to royalty and its minions, the history of monopolies, expeditions, and commissions,—all these monstrous invasions of the popular right the people have borne almost without a complaint. For such patience they were never praised. But now that they have the aristocracy at their mercy, and yet nobly refrain from revenge, they are praised for the patience with which they endure hunger, pain, nakedness, isolation in a poor-house, or expulsion from

their homes! As long as the people can be kept down, they are denounced as the mob, the populace, and *the canaille;* but when the popular lion roars and erects his mane, and paws the earth with symptomatic ire, then he must be soothed by a cheap meal of flattery, in order that he may be coaxed and wheedled again into the chains of his keepers. Patience is no doubt a great virtue, but it may also be a great crime; and it is one when the majority of a nation suffer their rulers to dominate at the cost of all that we ought to convey to our posterity. What we choose to suffer is one thing; but the suffering that we impose on our successors is another; and it will by them be accounted our dishonour to have quietly submitted to the ruin of that commerce which we received from our forefathers, as much for the benefit of our successors as of ourselves.

Unbounded obligations are due from the country to the Anti Corn-Law League, who have at last, after the expenditure of many thousand pounds, and much time, roused the country to a due consideration of the most practical of the fiscal grievances of the people. At one period of the agitation, success appeared very dubious; and many of the friends of the popular cause struck off to the suffrage as a safer road to the repeal of the Corn Law. Our sentiments on the iniquitous state of the suffrage are well known; they have been freely expressed, and will be reiterated from time to time. We cannot, however, too strongly express our regret at the policy adopted by some friends of the suffrage movement, in reference to the Anti Corn-Law agitation. We deeply deplore the hostile position they have taken up, for hostile it is, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, as we feel assured it must be equally unfriendly to the success of their own views as to those of the Corn Law League. *The repeal of the Corn Law would be an immediate benefit, and on that account claims the precedence;* but though the enlargement of the suffrage would secure the repeal of the food taxes, the success would be more remote, and the terrific elements of hunger and despair may throw the battle into unexpected forms of disorder, in which the master grievance might be forgotten. We cannot, therefore, avoid deprecating the inopportune censure of the League by '*The Nonconformist,*' and other friends of the people, who would have it abandon its original position, and become a political club. The power of that spirited association is in *its strictly commercial and humane character:* as such, it will, aided by the popular distress, either overthrow the government, or force the repeal of the food taxes. If it become a mere political society, a part of its members would retire; it would lose the sympathy of the religious to a great extent: the middle classes, who have yet to be converted to the suffrage movement, would

become feeble co-operators, if not actual opponents; and though the league might fight the battle on a broader principle, the prospect of success would be diminished. It is difficult to make men as zealous for principles and abstract justice as they have become for questions of trade. Nor do we agree with our contemporary, that the falling off in the members of the Conference is owing to the abated confidence of the people in the question of repeal. We attribute it mainly to the increase of distress. Many of the associations in the country did not find it convenient to support their deputies in London, and few only were able to support themselves. We think it somewhat derogatory to the friends of free trade in London, that no arrangements were made, as in Manchester, to open their houses to such of the deputies as had not the means of defraying their own expenses. In the event of another Conference, we are confident this oversight will not be repeated. But we protest against the conclusion, that the labours of the conference have been without effect. Small as it is alleged the numbers were, we are convinced, it has had greater effect on the government than any previous popular movement in favour of free trade. Sir Robert Peel has been shamed from his worn-out sophisms of overproduction, and it is already rumoured at the clubs, that his croupiers have received warning that the monopoly must be ceded early in the next session. The power of forcing that session to begin soon is in the people; and if they do not exert their strength, they will have themselves only to blame.

The wisdom of the agitation for the repeal of the provision taxes appears to us in the *immediate good* that would ensue. The corn of America would become not only an article of cheap food, but would operate as so much new capital thrown into the market, which would be speedily felt by all. The debts of America to this country would soon be paid; agriculture there would be instantly stimulated, and the capital of the North would be drawn from trade; a better feeling would be produced between the governments and people of both countries; and either a stop would be put to the drain of emigrants, or the character of the emigration would be changed from a dangerous supply to our rivals abroad, into a relief to the surplus population of our agricultural districts. Mr. Ibbotson, of Sheffield, and other deputies, recently declared at the Conference, that the repeal of the Corn Law would be followed in a few weeks by the employment of nearly all our able-bodied artisans. This result, and the equitable principle that would secure it, may well make Corn Law repealers plentiful.

We observe with pleasure the patience of the suffering operatives has been

applauded, but it appears not to be thoroughly understood. It is not merely patience, but a mistaken policy. The apathy of the middle classes has been bitterly complained of by the lower, who now look with mistaken gratification at the ruin that is at work among the merchants, shop-keepers, and manufacturers. In more than one place we have heard the paupers declare, with evident delight, 'we will eat them up, and then they (the middle classes) will move.' We are sorry to see this spirit, for, with all their faults, the middle classes are the only friends of the lower. It is with their capital that the trade of the country is sustained; for every thousand of that capital which is lost, there is lost the power to employ a given number of operatives. The vengeance of the lower classes is, therefore, suicidal; they are cutting off their own supplies; the spirit of enterprise and invention will not find sanctuary among the aristocracy, and the redundant poor will be thrown upon the land, either to scramble with the serfs for half their pittance, or with their masters for the land itself; and in either alternative bitter indeed will be the contest.

The quiescent part that has been played by the established clergy during this frightful popular suffering, is striking, and ought to be admonitory. They are essentially the priesthood of the aristocracy, whose sentiments they generally espouse, because they hope for their patronage. There are, doubtless, many kind and some noble men among the clergy, but how do they reconcile their indifference to the cause of the poor with their boast of 'the poor man's church'? If, by that expression, it be intended that the property of the church ought to belong to the poor, it is true. But why, then, is the poor man's church so ill-suited for his reception? Is the master of the house to be restricted to the meanest part of his own habitation? Why does the poor man forsake his church for the chapel, or, instead of resorting to it, neglect public worship altogether? It is because he is convinced that the state clergy have no sympathy with him. They have never appeared in his cause when their own was not to be first served; and now that the poor are visited by the heaviest and the most continued time of trial that the working classes have ever known in this country, the clergy have stood aloof; abandoned them to contend with a wicked and heartless government alone, and have not even moved in a simultaneous act of charity for the relief of the beggared population, till they had received the mandate of the aristocracy and the queen 'to remember the poor.' In the Conference held at Manchester, there were only two or three of the established clergy; in that held in London, early in the present year, the number was not increased, and we have not heard of more than a single clergyman of the state church having attended the Conference which is now sitting. These

are the men who boast of being the descendants of the apostles, and the authorized ministers of 'the poor man's church.' It may be objected that they do not think the repeal of the Corn Law would remove the difficulty of the poor. If it would not, why have they not convened, resolved upon a better remedy, and urged the government to protect morals and education by defending the labour and skill of the poor? There are many rules of Scripture by which the clergy stand gravely condemned for their indifference to the cause of the poor. 'Ye shall know them by their fruits;' 'Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' When the Whigs proposed to extend the education of the poor, the clergy were unanimous and active to crush the project; and at the last election they were not quiescent, but their service was confined to the support of their aristocratic patrons.

Nor are the dissenting ministers free from blame. They did assemble nobly at Manchester, in Wales, and in Scotland, and collected an important body of evidence; but those conferences did nothing effectually beyond the excitement of public attention. Why were not the subsequent conferences attended in equal numbers? Or if that were impracticable, why have the dissenting ministers not continued to agitate the subject by local conferences, aye, and even by arraying against the shameless food taxes the power of the pulpit in the evenings of the week, if not on the Sabbath day? We are quite convinced that no question more concerns the morals of the people than that of the Corn Laws; and no class of men will so soon feel the results of an impoverished and a demoralized population as dissenting ministers. There prevails among the working classes a growing impression against the clergy of all denominations. Jesus had compassion on the multitudes, and used extraordinary means to procure them food; and the subject of a permanent supply of food is so much more important than that which justified the miracle he wrought, as the life of man is superior to an hour. Temporal interests in the best disciplined minds have always affected the spiritual, and poor is the prospect of the pastor who has to minister to a starving audience. The poor are the representatives of Christ, and we cannot avoid thinking that the neglect even of their legal and commercial rights will never be rehearsed among the virtues of the ministers of Christ at the last day. Of the Wesleyan preachers we have nothing to say beyond deploring their paltry adhesion to the politics and prejudices of the state clergy. The people perfectly understand the position of both; and the time will come when the disciples of John Wesley will feel severely the retribution of

the popular spirit. We have, indeed, heard it asserted that the advocacy of the cause of the poor is a degradation of the ministerial function! Would that we could cite no instances of less disputable degradation! In our judgment, patriotism, not to say humanity, is a virtue 'passionless and pure,' compared with much of the ecclesiastical war that disturbs the land. Modes of clerical dress, feuds of ordination, and questions even of the church-rate and Easter dues, are 'lighter than vanity' where the pleas of an agonized population ring to heaven: while the foundations of the next age are sapped by the poverty, ignorance, and want of employment that at present afflict nearly all the working classes.

The prorogation of parliament, under any circumstances in which it is likely to occur, will augment the odium of the government immeasurably. Why should the members of parliament, any more than other men, leave their business half done? To quit the enchanted foreground of a revolution produced by a new agent, political economy, would be madness in wise and honest men; but for the feeble chapmen of the dominant party to do it, is the addition of insult to hunger, and will be counted by the people a wanton outrage on the decencies due in all lands to distress. If the motive for the prorogation were the presence of the plague in the city, the claims of commerce, or the jeopardy of right honourable health, there would be at least the semblance of an excuse. But it is notorious that the members of parliament, with few exceptions, are engaged in no mercantile affairs that require their presence elsewhere; that the sole reason for separation now is to adjourn, according to custom, to their country seats and watering places; and it would be found difficult to express the disgust with which this inopportune abandonment of their legislative duties will inspire the people towards their rulers. It would have been no miraculous patriotism if the government had determined to continue the session indefinitely till the obstacles were removed from trade, and some solid grounds had been laid for the public tranquillity. Such a resolve would have convinced the people that if government *did not* possess the power, it had yet shewn a disposition to promote the national welfare. Nearly all that has been done during the session, is mischievous; the food taxes have been huddled into new shapes of disorder, and the premier calls the confusion, reform! The capital of the manufacturer has melted with the rapidity of summer snow, and to stop the waste, Sir R. Peel has proposed the Income Tax! The people demand organic changes and the removal of aristocratic fingers from the key-board of trade; and the premier meets the demand by feeble praises of their patience. The position of the premier is all that

his enemies can desire. He is irrecoverably deep in the snares of his own fabrication. The bands of the net tighten every hour; and before February 1843, we are deceived if the great grievance of his soul will not be the bootless lament that he prorogued the present session. He will never convene his partisans in the same force again; portions of them will have caught the fear of the manufacturers, while others will have been equally alarmed with their agricultural tenants. The boasted unanimity of the government party will be gone, while the growing distress of the country will stand in mountainous strength behind the opposition.

Much good, however, may result from the prorogation. In London, the aristocracy can easily forget the visions of misery; the ceaseless splendour of the parks and the court, and the routs of fashionable amusement, veil the distress of the people. But when the members of parliament have arrived at their country abodes, they can neither stop their ears nor close their eyes. The swelling rates for the poor, the defalcated rent rolls, the applicants for private relief, the crowds of workmen no longer hale and hilarious, which must be seen, will be strange readings of the income tax and the vaunted tariff.

The people must evidently help themselves; for they may as well look to the stone divinities of the Hindoos that stand in the nooks of the Museum, as to the members of her Majesty's government for relief. Thousands of families have been utterly ruined through the maintenance of odious laws; men of genius and religion have been driven heart-broken from our shores; hundreds are now in their graves whose murder is fairly chargeable on the iniquity of the food laws. Capital is falling off in a spring-tide from the manufacturers into the hands of lawyers and the aristocracy, and morals have been irreparably damaged. Families have been disgraced by the prostitution of their daughters, and the crime of their sons, who have been forced to such extremities from the necessitating influences of bad legislation. Education is rapidly on the wane among the children of the poor; the doctrines of republicanism are creeping up the limbs of society, and at no long interval will become the creed of the national soul, if the aristocratic genius is still to revel in wanton and irresponsible power. The people must help themselves, for it is clear they have nothing to hope for from the government, beyond the cheap praise of the patience with which they endure their sufferings; and even that would be withheld if it cost a farthing to give it utterance, endangered the patronage of a stable-boy's place, or required the labour of a sentence, or the sacrifice of an interview. The nation has no voice in parliament, if the majority be the nation, as in all theories

of government it is allowed to be. Let the unrepresented millions demand the increase of the suffrage at once, if they please. It is their right. Petitions alone, however, will never obtain it. Remonstrance is the natural language of a wronged mortal; and though it is true that parliament has denounced the language of remonstrance, and requires its masters, the people, to 'sue and fawn on supple knee,' let the people remonstrate and demand an increase of the suffrage. No government has a right to exclude the people of this country from its exercise for a single day. It is a birthright, and cannot be long withheld if the people demand it; it is a trust, and cannot be alienated; it is a safeguard, and the only one, that the ruin, great as it now is, does not become tenfold its present magnitude. Physical force is weakness, but an enlarged suffrage would be national omnipotence.

When the people acquire their rights they should remember the lessons of their own apathy. Providence has frequently cast great occasions in their way, which have been disregarded. The ascendancy of the aristocrat would not have been perpetuated to the middle of the nineteenth century if the people had been true to themselves. The Republic, the Restoration, the Revolution, the Independence of America, the beginning of the present century, and the Reform Bill, were all lost occasions for recovering to the people the powers of self-government, the loss of which was mainly owing to the wicked apathy and foolish credulity of the masses of this country. Whether the 'experience that makes fools wise' has at length roused the people of Great Britain to a better spirit, is yet to be seen. If the schooling of adversity have not been sufficient to instruct and resolve the people to keep all that Providence bestows, even the suffrage would be in vain. The ballot would be no protection. Triennial parliaments would be a poor guarantee, and even a salaried House of Commons, except the soul of the people should rise immeasurably above what it has been, would be quite compatible with a heartless government and a factious House of representatives. Aristocracy has no impulses; but it is cautious, and never sleeps when power is to be won. The people have terrible inspirations, but in the interim, the plague of bribery rages stealthily through the mass, and when the fight begins it is discovered that cunning has outwitted power, and right is prostrate again before its foe. The present sufferings of the nation are mainly attributable to its own lethargy. If the Whigs had been driven on to ulterior measures, instead of being abandoned to their self-complacency, from 1834 to 1837, the Corn Law would have been now repealed; the battle would have sunk to a skirmish between the farmer and the landlord, or between the clergy and the lords of stock, while the body of the English nation

would have been in commercial prosperity, our poor-houses comparatively empty, and education and morals on the rise.

The infatuation of the aristocracy is the miracle of our age; and such is its grotesque character, that if it were not the wanton cause of portentous changes to the country, it would only excite the jeers of wise men. If their demented policy recoiled only upon themselves, the people of England might safely look on the farce of splendid folly manœuvring its own downfall. But, unfortunately, the gay capital is a part of the pillar of society, and the calamities that strike the lords must therefore be shared by their victims, the people. But their doom is nevertheless sealed; they are sinking every hour in popular esteem, and the grudging and thankless manner in which they take the lesson on popular distress, will only strengthen the general conviction that they are merely the splendid caterpillars of society, who fall with devouring precision upon the first and the finest plants of the field. Like all other procrastinators, they postpone to the last hour the business of a whole life. The pauper has given them warning to quit the sole proprietary of the land; the tradesman has joined with the merchant to raise the steam of opinion against the feathers and ermines of the *noblesse;* the children are taught to consider them as the mere *nati consumere fruges;* poverty curses them from its den; philosophy sneers at their incapacity; wit profanes in the tavern the associations that have heretofore belonged to a lord; the Jews are staking deep into their possessions; the millions that live by trade snuff their names with ineffable disdain; and yet the aristocracy are neither willing that justice in legislation should prevail, nor that the few should be inconvenienced for the salvation of the many. A more pitiable proof of the imbecility of the class could not be furnished than their subordination to Sir Robert Peel. He is too wise to sympathize with the dull dogmas of their olden conceit; but he lacks the courage to shew the more excellent way; and they have no alternative but to submit. They are the sworn caballers against free trade, yet led by a cotton-spinner's son! The risk is fearful that they will lose all if they do not speedily capitulate; but they are brave only where angels would 'gaze and pause.' The government has a winter's prospect before it that might inspire the dead, and it is yet bent on a prorogation of parliament and the maintenance of monopolies that any hour may overthrow the state! The responsibility of Sir R. Peel is great indeed. The distress will increase; capital is on the rapid fall; men die questioning whether it is better to have a republic or a despotism; the wisest are setting their house in order; the spirited are leaving the land; crimes are losing their odium and

virtue its attractions to the needy parts of the community. The fires pent up in the heart of the nation rumble with fearful warnings, the land is unwontedly still; but in one hour the game may be up, the dykes of order may be broken down for ever, and the first and least pitied of all the victims will be the aristocracy themselves. The manly repeal of the Corn Laws might save all, and convert a nation of mourners into a land of triumph and hope. The aristocracy *cannot* win the game of monopoly again; and if for another year they refuse to capitulate, they may henceforth hear of no terms but expatriation, or unconditional surrender to the people. It is now at their option to pay the pepper corn or quit the estate. One or the other must be done. They have been warned of the consequences of a collision with the people, and will have no excuse 'when their calamity cometh.'

Brief Notices.

The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 440. London: Longman and Co.

We lose no time in introducing to our readers a work which promises to be one of the most useful which has been issued from the British press for some years past. A biographical dictionary on an extensive plan, the several departments of which should be committed to competent and faithful hands, while the whole was kept under the supervision of one well qualified mind, has long been felt to be a *desideratum* in our literature, and we rejoice to perceive at length some prospect of its being supplied. The work, of which the first half-volume is now before us, appears under the auspices of the *Useful Knowledge Society*, and has been committed to the editorship of Professor Long, of University College. It is designed to include brief biographical sketches of all persons who 'have done anything for which they ought to be remembered,' and as such, distinctly disclaims the intention of giving in any instance a perfect biography. 'The completeness,' it is remarked, 'which a biographical dictionary should aim at, consists in comprising the names of all persons who deserve a notice, and not in containing only elaborate lives of distinguished persons, and omitting those of little importance.' Such a book is kept as a book of reference, not one of continuous reading. We recur to it to meet the exigency of the moment, and to ascertain where, if needful, further information may be obtained. Such is the avowed scope of the work before us, in harmony with which an alphabetical principle of arrangement has been wisely adopted. Each article is to have the initials of its writer appended to it, whose full names will be given on the com-

pletion of the work. The authorities, also, on which the narrative is constructed, are to be appended, together, in the case of authors, where not too voluminous, with a list of their writings. 'The lives,' remarks the editor, 'will be written with care, and the original sources will be examined wherever it can be done.'

The work is to appear in quarterly half-volumes, price twelve shillings each, or in monthly parts at one-third of that sum. So far as we can judge from the volume before us, we are disposed to entertain a highly favourable opinion of its probable execution. The editor has evidently combined upon it a vast amount of erudition and general knowledge. Minds of varied acquirements, and of very different habits, have contributed, each in its own department, to the elucidation of its favourite theme; and the general result therefore brought out, is a collection of biographies enriched beyond example by the fruits of laborious and well-directed research. We shall watch the progress of the work with interest, and report our judgment from time to time.

The Nonconformist's Sketch Book; a Series of Views, classified in four groups, of a State Church and its attendant evils. 12mo, pp. 300. London: Nonconformist Office.

The papers contained in this volume were originally published in the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and are now classified in four groups, for the purpose of exhibiting a more connected and effective view of the evils attendant on a state church. The titles under which they are arranged, will furnish a bird's eye view of their general tenour and bearing. These titles are the following:—1. A State Church viewed from the ground of consistent Dissent. 2. Political views of a State Church. 3. A State Church viewed in the light of Common Sense. 4. The State Church seen in contrast with Christianity. In their present form, these papers constitute a volume eminently adapted to the requirements of the present day. They are written in a style well suited to the popular mind, and leave upon an attentive reader an impression much stronger, and one of a more practical order, than is attendant on the lucubrations of less earnest minds. 'The writer has endeavoured to imagine himself addressing a mixed audience, with whom to gain his end it was necessary to be serious without prosing, and to be lively without exposing himself to the charge of levity. The arguments are therefore brief, and must be looked upon rather as suggestions to the thoughtful, than as complete trains of reasoning.' To those who deem strong language and pungent rebuke a sufficient reason for throwing a book aside, the present volume will be unacceptable. We, however, profess no such tenderness and false candour; and therefore, without pledging ourselves to an approval of every word and sentiment which it contains, whilst retaining our own views of the repulsive influence exercised by the unmeasured, and, as we think, indiscriminate censure occasionally dealt out, we yet strongly recommend the volume to the immediate and grave consideration of our readers. 'He who would hurt the feelings of another,' remarks the writer, in his brief preface, and we fully concur in the justice of the

observation, 'further than the cause of truth requires, is unquestionably bitter; but he who pretends to expose a sinful system, without hurting the feelings of its abettors, is doing but little for the advantage of Christianity.'

The great evil of our times is the little hold which principle has upon the minds of men. We admit the existence of an evil, but make no adequate effort for its correction. We deplore it in words, while we sanction it in deeds. Thus it is with the state church, which lives upon our supineness, and must continue to do so, till the conviction of its unscriptural character and awfully pernicious influence is worked deeply into the hearts of our people, so as to beget corresponding exertions for its overthrow. In aid of such a result, the volume before us is a well-timed contribution. Its author is clearly in earnest; he speaks as with authority from the depth of his own convictions, and if his censure is occasionally too sweeping, we find a ready excuse in his strong and emphatic persuasion of the enormity of the evil which he so ably combats.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Southern Division; Part V. *Cornwall. Northern Division; Part* VII. *Lancashire.* London: How and Parsons.

We are glad to report that the promise held out by the early numbers of this work has been faithfully kept. Each succeeding number has increased our confidence in the competency of its editor for the laborious task he has undertaken, and in the fidelity of the publishers to the terms of their original prospectus. *Cornwall* has been completed in five numbers, which combine, 'in a moderate compass, both amusement and information adapted to all classes of readers, and elegantly illustrated.' This portion of the work may be had with a distinct title-page, and can scarcely fail to obtain extensive circulation, and to be highly prized wherever it is read. It contains a large mass of useful information, mingled with the local traditions of a county which yields to no part of England in historical interest. *Lancashire*, with its cotton-mills and teeming population, has extended to seven parts, and is not yet completed. The various processes of the cotton manufactures of this county are graphically described by Dr. W. C. Taylor, whose pen has been liberally aided by the engraver. Altogether the work is got up in first-rate style; its typography is admirable, its illustrations are numerous, accurate, and striking; and its literary department is characterized by good sense, abundant information, and a happy mixture of the grave and the gay. *Devonshire*, 'the most picturesque of English counties,' will be commenced in September.

Babbicombe; or, Visions of Memory: with other Poems. By Matthew Bridges, Esq., author of the "History of the Roman Empire under Constantine the Great." London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

This is a very delightful volume. Mr. Bridges is a genuine poet. He describes natural scenery with the feeling of one who is charmed

with the beautiful and awed by the sublime; his narrations are the poetry of life; and the creations of his fancy, when he passes the boundaries of this real world and enters the shadowy regions of the imagination, are preternatural and terrible. We have an instance of this in the 'Dreadful Dream,' in the 'Visions of Memory,' in 'The Magician,' and in the whole scene with the Witch of Endor, in 'Saul the son of Cis.'

The book stands high, and on its intrinsic merits; but from the Preface we learn that it has a still more attractive claim to public patronage—the claim of benevolence.

'Whatever,' says Mr. Bridges, with the modesty of true genius, 'may be thought of the literary merits of the subsequent sheets, there will probably exist little difference of opinion as to their typographical beauty. Seldom in the provinces, and especially at so great a distance from London, can the neatness and accuracy be surpassed, which are here displayed by the respectable printer for whose entire benefit this edition of 'Babbicombe' appears. Left, by a severe domestic bereavement, to struggle on in the world, with his desolate family, an appeal is thus made, with respectful confidence, to the sympathy of a generous public, which is rarely found to fail in effectually alleviating sorrow, or supporting artistical skilfulness. Probably neither writers nor readers can be better employed, as to the ordinary affairs of this life, at the present crisis, than in endeavouring to lessen the pressure of commercial difficulty among our middle classes, constituting, as they do, the nucleus of national wealth, as well as the best sources of its future preservation and prosperity.'

A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By John Daillé, Minister of the Reformed Church at Paris. Translated from the French, and revised by the Rev. T. Smith, M.A., of Christ College, Cambridge, now revised and amended, with a Preface by the Rev. J. Jekyll, LL.B. London. 1821. pp. xxiv. 360.

We give our hearty recommendation to this seasonable reprint of a treatise which will ever be a standard work on the subject discussed in it. The service it has rendered to the protestant cause is recorded by the pen of history, and that it is not yet a pointless weapon, the efforts which are made to depreciate it, both by those who would openly destroy, and those who would betray protestantism, sufficiently evince. Romanist writers find themselves compelled, even in these days, to lay out their best resources in attempts to destroy its credit, and an Anglican Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge considers it his duty to warn us 'not to let our estimate of the worth or worthlessness of the fathers be formed at second hand, from a mere perusal of such authors as Daillé or Barbeyrac, whose only object is to single out whatever imperfections they present, and place them before their readers in continuous succession, and without one lucid interval of

merit.' Such remarks as these of Mr. Blunt, however, though not exactly untrue, are calculated to produce a false impression, and to lead to very pernicious results. The impression they are adapted to produce is, that Daillé's work is unfair, which it would be if it professed to be a comprehensive uncontroversial essay on patristics. But this it does not: it is avowedly an examination of one particular question, and that a most important one in patrology; of what use are the fathers in the decision of existing controversies in religion? This inquiry Daillé conducted, if with some partiality, which we neither deny nor extenuate, yet, on the whole, with great ability, considering the adversaries he had to contend with; for he seized, with singular sagacity, the essential points of the question, as regarded in his day, and whatever is pretended to the contrary, discussed them with as distinguished success. He noticed how few genuine works were extant belonging to the most important period—i. e., that immediately succeeding the apostles; to what different points the earliest controversies related, from those which were mooted in his time; how uncertain was the genuineness, and how corrupt the text, of many of the alleged writings of the fathers; what difficulties were occasioned by the peculiarities of style, the rhetorical flourishes, the logical refinements with which some were chargeable; by the concealment or disguise of opinion detected in others; by the changes of sentiment or uncertainty of the degree of conviction which others manifested; and lastly (in his first book), by the moral impossibility of distinguishing individual sentiment from the universal belief of the church. In his second book, he proves that the testimonies given by the fathers on the doctrines of the church are not always true; that the fathers testify against themselves that they are not to be believed absolutely, and on their bare assertion, in what they declare in matters of religion; that their writings make it clear that they had no thought of ever being made authorities in such matters; that they have erred, not singly, but many of them together; that they have maintained strenuous and important controversies one with another; and that even those who acknowledge an authority in them, do it not consistently or thoroughly, but reject such of their opinions as are not suited to their taste. The sum of the whole, in his view, is, that the fathers are not of sufficient authority for deciding controversies in religion; and we must explicitly declare, that if the credit of his book is to be destroyed because his subject required him to expose the errors and imperfections of the fathers, we are at a loss to know what controversial work, on any subject, Mr. Blunt, or any other Anglican writer who thinks with him, can ever honour with his commendation. Daillé's work might, and we have no doubt would, have been different in some of its details, if, instead of having to disprove the ascription of undue authority to the fathers, he had had to speak of their writings, simply as the productions of distinguished men of an early period of the church—some few conspicuous for piety, others for learning, others for eloquence in speech or writing, but most distinguished for neither, and the best of them erring and faulty as ourselves. However, such as they were, they

were exalted into the chair of authoritative teachers by that corrupt fraternity (we will not call it church) which would have the Scriptures all but a sealed book to the people, and arguing with his adversaries much more on their own opinions than we should choose to do, he demolished this authority decisively. To our own taste, Milton's method, where he has occasion to speak of the so-called fathers approves itself more than that of Daillé, for it does, and we think ought, to rouse the indignation of a Christian man to find any of them admitted to the rank of authoritative interpreters of Scripture or faithful preservers of a tradition necessary to give Scripture its due meaning, and the church its proper character; but the treatise, the reprint of which is now before us, goes into the matter upon principles to which neither Romanist nor Anglican can reasonably object; and as it is well to be armed at all points, and have wherewith to refute, in detail, the adversaries of the exclusive authority of the inspired Scriptures, we could wish that every intelligent protestant were master of its contents.

The Diseases of Children, their Symptoms, and Treatment. A Treatise intended for the use of the Student and Junior Practitioner. By George Augustus Rees, M.R.C.S. Highley. 12mo. pp. 300.

This is both a very affecting and highly valuable publication. It is terrible to contemplate the infant maladies of our species as they are here detailed, classified, and described; but it is most gratifying to witness the results of experience in the discovery of symptoms, and the method of treatment. The author tells his readers that he had two objects in view;—'The first, to offer to the medical student a concise description of the diseases of children, and so supply a want he had himself experienced; the second, to raise the study of the diseases of children higher in the scale of medical science, that they might no longer be treated on vague and indefinite principles, but that the more careful discrimination of symptoms in different cases might be attempted, which has been so successful in elucidating disease in the adult.' From this it will appear that the writer's object is one of a most praiseworthy character; but the real value and permanent utility of such a work must depend on the execution. This circumstance has led us thoroughly to examine the volume, and we deem it but justice to say, that the result has been wholly satisfactory. After all that has been written by Maunsell, Moss, Watts, and others, Mr. Rees may still be consulted with great advantage. His book intimates that the diseases of children have occupied a considerable portion of his professional life, and it is obvious that his public official situation must have supplied him with advantages which comparatively few surgeons ever enjoy. The man who has had under his own eye upwards of *nineteen thousand* cases of children, when he chooses to speak, is entitled to a respectful hearing. In addition, however, to this large experience, the volume shows that Mr. Rees has thoroughly canvassed the labours of his brethren. The student will delight to hear him

compare their doctrine with his experience, generally supporting, often modifying, and occasionally disputing it. The work seems to us to present a beautiful specimen of medical statement, calm, clear, concise, and yet comprehensive. To all whom it more immediately concerns, we cordially commend it; and notwithstanding the hard words and technical terms which pervade it, in common with all professional medical literature, and render it difficult to be understood by the multitude, we beg to say that it well deserves the notice, and will amply repay the perusal, of educated heads of families.

The Critical Greek and English Testament. London: Bagster & Son.

This is a perfect gem, and will be highly prized as a pocket-companion by every critical reader of the New Testament. It contains Scholz's Greek text, carefully purged from the typographical errors of the Leipsic edition of 1830-6, together with the variations between that text and that of Griesbach's Manual (Leipsic 1805), as well as those of Stephen's third edition, Beza's fifth, and the second of the Elzevir editions. The English authorized version, according to the edition of 1611, is printed in a parallel volume, and the paragraphs are arranged to correspond precisely with those of the Greek. The type, both of the Greek and of the English, is clear, and the whole getting up of the volume is in perfect keeping with the high character of Mr. Bagster's publications.

Literary Intelligence.

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The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol. I.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1842.

Art. I. ***General and Biographical Dictionary.*** **By Alexander Chalmers. New Edition. Vol. XVIII. Article—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.**

ANTIQUITY tells us, that the celebrated Pharos of Alexandria, for many years after its erection, bore an inscription, which announced the honour and glory of King Ptolemy, who dedicated the edifice to the protection of the gods for the benefit of sailors. But this inscription, being merely written on plaster, crumbled away through the lapse of time; whilst as it did so, the real name and characteristics of the architect appeared: for he had engraven these upon the genuine marble, and then covered them over with mortar. In like manner, the subject of the following paper stood out, for at least a couple of generations, under false colours and pretences. Politicians, and especially tories, magnified his name as that of a luminary, which lighted back these nations from the dark night of rebellion and anarchy to the safe harbours of loyalism and good order, under Charles the Second. Annalists, and writers of memoirs, all followed one another. Even whigs could describe him as the greatest, the most honest, and the most ill-used of ministers. Burnet extols him to the skies. Macdiarmid eulogizes his perfect integrity. Public opinion, wishing to study history as philosophy teaching by examples, seemed to revere him, in our seminaries, and describe him in parliament, as 'the chancellor of human nature!' But all at once, the world began to wax wiser as it grew older. *Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas!* Cement is not marble; hypocrisy is not virtue. The presumed patriotism, purity, and disinterestedness of Lord Clarendon gradually mouldered away, through the silent influence of truth, the publication of contem-

poraneous and genuine evidence, such as the Lives of Evelyn or Pepys, and the Notes of the Earl of Dartmouth; until at length the Edward Hyde of history came to be unmasked and unveiled as a minister of mighty talents and enormous wickedness. His portraits of men and manners will last as long as our native language; but posterity should also know, that his wonderful abilities were stained with cruelty and tyranny, as well as alloyed with rapacity and corruption. His father was a gentleman from Cheshire, of small estate, yet ancient family. He was the third son, and first saw the light at Dinton, in Wiltshire, on the 16th or 18th of February, 1608. Of his boyhood, little or nothing is known. He went to Oxford, having been entered of Magdalen Hall, in 1622, where, in 1625, he took the degree of Bachelor in Arts; but failing of a fellowship at Exeter College, for which he stood a candidate, he removed to the Middle Temple. Here he studied the law for several years with diligence and success.

The good Bishop of Salisbury, in the 'History of his Own Times,' relates of him, that when first he began to grow eminent in his profession, he went down to visit his father in Wiltshire. The old gentleman, walking out with his son in the fields, observed to the latter, that lawyers generally were apt to prefer the prerogatives of the crown before the liberties of the people; and that therefore he charged him, upon his conscience, never to fall into so grievous an error, or become in any manner subservient to the illegal will of his sovereign. Having repeated this twice, he suddenly had a fit of apoplexy, and expired in a few hours! Hence, says Burnet, he felt the influence of paternal counsels thus solemnly sanctioned, to such a degree, 'that he ever after observed and pursued them!' We have in this anecdote a rich specimen of the fashion after which our worthy ancestors minded commandments, or wrote history. That some transient impression favourable to freedom might have been produced, there is full reason to believe; whilst that the young rising barrister formed an attachment for popular principles, any further than they should coincide with his own interests, may well be doubted. The cries of oppression resounded throughout the land. The Londoners were almost all for liberty. A certain reputation for disliking many unpopular proceedings, on the part of the court, made an advocate notorious or acceptable, and therefore brought briefs to his chambers. For honest downright patriotism or puritanism he had evidently no sympathy. Whilst apparently condemning in conversation the High Commission, the Star Chamber, the Council Board, or the Earl Marshal, he joined in the public testimony given by the Templars of their dissent from the Histriomastrix of William Prynne; for he and Whitelocke were appointed managers of the masque presented on that occa-

to their majesties at Whitehall, on Candlemas Day, 1683-4.
›etter spent hours, however, were at Burford, in Oxfordshire,
eat of Lord Falkland, where in the society of his amiable,
rastly overrated host, he met the ever-memorable Hales,
the immortal Chillingworth. To the conversation of such
anions we find him looking back, with many natural lin-
gs and longings, in later life. If he had ever known hap-
s, it must have been then, and perhaps then only; before
tion had altogether impregnated him with her poison, or
ed his ears, like those of the deaf adder, to the final, affec-
te, and prudent admonitions of a dying father.

ie nation was now gathering up its energies for that crisis,
h was to decide, whether the rights of men were to be
cted or despised by their governors. Hampden had resisted
›ayment of ship-money. Pym, Hollis, and others, were
›ing the signs of the times, and waiting to direct their
trymen where, and how, and when, to strike for emancipa-

The court was all gaiety, the king all obstinacy, the clergy
indness, and the aristocracy all forgetfulness, as to every-
except servitude towards the crown, and the cultivation of
own selfish interests or amusements. Cringing had become
bitual posture with too many amongst the middle and lower
s, although, through the providence of God, there also ex-
lovers of liberty, in sufficient numbers, to answer with their
› and voices whenever the trumpet should be blown. A war
Scotland, the mingled imbecility and impetuosity of Laud,
ecessities of the monarch, and, in one word, the inevitable
e of events, were now demanding that parliament should
ible; which occurred, as is well known, on the 10th of April,

Edward Hyde had a seat for the borough of Wootton
t, in his native county. Taking the actual state of affairs
onsideration, the calm upon the mere external surface of
› was almost a halcyon one. The House of Commons re-
l to keep its temper at least, and a member even received
›f for calling ship-money an abomination. Some foolish
›s considered such matters as symptoms of weakness, on
›rt of the patriots, whereas, it was just the reverse. The
felt their own strength, and maintained their dignity. A
st of the peers, that the business of supply should precede
f grievances, was voted a high breach of privilege. But
they were deliberating with respect to a proposal from
es, that for twelve subsidies, or about 840,000*l.* to be paid
ee years, the crown should abandon ship-money, Hamp-
ressed for the question. Serjeant Glanville then delivered
t pathetic oration in favour of compliance, which so moved
dience, that had their votes been taken at the moment,

the royal proposition would probably have been agreed to; but after a brief silence, calls were again renewed for the question. Hyde, at this critical juncture, joined in the debate, opposing Hampden with regard to putting the question, but arguing, like the majority of tricksters, for a middle course, which always fails on such occasions, although little minds admire it, and give it the far too respectable name of moderation. Harangue now followed harangue, until Sir Harry Vane assured them that his majesty would just receive the specific relief he had condescended to ask for, or nothing. At five o'clock in the afternoon, an unusually late hour in those happy days, the members adjourned, by common consent, over to the next morning, when they were met by a dissolution! *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* Within an hour afterwards, Hyde, who had clearly done no good to either side, but some mischief to both, fell in with St. John. The former looked melancholy and mortified; the latter was cheerful, and even joyous, although rarely observed to smile. He remarked to the downcast representative for Wootton Basset, 'that all would turn out well, that the state must grow worse before it could grow better, and that the parliament recently extinguished would have never done what was requisite.' No oracle could have spoken more truly; for although Hallam contends that the dissolved House of Commons would have insisted on redress in various important particulars; although it knew that its cause was that of the country deeply based upon the foundations of justice and liberty; although it could afford to be respectful to the king, veiling under that very reverence the sword about to be drawn, if necessary; yet, nevertheless, some such final act of insanity or despotism, as the one which Charles had at length perpetrated, seemed wanting to wind up its spirit to the precisely proper pitch. Almost every prominent man thus dismissed was returned to the Long Parliament, which assembled in the November of that same year, when unfortunately the national fever had been suffered to advance another stage. Hyde sat for Saltash, in Cornwall, and soon began to take a more conspicuous character in the drama then going forward. He distinguished himself as a frequent and able speaker, professing in politics what we should term a sort of inconsistent whiggery, his voice and vote being frequently on the popular side, whilst his heart, affections, and ultimate destination, lay elsewhere. When the Commons prepared a charge against Davenport, Weston, and Trevor, barons of the exchequer, he was sent up with the impeachment to the lords, before whom he delivered an excellent address, inculpating these delinquents, as well as three others. 'It is no marvel,' says he, 'that an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary power, like a torrent, hath broken in upon us,

when the laws, which are our banks and bulwarks, were in the custody of such persons. Men, who had left their innocence, could not preserve their courage, nor could we look that they, who had so visibly undone us themselves, should have the virtue or credit to rescue us from the oppression of others. It was said by one, who always spoke excellently, that the twelve judges were like the twelve lions under the throne of Solomon, under the throne of obedience, but yet lions! Your lordships shall this day hear of six, who, be they what they will else, are no lions: for upon vulgar fear they delivered up the precious forts they were entrusted with, almost without assault; and in a tame easy trance of flattery and servitude, they shamefully forfeited that reputation, awe, and reverence, which the wisdom, courage, and gravity of their venerable predecessors had contracted and fastened to the places they now hold. They even rendered that study and profession, which in all ages hath been, and I hope now shall be, of honourable estimation, so contemptible and vile, that had not this blessed day come, all men would have had that quarrel to the law itself, which Marius had to the Greek tongue, who thought it a mockery to learn that language, the masters whereof lived in bondage under others!' How will it be believed that the utterer of all this splendid declamation could on other occasions eat up his own eloquence, and contradict his noblest assertions? Yet such was literally the case. There could be discovered in the breast of the orator no love of truth, or intrinsic detestation of wrongfulness, each for its own sake. Hence, his entire history presents us with a mass of inconsistencies. In consecutive speeches and pages, he at one moment confesses that the sceptre had expanded into the talons of a vulture, 'that those foundations of right, by which men valued their security, were never, to the apprehension of wise and understanding observers, in more danger of being destroyed, and yet he unblushingly proceeds to expatiate on the prosperous state of the kingdom during this period, 'enjoying the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age, for so long time together, has been blessed with, so that sages and philosophers thought it a time, wherein those two adjuncts, which Nerva was deified for uniting—namely, *Imperium et Libertas*, were as well reconciled as upon earth is possible!' We respectfully request attention to this palpable incongruity, since it furnishes the genuine explanation of those multifarious and disgraceful tergiversations which subsequently occurred. In one word, like his master Charles, he was a liar from the beginning, and we fear he continued so to the last. It may shock the nerves of conservatism to say so, but such is our deliberate opinion.

In no other way can it be satisfactorily accounted for, that the

leaders of the patriotic party should have been so long deceived; for from Hyde and his associates their confidence seems not to have been hastily withdrawn. His voice remained still like the voice of Jacob, long after his hands, to their very arms and elbows, had become the hands of Esau. He thundered mightily, on various safe occasions, against the grievances of the nation; yet he worked no less hard for what toryism still styles, in some of its most favourite phrases, the security of the established church, and the honour of the crown; by which, it must be remembered, was then understood the ecclesiastical dominancy of Archbishop Laud, and the effectual subjection of the liberties and constitution of these realms to the tender mercies of the Stuarts. Whenever Hyde had to choose decidedly whom he would serve, either the despot or his people, the oppressor or the oppressed, he never failed casting in his lot accordingly. He would have been quite willing, had it been possible, for some time longer to have kept one hand upon the plough of parliament, and the other upon the throne and mitre, with all their good things glittering before his eyes and imagination. But the farce of doing so could not go on for ever. When prelacy was to be abolished, he fought stoutly against the innovation. Meanwhile, the triennial bill became the law of the land; ship-money was pronounced illegal; tonnage and poundage were not to be levied without consent of parliament; all the oppressive courts of justice, or rather injustice, were swept away; the balance of our constitution was restored; the church fell to fasting and prayers as the hurricane thickened; the peers in most instances gnashed their teeth at the presumption of the lower house; and Charles pointed in private amongst his confidential friends to the realization of a former royal inference, 'that parliaments, like cats, grow curst with age.' There was no help for any of these matters. No one had opposed the impeachment of Lord Strafford, except that Falkland, doubtless with the cognizance of his associate, had suggested the appointment of a committee as more suitable to the gravity of their proceedings, which, as Pym frankly answered, would have ruined all, since the lord-lieutenant of Ireland would soon obtain another dissolution, were they not by a single decisive stroke to exclude him at once from the royal councils. Hyde was one of the committee afterwards nominated to draw up the charges; but having no heart for the rigour subsequently displayed, he rested on his oars, and is supposed not to have voted on the famous question of attainder. He acted, however, as one of the managers in a conference with the lords about extinguishing the court of York, of which Strafford had been for several years president: as also, on another and still more important affair,—that of the bill against the dissolution of parliament without its

own consent. Then came the remonstrance in England, the incident in Scotland, and the rebellion in Ireland, followed up by mutual suspicions between Charles and every section of his subjects, many of these last again being just ready to fall out amongst themselves. The attempted seizure, moreover, of the five members, made most manly spirits feel for their weapons. So early as the discovery of the Percy plot, in May, 1641, the Commons had given some proof of their intention to demand the militia. It was now openly insisted upon. The nineteen propositions tendered his majesty in the north, during June, 1642, involved a total surrender, on the side of Charles, of all future capabilities for mischief. It appeared already, that hopes of avoiding civil war must turn out chimerical. Faults perhaps existed in sufficient abundance, both amongst roundheads and cavaliers; yet in the words spoken by one of our greatest statesmen, and quoted by another, 'there was ambition, there was sedition, there was violence; but no man can persuade us that it was not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other!' So said the first Lord Chatham, as cited by Grattan. Clarendon declares, that had not the queen embarked for Holland in the previous February, the king might have adopted a course somewhat different from that which ultimately he decided upon following. His resolution to try the fortune of arms is attributed by his partial historian to the influence of Henrietta, with whom, before her departure, he had concerted his proceedings. Whether this supposition were correct or erroneous has excited considerable disputation. The slippery member for Saltash had at length openly joined the royalists. Having first caused the great seal to be transmitted to York on the 20th of May, 1642, he quickly followed it thither, affording thereby, observes one of his biographers, such an advantage to Charles, and occasioning so considerable a discouragement to the parliamentarians, that their subsequent instructions to the lord-general Essex expressly excepted him, with several others, from any grace or favour. The court received him with open arms; he was knighted towards the close of the year; and on the promotion of Sir John Colepepper to the mastership of the Rolls, succeeded him in the chancellorship of the exchequer, besides being, as a matter of usage, made a privy councillor. Charles had need of such an adviser; nor did he experience any disappointment in his expectations. Henceforward, all the royal memorials, papers, and proclamations, emanated from the prolific and able pen of Sir Edward Hyde.

Nor did he confine his zealous efforts to carrying forward a paper war. As chancellor of the exchequer, an enormous amount of business must have passed through his hands, amidst the per-

petual excitement and complaints of those who were venturing their lives for loyalism in the field, as also of those who were wasting their fortunes and spirits in the same wretched cause at Oxford. Within the walls of that memorable and congenial university, distractions, bickerings, and heart-burnings, raged like the fiends of Pandemonium. Officers and lawyers, military adventurers, and grey-headed senators, roistering cavaliers, and reverend clergymen, every grade and class of politicians, from those who thought deeply and mournfully, to those who never thought at all, here met together, to heap the fuel of jealousy upon the fires of discontent and contention. Hyde, who always retained considerable regard for external decencies, must have fared no better than a salamander. In fact, he shone most in adversity, and doubtless did the very best that could be done for a profoundly hypocritical master surrounded with profligate courtiers and evil councillors. He advised the remarkable step of calling together the peers and commoners of his party, to meet in parliament at Oxford, towards the commencement of winter, in 1643. Placing himself at the head of that section of the royalists, which may be termed constitutionalists, he wished for regular supplies to be obtained by more agreeable methods than forced contributions. Forty-three nobles, and one hundred and eighteen commoners subscribed a letter to the Earl of Essex, from this royal convention, expressing their anxiety for peace, twenty-nine of the former, and fifty-seven of the latter, it is said, being then absent in the service of their sovereign. Little benefit, however, arose from the entire affair. Charles abhorred from the bottom of his soul every vestige or shadow of a popular assemblage; and in one of his letters to the queen, he sneers even at this *mongrel parliament*, whose 'mutinous motives' offended his hereditary prejudices in favour of arbitrary power. 'Bray a fool in a mortar, yet will not his folly depart from him;' and so it proved here. The patriots at Westminster, and the loyalists at Oxford, respectively voted each other guilty of high treason; whilst the Scotch commissioners in London so far prevailed, that they ultimately obtained the concurrence of both parties to propositions for a treaty. It was opened at Uxbridge, in January, 1645, and Sir Edward Hyde was one of the negotiators. The church, the militia, and Ireland, were the three leading topics of discussion; yet what reasonable expectations could be entertained from persons who merely prated about pacification when they were really making themselves ready for battle? Hyde felt his conscience bound up with Laud and the king in maintaining an episcopal form of ecclesiastical government to be indispensably necessary for the valid administration of the sacraments. His opponents either ridiculed such pretensions alto-

gether, or rem[illegible]ally confident, on their side, that the presbyterian model had been enjoined by the apostles, from which it was unlawful to depart. The compromise of Usher was offered, or at least proposed for discussion; but the parliamentarians would not listen to it for an instant, neither could the commissioners approximate any nearer to peace, with respect to the power of the sword, or the management of the sister kingdom. The military genius of Cromwell now rising over his compeers—the heartless treachery and evil destiny of a monarch whose word was anything but his bond—the recent Irish massacre, which, although no doubt much exaggerated, yet was nevertheless atrocious and horrible,—all these scared away, or annihilated, every attempt to introduce the olive branch, until the crown and the crosier had been beaten down in the dust.

Sir Edward Hyde had at length to behold, with bitterness and sorrow, all that he most loved and cherished overthrown before the career of the Roundheads. Soon after it seemed hopeless to settle anything by negotiation, the king sending the Prince of Wales into the west, to take the nominal superintendence of royalism in that quarter, Hyde received his appointment to attend on his highness, and act as one of his council. Now it was that his correspondence commenced with the Marquess of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Victory quickly declared for the parliamentarians, upon which the chancellor of the exchequer, having no longer any resources to manage, together with the Lords Capel and Colepepper, sailed from Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, where he arrived in March, 1645. There, being greatly and justly disgusted at the removal of his charge to France, (for a redeeming feature in the character of this statesman was his abhorrence of Henrietta and her thorough Jezebelism,) he obtained permission from Charles to remain in that island. His celebrated 'History of the Great Rebellion' now occupied him. But we may well conceive, that in some respects it was too early, and in others too late, for him to commence a labour of this kind. His mind was harassed, irritated, and disappointed. His prejudices were full blown, and in their utmost vigour; whilst his impressions as to many facts, of which no very accurate memoranda were made on the instant, appear to have got confused, distorted, or partially obliterated. Memorials and important papers, both public and private, had been intrusted to his care. The king transmitted him either copies, or the originals themselves, of his most secret journals, although in several cases they arrived too late to be of service, since the pages they might have illustrated were already composed. In fact, Lord Clarendon twice altered his views with regard to the nature and plan of his work, having originally de-

signed to write the annals of his times, which he changed to memoirs of his own life, and then again returned to his primary intention. The fulcrum, too, of his judgment, if we may be allowed the expression, proved a sort of sliding point, adapting itself to circumstances with a marvellous sacrifice of truth and integrity. He evidently found not a little difficulty in carrying himself back to the glorious assemblage of the Long Parliament; and believed himself, as Hallam somewhere observes, to have partaken far less in the sense of abuses, and desire of redress, than he really had done, or at least pretended to do. He further erased, in later periods, various passages with his own hand, which told unfavourably upon the court, or its deceitful sovereign. Nothing renders an author so inconsistent with himself as corrections made in a different temper of mind from that which actuated him in the first composition. Now the soul of this historian was like an April day, comprising cloudiness, sunshine, showers, storms, and serenity, all within the circle of a certain number of hours! The same excellent critic just now quoted, also animadverts upon 'his incessant deviation from the plain duties of an annalist as a moral blemish in his character. He dares very frequently to say what is not true, and what he must have known to be otherwise: he does not dare to say what is true. And it is almost an aggravation of this reproach, *that he aimed to deceive posterity*, and poisoned at the fountain a stream from which another generation was to drink. No defence has been ever set up for his fidelity, nor can men, who have sifted the authentic materials, entertain much difference of opinion in this respect; though as a monument of powerful ability and impressive eloquence, it will always be read with that delight which we receive from many great historians, especially the ancient, independent of any confidence in their veracity.' It seems too, a curious coincidence, that literary retribution should have so remarkably followed upon intellectual obliquity. Unfaithful editors delivered to the world an unfaithful publication. The manuscripts had been altered or interpolated in several hundred places, whilst long passages inserted in the appendixes to the edition of 1826 contain several matters of fact, which before had been purposely suppressed. The dark cold shadows of deceit may be said to have stretched down from the grave of the deceiver, through a period of much more than a century.

In May, 1648, he received a letter from the queen to call him to Paris, where, after the execution of her consort, he was continued both in his seat at the privy council, and in his post as chancellor of the exchequer. In November, 1649, Charles the Second dispatched him, together with Lord Cottington, as ambassador extraordinary into Spain, to apply for assistance in the

recovery of his crown. We need not say, that from this fool's errand they returned without success, their mortifications, and almost entertaining self-denial at Madrid, terminating about July, 1651. The expedition to Scotland and the battle of Worcester had occurred during this absence of Sir Edward Hyde, to whom, although his advice had been strongly given against the enterprise from beginning to end, the royal runaway transmitted an accurate account of his romantic adventures.

The fugitive court of the third Stuart now took refuge wherever they could hide their heads. The merry monarch, without lands, revenues, or subjects, plunged without heart, sympathy, or melancholy, into those profligate habits from which he never emerged. He lived exactly from hand to mouth, as the liberality of the loyalists happened to supply his necessities; but his hand had always to be in the pockets of other people, and the mouth that was to be fed appeared insatiable. So long, however, as his purse might chance now and then to be well lined, expatriated nobles, spies, flatterers, soldiers, and ministers, preyed unsparingly upon the common spoil. The epigram of Andrew Marvel had its perfect foundation in reality:—

> 'Of stature tall, and of a sable hue,
> Most like the son of Cis, that lofty Jew,
> Full many a year he passed in his exile,
> And *kept his father's asses all the while!*'

It is notorious, that Henrietta and her daughter were occasionally compelled to keep their bed, until the royal linen changes, being somewhat scarce, had come back from their laundress. Still, something analogous to the airs and absurdities of court and cabinet were, through sundry contrivances, maintained. Hyde resided some time at Antwerp, leaving no means unattempted, by letters and messages to England, for compassing a restoration. We lament the necessity of having to narrate the fact, whilst it would be a plain dereliction of honesty and candour were we to conceal it; but most true it is, that he encouraged various attempts to assassinate Oliver Cromwell, as may be demonstrated in the face of day from the Clarendon state papers. The infamous Captain Titus, the vile adventurer Saxby, with other mercenary agents of murder, some of whom had so nearly succeeded in their infernal object, all forwarded regular accounts of their procedures to Sir Edward, and as Lord Dover shews, *were incited by him to persevere in them!* Pistol, poison, or the dagger, seem all to have been the same to him, so that the deed was only done. Even his panegyrist Macdiarmid feels bound to acknowledge, whilst he bitterly deplores, the damnatory force and conclusiveness of the evidence against him. Nor, as the

noble writer recently cited observes, 'is it by any means impossible that he may even have been himself the author of some of these brilliant schemes; at all events there can be no doubt, from the style of the different letters addressed to him upon the subject, that he did not in any manner discourage them.' Nor may we wonder at the crooked and heinous policy of the thorough-paced partisan, when we remember his blasphemous comparison between the decapitation of Charles the First and the crucifixion of our adorable Redeemer. In his devotion to what he considered the cause of the king, he forgot everything that was consonant with piety towards God, and therefore easily lapsed into similar oblivion as to the claims of poor human nature. His favourite university indulged her antiquated prejudices in perpetrating a similar act of irreverence. She prepared two portraits, one of Christ, and the other of Charles the First, exactly similar in every respect, and with an account of the sufferings of each at the bottom of his respective likeness. 'These pictures,' says Agar Ellis, in 1827, '*within the memory of persons now alive*, still hung as pendants to one another in the Bodleian library. The improved taste of the present day has caused one to be removed into the picture gallery; the other remains in its old position,—and thus both may still be examined by those who are curious in tracing the baseness and blasphemy of the supporters in old times of the doctrines of passive obedience.' We ourselves happened to hear, within the last few years, of a rampant Puseyite, amidst the courts of the same Alma Mater, who indignantly dislodged an effigy of Luther from some respectable position, that he might supply its place with that of the royal martyr of the church of England, and thereby afford another testimony to the world, that it will be no fault of Oxford if we are not to see over again the age of Laud and Strafford! This university lost no interval in selecting for their most appropriate chancellor, Sir Edward Hyde himself, after the Restoration had once more given life and prosperity to the exclusiveness of ecclesiastical despotism.

For several summers before that event, a variety of storms had been raised even against the tranquillity of his exile. In 1653 he had been accused of holding correspondence with Cromwell, but being declared innocent by the king, he was afterwards made secretary of state. A revival of similar accusations produced analogous results; for in 1657, he formally received the seals as Lord High Chancellor of England. Upon the Restoration, observes Alexander Chalmers, as he had been one of the greatest sharers in the sufferings of his master, so he had a proportionable share in his glory. In the subsequent November, his majesty created him a peer by the title of Baron Hyde, of Hindon in

hire, to which were added, in April, 1661, the titles of
unt Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and Earl of Clarendon in
ative county. The convention parliament had expended
discussions, from the time of the king's return till their dis-
on in the ensuing December, upon an act of general in-
ity; an adjustment of multifarious claims for reparation pre-
by the church, the crown, and private royalists; an ar-
ment of the public revenues, so as to render them con-
t with an abolition of military tenures; and lastly, some
ment of the hierarchical establishment. Hyde was the pre-
spirit who managed, or, at least, who influenced every-
. Charles the Second for a considerable period fell in with
unsels almost implicitly. The indolence and ill-health of
Southampton, who held the white staff and 8000*l.* per
n as nominal premier, left the arena of ministerial govern-
clear, and without a real rival. Nor was this all. The
of York had formed an attachment to Anne Hyde, to whom
s contracted at Breda on the 24th of November, 1659, and
whom he afterwards lived as his consort, although in deepest
y. Now let our readers mark the profound dissimulation
lord chancellor, as he thus culminated in position, con-
ns, rank, and power, the all-supple vizier of an autocratic
sincere sovereign. Conservatism will naturally avert its
led gaze. He tells us himself (nor from any less authority
it have been credited), that when the king, on being in-
d of the affair, had commissioned Lord Ormond to commu-
e it to her father, as the young lady was now pregnant, and
fore could conceal matters no longer, 'he broke out into
moderate passion against the wickedness of his daughter,
aid, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came
, he would turn her out of his house as a strumpet, to shift
rself, that he might never see her again. They told him
is passion was too violent to administer good counsel to
that the informants thought that the duke was married to
ughter, and that there were other measures to be taken
those which the disorder he was in had suggested. Where-
he fell into new commotions, and said, *If that were true,*
s well prepared to advise what was to be done; that he had
rather his daughter should be whore to the duke than his
In the former case, no one could blame him for the reso-
he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a harlot for
reatest prince alive, and the indignity to himself he would
it to the good pleasure of God. But if there were any
to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judg-
in which he hoped their lordships of the privy council
l concur with him, that the king should immediately *cause*

the woman to be sent to the Tower, and cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and then, that an act of parliament should be immediately passed *for cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it.* And whoever knew the man, will believe that he said all this very heartily.' We should *believe all this too*, had his genuine interests lain in the direction towards which his 'overacted hypocrisy,' as Hallam styles it, seemed to be tending. But just the contrary was the fact. It was in this way that the artful statesman induced the royal brothers to acknowledge the marriage openly, and render him the legitimate progenitor of two queens regnant over three kingdoms. Charles probably saw through it, and estimated him accordingly ever afterwards. Yet at that peculiar crisis, it would never have done to have flown in the face of the aristocracy and hierarchy of England. The bishops, moreover, on whom, and on whose adherents, Clarendon had mainly relied in all his intrigues and correspondence whilst abroad, and who were now looking up to a restitution of their seats in the House of Lords, flocked to the assistance of the potent minister, whose management could most effectually serve them. They represented, both to his majesty and his royal highness, that the lady, Anne Hyde, had become to the latter, by all the laws of God and man, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. Their united verdict told, or at least was permitted to tell, mightily upon the conscience of the duke, to whom even his brother could remark, that he must reap as he had sown, that he had made his bed, and must be content to lie in it. The parties, however, were re-married according to the English ritual, on the 3rd of September, 1660, Lord Ossory giving the lady away; all which, no doubt, expedited the advancement of her father to the peerage, and his subsequent elevations in it. By these extraordinary nuptials, the Duke of York had been changed from an insidious enemy into a most sincere and zealous ally; and although some have said that the chancellor not a little dreaded the unavoidable invidiousness of his exaltation, he never forgot, and even conceived he could never sufficiently estimate, his obligations to the episcopal order. He has recorded, indeed, a severe, yet truthful remark, that of all mankind, none form so bad a judgment of human affairs as churchmen; yet his sense of this only aggravates his guiltiness in building up again the strength of prelacy, and taking part with it in the betrayal and persecution of nonconformity.

It was now his firm resolution to replace the church in the whole of her property; although, as Ludlow informs us, the chapter lands had been sold by the parliamentarian trustees,

under the commonwealth, at the price of from fifteen to seventeen years' purchase in the clear. The nation appears to have sat down as mute as a mouse under so enormous an injustice. No one peeped, mattered, or murmured, if we may believe the generality of common historians, when the religious establishment put off the plain straitlaced manners of presbyterianism or independency, and re-arrayed itself in purple and fine linen. The crown followed the example, and with similar facility, save here and there an outbreak. Such forbearance should have enlisted the sympathies of the chancellor and his masters, to say nothing of the clergy generally, on the side of consideration towards the dissenters. But, unhappily, it produced the very reverse. The Lord had given the enemies of loyalism and lawn sleeves into the hands of the cavaliers, as the latter profanely imagined, and sometimes scoffingly boasted; and so they fleeced and flayed them in sober earnest. Many lay faces, however, waxed long enough, when it grew apparent that their pastors were to share out among themselves the fat and marrow of the spoil, leaving to an unordained people little else than the bones. Thousands of the squirearchy and commonalty, who had compounded for delinquency, under the ordinances of the Long Parliament, or whose estates had been sequestered altogether, found no remedy for their losses by any process of law. The act of indemnity put a stop to any suits they might have instituted on the Restoration against persons concerned in carrying those illegal ordinances into execution. They therefore called the statute a bill of pardon from the king of his opponents, and one of oblivion toward his friends, exclaiming with open mouths at the ingratitude of Charles, as though he were bound to hazard his throne and forfeit his honour for their sakes. Meanwhile prelates, priests, and deacons, looked unusually demure during the first twelvemonth, and for nearly a generation preached, whenever they preached at all, interminable homilies on the evils of rebellion, and the advantages of passive obedience. Incumbents promised to fast every 30th of January; to feast every 29th of May; and play the part of dumb dogs, or fat bulls of Basan, all the year round. Clarendon seemed to thrive by their prayers, and swell into a perfect Behemoth by their presents, as well as those of his sovereign. There can be no longer a reasonable shadow of doubt with regard to his corrupt and rapacious practices. He found, upon his return home, in the train of the restored royal family, that the cavaliers were strong in faith, but weak in purse, with respect to the new order of things; whilst their antagonists were doubtful in the former, but stout in the latter; so much so, that between their hopes and their fears, they were quite ready to pay largely for the patronage and counte-

nance of an able and powerful minister. Hence he dispensed the solid pudding and the empty praise, in due proportions for his own selfish replenishment. The creatures of Cromwell, Bradshawe, and St. John, were laden with offices and honours. Pepys and Evelyn both declare that the lord chancellor was a statesman who never did, nor would do, anything *but for money!* The tory Lord Dartmouth, born under Charles the Second, and having access to the most authentic sources of information, gives his testimony to the following effect: 'The Earl of Clarendon, upon the Restoration, made it his business to depress the merits of every body that he might advance his own; and, the king having gratified his vanity with high titles, he found it necessary, towards making a fortune in proportion, to apply himself to other means than what the crown could afford (though he had as much as the king could well grant); and the people, who had suffered most in the civil wars, were in no condition to purchase his favour. *He therefore undertook the protection of those who had plundered and sequestered the others,* which he very artfully contrived, by making the king believe it was necessary for his own ease and quiet to make his enemies his friends; upon which he brought in most of those who had been the main instruments and promoters of the late troubles, *who were not wanting in their acknowledgments in the manner he expected,* which produced the great-house in the Piccadilly, furnished chiefly with the goods of cavaliers brought thither for peace offerings, *which the right owners durst not claim when they were once in his possession.* In my own remembrance, Earl Paulett was an humble petitioner to his sons, for leave to take a copy of his grandfather and grandmother's pictures, (whole-lengths drawn by Vandyke,) that had been plundered from Hinton St. George; which was obtained with great difficulty, because it was thought that copies might lessen the value of the originals. And whoever had a mind to see what great families had been plundered during the civil war, might find some remains either at Clarendon House or at Cornbury.' Both Wychwood Forest and Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, were gratuitous grants from the crown, to which the fortunate owner had slight difficulty in helping himself; but as if these were not enough, after having purchased the estate of Clarendon, near Salisbury, of the Duke of Albemarle, subject to a mortgage of 20,000*l.*, he extorted that sum also from his easy thoughtless master, who, on the 22nd of February, 1664, sent an order to the Privy Seal to clear off this incumbrance. Nevertheless, the proverb was to be realized—*Quo plus habent illo plus cupiunt;* for within the brief space of four months we detect him embezzling the royal timber, and bullying the commissioners of the admiralty to take the odium on themselves, and so conceal

his participation in the transaction! He succeeded too in his purpose; for as one of them ejaculated, with an oath, which we omit—'Alas! that we poor wretches dare not do the king honest service, for fear of the greatness of such men as my Lord Chancellor!' Andrew Marvell, Anthony Wood, with a host more of witnesses, have transmitted to posterity that which, in the day of his power, would have cost them their lives or liberties to have uttered, corroborative, in every line, of the charges brought against his memory.

We need not say that he thus rapidly lost the respect and confidence of those who were the ancestors of his more modern admirers. A black cloud of intense hatred in fact daily gathered against him; rising, at its commencement, like a cloud out of the sea, but presently darkening the political firmament. In his settlement of the revenue there was little to find fault with, considering the age and its circumstances. He found the Excise ready formed to his hands. Feudal tenures were swept away; and the entire income proposed to be raised was 1,200,000*l.* per annum. The army was disbanded, except about 5000 men retained under the name of guards. It was for the pulpit that patriotism most trembled; and with good reason. Presbyterianism had been cajoled at Breda; having become so exceedingly self-conceited as to have grown also somewhat shortsighted. It plumed itself, nevertheless, almost to the last moment, with the shadowy delusion that Charles the Second had been 'a covenanted king.' During the recess, his majesty published a declaration, drawn up of course by Clarendon, expressive of his satisfaction that this denomination turned out to be no antagonists either to episcopacy or a liturgy. Other honeyed words were added, together with the offer of a modification of the Anglican episcopate, somewhat upon the plan of Archbishop Usher. But when a bill was proposed in parliament to render this proclamation effectual, the real intentions of the court became fully manifest; for it was vigorously opposed by the Clarendonians, and rejected on a second reading by 183 against 157. Yet so completely had the Presbyterians been blinded by the dust thrown in their eyes, that Reynolds accepted a bishopric; Calamy nearly did the same; and even Baxter seems to have declined that honour, as Vaughan observes, 'less from conscientious objections than upon other grounds.' Then ensued a dissolution of the convocation, and the assemblage of another parliament on the 8th of May, 1661. The new house came together in a spirit of red hot royalism, high churchmanship, bigotry, persecution, and exclusiveness. Their predecessors had been tame sheep enough, driven from one milestone to another, along the highway leading from liberty; but these appeared a perfect herd of swine,

rushing with brutal violence precipitously into despotism, as though under a demoniacal influence. Early, and, indeed, instant proofs of their disposition were afforded by a vote that all the members should receive the sacrament on a certain day, according to the rites of the Church of England, and that the solemn league and covenant should be burnt by the common hangman. They awarded to the relief of poor cavaliers a sum of 60,000*l.*; which, instead of assuaging their necessities, only excited their clamours. Sir Henry Vane and the regicides were condemned and executed, as if to allay the tempest of disappointed loyalism with blood, since it was out of the question to do it with money. What are termed even by some recreant whigs *encroachments on the part of the Long Parliament*, were now reversed with a vengeance. It was averred that no legislative power exists in either or both houses, without the king; that the sole and supreme command of the militia was a right inherent to the crown of these realms; that no war could ever lawfully be levied, either offensive or defensive, against his majesty or his successors. Vain declarations these, as the sequel proved. The statutes respecting high treason underwent no slight deterioration, in being rendered more perplexed and comprehensive; as if yawning by anticipation for such illustrious victims as a Lord Russell and an Algernon Sydney! The bishops also received their wages for having been faithful to Clarendon; and reascended their thrones as spiritual peers, amidst many a groan and many a sigh. It behoved puritans to feel for their ears; for rumours prevailed that even the Star Chamber and High Commission might be revived; and it is certain that a parliamentary committee, on the 12th of February, 1662, reported their opinion 'that it was fit for the good of the nation that there be a court *of like nature to the late court called the Star Chamber*; but that they desired the advice and direction of the House, in these particulars following:—Who should be judges? What matters should they be judges of? By what manner of proceedings should they act?' The House returning it to the committee to take its own course, nothing further was done about it that session; but a bill for repealing the Act which abolished Archbishop Laud's Inquisition, was revived the next year, on the 19th of March, 1663. This probably dropped, through the attempted impeachment of the Lord Chancellor, by the Earl of Bristol, soon afterwards; but meanwhile the Corporation Act had been passed, and the Triennial Act repealed; to which last law Lord Clarendon had avowed his hostility, and attached to it, from the moment that Charles returned, the epithet of infamous. He would allow the king no rest until the late Rebellion, to use his own words, 'had been extirpated and pulled up by the roots!' So wholly, as Hal-

ham well remarks, had he divested himself of the sentiments professed by him at an earlier period, that he now sought nothing more ardently than to place the crown again in a condition to commit those abuses and excesses which produced the recent convulsions. He was ready to prepare the road for absolute monarchy, though too timid to introduce it; for to mention conscience in such an instance appears a self-evident absurdity. He would assist to batter down the walls of the constitution, and yet inwardly hug to his heart the skeleton of his patriotism.

So long as the Presbyterians still clung to their last hope, all eyes were turned upon the Savoy conference; one of those numerous deceptions with which Clarendon trusted to lull the suspicions of the nonconformists until the furnace of their trial was sufficiently heated. Then came the new Act of Uniformity, providing that every minister should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew in 1662, publicly declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every word and thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of being *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice. When the day arrived, about two thousand individuals resigned their preferments, rather than violate their consciences; as noble a company of confessors, we undertake to declare, as ever turned their backs upon the present world, taking joyfully the spoliation of their goods, and having respect unto the recompence of reward. Now Sir Edward Hyde had advised and framed the celebrated Breda declaration; which ran to the effect of affording 'liberty to tender consciences, that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that the king was ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, should be offered to him, for the full granting of that indulgence?' Such was the cautious and well-weighed language of the minister in April 1660. Within two short years he had the profligacy, politically speaking, to scatter a royal pledge to the four winds of heaven, and commence that persecution which involved the ejection of the nonconformist clergy, the act against conventicles, and the realization of what himself and the prelacy had indulged themselves in meditating upon, and contriving from the very first. In proof of his rancour towards the Presbyterians, it is only necessary to refer to various passages in his history and life: with regard to them he sweepingly observes, 'that it is impossible for men, who would not be deceived, to depend upon either their ingenuousness or their integrity! Their faction is their religion; nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever; but they consist of many glutinous materials of will, and humour, and folly, and

knavery, and ambition, and malice! Nothing but a severe execution of the law can ever prevail upon this class of individuals to conform to government!' Shortly after the foolish insurrection of Venner, comprising no more than from fifty to sixty obscure fanatics, he gravely assured the two houses, in a solemn conference, that there was a conspiracy brewing against the peace of the kingdom, which although disconcerted in the city, was being carried on in divers counties. A committee came, therefore, to be appointed to inquire into the truth of the statement; yet, after all their investigations, not an individual was convicted, or so much as prosecuted for it. Great pains were taken to fasten treasonable designs upon the Presbyterians; but all in vain. All that could be proved against any of them was, that they had befriended the Restoration; that they had rejected poor Richard Cromwell for Charles the Second,—King Log for King Stork, who would now fain devour them for their pains. Who could help shedding tears over the extraordinary folly of such worthy, though pertinacious and mistaken people? Clarendon and his prelates, however, shed no tears at all; or, if any, only those of joy. Letters were sent from unknown hands to the chiefs of the party in various quarters, intimating the project of a general insurrection, and requesting them to communicate it to certain persons in their neighbourhood, naming them for the manifest purpose of implication. Now that all these wicked missives were forgeries, is a fact no longer to be doubted; whilst in the opinion of Rapin and others, their genuine author was no other than Lord Clarendon himself! His sham plots succeeded; the cup of bitterness was forced into the lot of some of the holiest saints then living upon earth; the church and state performed that part together which is natural to their adulterous alliance; and Archbishop Sheldon replied to Doctor Allen, who complained that 'it is a pity the door was so strait,' as it had been rendered by the chancellor's late statute,—'It is no pity at all, for if we had thought so many dissenters would have conformed, *we would have made it still straiter!*' The Conventicle Act followed in 1664, another contrivance of Clarendon for including the nonconformist laity within his fiery circle. It was succeeded the next year by his famous Five-Mile Act, which completed his penal code against those innocent myriads whom he had deluded with promises of protection. 'It was the last step in the climax of intolerance,' says an anonymous writer; 'for to deprive men of their means of subsistence, as this enactment did, implies more deliberate cruelty, though it does not excite so much horror, as fire and faggots.' Even the indolent Lord Treasurer Southampton opposed this atrocious measure in the House of Lords, together with Wharton, Ashley, and the Bishop of Salisbury, a noble exception for the

time to the general bigotry of the bench; but the subject of our article proved too strong for them; and putting himself, as usual, at the head of the rest of the bishops, the measure passed triumphantly, and received the royal assent on the last day of October, 1665. It was computed that sixty thousand persons suffered on a religious account in these fearful persecutions; and that of this number no less than five thousand perished in prison! The master and patron of such an ingenious Torquemada would come in, from an enlightened posterity, for his due share of the blame, did we not happen to know that Charles the Second was personally opposed to the whole scheme; wishing, throughout his reign, not to expose at least the catholics to the tender mercies of an opulent established protestant clergy. Here again we not only have Clarendon before us as a cruel oppressor, but also as a most specious hypocrite. He knew as well as that he had a head on his shoulders, that his sovereign had embraced the Roman-catholic religion as early as 1659, so as even privately to attend mass; yet we find him addressing a correspondent thus towards the close of that very year, to remove the alarm which his friends in England, amongst whom it had been whispered, began to feel: 'In a word, if *being the best protestant* and the best Englishman of the nation can do the king good at home, he must prosper with and by his own subjects.' Hallam rather coolly animadverts upon this incident, as 'implying a little sacrifice of conscience' on the part of the lord chancellor. It strikes us as involving an utter abandonment of veracity! For had the welfare of the Reformation lain so near his bosom as he always most ostentatiously professed it did, he should have declined supporting a catholic monarch, or, at least, he should have informed his friends the bishops, and through them the nation, and then have left matters to take their own way. But what did he do? He carefully concealed the fact, with as many falsehoods as there were denials requisite. Nor yet deeming this sufficient, he procured an Act to be passed in July, 1661, by which he made any man who should advisedly publish or affirm that his majesty was a papist, liable to all the penalties of a premunire! 'That is to say, he inflicted a most unjust punishment upon any one who should declare what he, who made the law, knew to be true.' We transcribe these latter words from the noble author of the 'Historical Inquiry into the Character of Lord Clarendon.' No wonder every corner of the realm rang with dissatisfaction. Even the royal voluptuary began to consider his manners at least austere; comparing, as he must have done in his own mind, the covetousness and tergiversation of his minister with his occasional remonstrances against the profusion and profligacy of another kind, which disgraced the palace. An opposition, moreover,

sprung up in parliament. Lord Bristol, in 1663, exhibited against him charges of treason in the House of Peers; and the sixteen counts of his impeachment really contained so many germs of truth, which the overbearing arrogance of the chancellor at the instant seemed able to trample down: whilst actually, as it proved, they were no more than postponed to a more convenient season. The signal, however, of assault, once having been given, his substantial influence began to wane; he stood less in favour with his sovereign, less feared at the council board, less respected in parliament, and, if possible, less beloved by the people. The Commons took advantage of the pressure of the Dutch war to insist upon an appropriation of the supplies. Scotland and Ireland re-echoed the murmurs of England. The crisis of our struggle for maritime supremacy with Holland; the plague and fire of London; the infamous sale of Dunkirk, as to which the entire blame was cast upon Clarendon; his general presumption and pride towards all classes, whether high or low; his splendid mansion magnificently rising in Piccadilly, as if mocking the universal misery everywhere else; the intemperance with which he opposed the claims of the lower house to inspect the public accounts; his avowed contempt for that important branch of the legislature,—all these agglomerated materials for the hail-storm, and poured it pitilessly upon his head, when at length the proper moment arrived. Even the bishops grew cold, according to his own account, during certain intervals, wherein they thought him preferring the power of prerogative above the interests of those who desire to rule over conscience; for with regard to torvism then, as well as conservatism now, the Church of England distinctly and exclusively becomes the rallying point; the crown itself stands but second in its affections. This lesson was taught the lord chancellor by bitter experience.

He ventured to employ in his new residence some stones which had been collected for rebuilding St. Paul's. The sacrilege awakened still further public indignation, and, especially in peculiar quarters, severe ecclesiastical reproaches. As the palace made rapid progress, from no less than three hundred workmen being employed, and 50,000*l.*—an enormous sum for that period being expended upon it, malicious multitudes styled it Dunkirk House: implying its having been erected with the money paid him for sanctioning, if not originating, the sale of that city to Louis the Fourteenth. Others called it Holland House, upon the supposition that bribes from the Dutch had also found their way into his coffers. Charles began to wince more and more under various insinuations that Clarendon was too free in remonstrating against the pleasures and mistresses of his majesty; that he had not obtained such a fixed annual revenue for the crown,

e Restoration, as would have enabled it to defy or neglect
ments altogether; that in the marriage of Charles with a
guese Princess, he had slighted the royal inclinations; that
who had suffered most in the civil wars, for the sake of
rchy, abhorred him to a man; and that, as the final proof
s overweening grandeur and opulence, he was rearing a
ture too ambitious for a mere minister. Andrew Marvell con-
ell these rumours in his epigram on Clarendon House:—

'Here lie the sacred bones
Of Paul beguiled of his stones;
Here lie golden briberies
The price of ruined families
The cavalier's *debenter* wall
Fixed on an eccentric basis;
Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier wall,
The Queen's dull marriage, and all
The Dutchman's *templum pacis!*'

ndon, moreover, hated the catholics, whom the royal brothers
every day more and more falling in love with. They had
hosen, or perhaps were not able to bid high enough for his
rt; nor even if they had, would the Anglican prelacy have
itted their champion to make hay in that quarter. An hour
tribution drew near rapidly. The presumed favourite at
had no real friends there, except the bishops, with whom
les always took care to closet himself as little as possible.
and buffoons, meanwhile, did not remain idle before a
rch too fond of ridicule not to laugh frequently at very un-
nable times, and at very improper persons. When Claren-
left the royal presence, they often said, 'There goes your
lmaster;' and the Duke of Buckingham would then march
d down in stately manner, holding a pair of bellows before
for the purse, and Colonel Titus preceding him with the
hovel, instead of a mace, upon his shoulder. Hatred treads
on the heels of contempt, even in lower walks of life, than
within the purlieus of a palace. In August, 1667, the king
ssed him from his post; and in the following November,
House of Commons, which he had so often provoked and
ned, exhibited against him an impeachment of high treason,
ll as other crimes and misdemeanors. The death of Lord
hampton, and sundry allegations, whether true or false, with
d to an intended divorce between the sovereign and his
less consort, together with the prevention of a royal mar-
with a fair young lady named Stuart, emboldened every
y, and opened every mouth against him. Digby and Buck-
m seemed to carry all before them. He heard his parlia-
ary accusation in November, drawn up under fifteen heads;

that he had promoted various plans of government by standing armies; that he had declared the king to be a concealed papist; that he had endangered the country to serve his private interests; that he had used, or rather abused the seals of office, in extorting vast sums of money contrary to law; that he had accepted improper gratuities from the crown; that he had sold Dunkirk for less than its value; that he had introduced arbitrary management into the colonies; that he had intermeddled with naval matters beyond his comprehension, and altogether out of his department, by which means the war had been protracted, and not very honourably closed. On all or many of these points, however alloyed they may appear with passion or exaggeration, there was very much indeed to be urged. Without doubt, he had advised and procured various illegal imprisonments; he had encouraged a most hateful class of spies and informers; he told the king, when his brother the Duke of York was dissuading him from calling parliament together, that *he might do all his business as Elizabeth did in* 1588, independently of the House of Commons; and he confesses that he let fall most unwarrantable language at the Privy Council, about *raising contributions as in the late civil war!* As respected the Portuguese match, he interested himself so much about it, that it was rumoured he knew the Princess could bear no children, in which case, his own daughter would become Queen of England. In the transfer of Dunkirk to France, his professions of attachment to Louis certainly are very strong, far too much so for a constitutional adviser to the British crown. Hallam, most indulgent as he manifests himself towards Clarendon, nevertheless thus expresses his maturer sentiments:—'The capital misdemeanor that he committed in his relation with France, was his clandestine solicitation from that power of pecuniary aid for the king. He first taught a lavish prince to seek the wages of dependence at a foreign court, to elude the control of parliament by the help of French money. The purpose for which this aid was asked,—the succour of Portugal, might be fair and laudable; but the precedent was most base, dangerous, and abominable. A king, who had once tasted the sweets of dishonest and clandestine lucre, would, in the words of the poet, be no more capable afterwards of abstaining from it, than a dog from his greasy offal!'

The pride of Clarendon sank with his fortune; a pretty plain proof that its foundations had no place upon the rock of conscious integrity. Many would have swam against the stream under far less advantageous circumstances. A motion to refer the heads of charge to a committee failed by 194 to 128. The Presbyterians exhibited extraordinary moderation, very much to their honour as men and Christians. Clarendon drew up an

apology in the shape of a petition to the House of Peers, which their lordships received on the 3rd of December, and sent two of the judges with it to the Commons, desiring a conference. The duke of Buckingham, who was manifestly and justly aimed at in the document, delivered it to the lower house, and said,—'The lords have commanded me to present you with this scandalous and seditious paper from the Earl of Clarendon; they request you, in a convenient time, to return it them again, for it has a style which they are in love with, and therefore they desire to keep it!' On being carried down to and read in the Commons, they voted it 'a malicious reproach on national justice,' and moved the peers that it should be committed to the flames by the hand of the public hangman; which was ordered and executed accordingly. Heated with such success, they further proceeded to demand an incarceration of the impeached minister, upon the general grounds exhibited in the articles. This, however, was refused. Allusions, of a very significant nature, were thrown out to former processes against Lord Strafford; and since the king, from having been reluctant towards the impeachment, had now become so indecently eager as to reprove the attorney-general for apparent tardiness, the ex-chancellor's friends felt convinced that they had suggested beforehand that he should withdraw from the scene. It would seem, however, that such advice was tendered, not without some view of regard for their own safety; on the principle of casting Jonah to the whale. He had, nevertheless, adopted it, on learning that Charles rather wished for his absence; and the nobleman who, a few months previous, had carried himself as the greatest personage in the three kingdoms, wandered an exile from his native shores, before his address was presented to the House of Lords. He had embarked in a small vessel, under cover of night, and landed, after a rough and melancholy voyage of three days, at Calais.

Hallam conceives, and we quite concur with him, that the subsequent bill of banishment passed against him is capable, in the main, and under the circumstances of his flight, of the fullest justification. Charles awarded his consent, under an impression derived from Buckingham, that anything might be done with the House of Commons, if he would but sacrifice Clarendon; in doing which he soon discovered his mistake. Yet so odious and oppressive had proved the iron sway of that bigot, that even under the Cabal the poor dissenters breathed a little; and upon the testimony of Baxter, many religious persons drew favourable comparisons, disgraceful as affairs were about to become. His very life was attempted soon afterwards, by about twenty or thirty English sailors, who fell upon him at Evreux, a small town in Normandy, when he was travelling from Rouen to Bour-

bon. We extract the following from Doctor Vaughan's History of England under the Stuarts:—'Even now the last reverse had not befallen the discarded minister. The French government, that their aggressions on the Spanish Netherlands might be conducted with as little interruption as possible, were concerned to secure the friendship of the court and people of England; and with this view it treated the banished minister with studied discourtesy. At Rouen, he was ordered to quit the French territory without delay; and at Calais, where severe indisposition prevented his proceeding further, in obedience to this mandate, the command was repeated. But before the health of the sufferer was so far restored as to admit of his departure, Louis found himself obliged to relinquish the hope of amity with England; and the man, who had been thus cruelly persecuted, was invited with much civility to take up his residence in any part of the kingdom. He passed the remaining seven years of his life at Montpelier, where he completed his History and Memoirs, and whence he often wrote to the king, and to his connexions in England, entreating, in the most moving terms, permission to end his days and deposit his ashes in his native country, but without success.' The celebrated exile, however, did not reside quite so long at Montpelier; sojourning there altogether from four to five years only; since we find him at Moulins in 1672, whence he removed to Rouen, after various alternations of health and sickness occasioned by his intolerable temper, the bitterness of his disappointments, frequent attacks of the gout, the personal injuries he received at Evreux, and the hopes and fears which perpetually harassed his mind. His affray with the mariners in Normandy we have fully described in an original letter, from one Oliver Long, an eye witness and an ardent adherent, dated from Evreux, on the 26th of April, 1668, and addressed to Sir Wm. Cromwell, then secretary of state. Having been preserved in the Bodleian library, it is quoted by Chalmers; and as being not usually met with in the ordinary biographies, we copy it for the amusement of our readers.

'As I was travelling from Rouen towards Orleans, it was my fortune on the 23rd of April to overtake the earl of Clarendon, then in his unhappy and unmerited exile; who was going towards Bourbon, but took up his lodgings at a private hotel, in a small walled town called Evreux. I, as most English gentlemen did to so valuable a patriot, went to pay him a visit near supper-time; when he was as usual very civil to me. Before supper was done, twenty or thirty English seamen or more came and demanded entrance at the great gate; which, being strongly barred, kept them out for some time. But in a short space they broke it, and presently drove all they found, by their advantage of numbers, into the earl's chamber; whence, by the assistance of only

three swords an we kept them out for half an hour, in which dispute, many of us were wounded. To conclude, they broke the windows and doors, and under the conduct of one Howard an Irishman, (who has three brothers in the service of the king of England,) and an ensign in the company of cannoneers, they quickly found the earl in his bed, not able to stand by the violence of his gout. Whence, after they had given him many blows with their swords and staves, mixed with horrible curses and oaths, they dragged him on the ground in the middle of the yard, where they encompassed him around with their swords, and after they had told him in their own language, how he had *sold the kingdom and robbed them of their pay*, Howard commanded them all, as one man, to run their swords through his body. But what difference arose among themselves, God above, who sent the dissention, only knows. In this interval, their lieutenant, one Swaine, came and disarmed them. Sixteen of the ringleaders were put into prison; and many of those things they had rifled from him being found again, were restored, and were of great value. Mons. la Fonde, a great man belonging to the bedchamber of the king of France, sent to conduct the earl on his way thither, was so desperately wounded in the head, that there were little hopes of his life. Many of these assassins were grievously wounded; and this action is so much resented by all here, that many of these criminals will meet with an usage equal to their merit. Had we been sufficiently provided with fire-arms, we had infallibly done ourselves justice on them: however, we fear not, but that the law will supply our defect.'—pp. 398, 399.

It will be recollected that one of the many charges brought against Lord Clarendon was his having interfered in the naval department, with respect to which our sailors at that lawless period imagined that he had either abridged them of certain privileges, or deprived them of their wages.

Montpelier had agreed with his debilitated constitution better than Rouen, where he at length expired on the 9th of December, 1673. His remains were afterwards brought to England, and interred on the north side of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. He had been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir Gregory Ayloffe, or Sir George Ayliffe, (for the name is written both ways,) of Robson, in Wiltshire, who died without issue in 1629; and secondly, in 1632, to Frances, daughter and heiress to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart., by whom he had four sons and two daughters; the eldest of the latter marrying, as we have already seen, James, Duke of York, brother and successor to Charles the Second. Besides his History, the chancellor wrote other pieces, theological as well as political. At Moulins he composed his 'Animadversions upon Cressy,' who had attacked Stillingfleet with regard to the 'Fanaticism imputed to the Catholic Church.' He also drew up a 'Survey of the Leviathan,' which he dedicated to his old master, from the

same place. His 'Miscellaneous Tracts' and 'State Papers' are well known; possessing, however, very various degrees of relative value.

Such was Clarendon, the confidential adviser to two of our sovereigns throughout some of the most important years, and interesting scenes, of our national annals. His memory has had to pay the penalty of numerous political transgressions, and of one accident, that of being overpraised. Weak men had gone before him, and both weak and wicked ministers followed him; so that standing, as it were, between imbecility and crime, the Villiers, the Cliffords, the Arlingtons, and the like profligate monsters of iniquity, have served as so many foils to set off with an unnatural and delusive lustre the superior genius of their contemporary, whose mere moral character was so vastly superior to theirs. His intellectual powers were undoubtedly great and comprehensive. He not merely saw into the souls of those around him; but he could portray them, living and moving, in all their figures and features, with their costume, appearance, and gestures, all thrown upon his enchanted page, as though it were the table of a camera obscura! The best judges have considered him more excellent in this respect than even Cardinal de Retz in modern, or Thucydides in ancient days. His personages are like the 'Lives of Plutarch' in miniature; and that too under the unspeakable disadvantages of a style, heavy, involved, cumbrous, and sometimes ungrammatical. He is the British Tacitus, but without the terseness, unhappily, of that accomplished and incomparable classic. As a member of society, his demeanour was always decent and appropriate, as to externals, taking into account, as we must, the age during which he lived. He and his colleague, Lord Southampton, would never visit or pay court to any of the royal courtesans; nor, much to their honour, would they ever allow any of their names to appear in the account books kept at the privy council board. How he acted as a public man, his actions themselves demonstrate, we think, with a force that can neither be diluted nor contravened. His grand flaw was a want of truthfulness. His eye was not single, and therefore his soul was not full of light. Not a little hollow himself, he had no trust or confidence in his fellow men; and hence any, the remotest approximation to the idea, that they might be left to govern themselves,—in a civil sense, we mean,—was altogether out of the question. Tyranny and aristocracy, therefore, grew to be familiar ideas with him, and in due season they became the household gods to his heart, notwithstanding the promises of earlier life, and perhaps an occasional check offered now and then to King Charles in later days, just to save appearances. His works will, of course, always be favourite volumes of study with all those who love to

re over the p l converse with the dead. They teem with eful instruction, but we must not depend upon their veracity. e could wish no severer retribution to Lord Clarendon, were proper, to wish him any at all, than that he should return mongst us for a few brief seasons, to behold the expansion of the e of liberty, as it is now spreading over the civilized world. erhaps the sight might convert him into another man; and he ould at least aim rather at being the Guizot of the nineteenth, an the Edward Hyde of the seventeenth century. As regards ligious freedom, he would doubtless blush at more than one casional service in the Book of Common Prayer, and possibly ed a flood of tears over his once cherished Act of Uniformity!

Art. II. *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.* By Robert Moffat, Twenty-three Years an Agent of the London Missionary Society in that Continent. pp. 624. 8vo. Snow.

The literature of missions owes much to the agents of the London Missionary Society. Dr. Philip's Researches, and the late John Campbell's Travels, in Southern Africa,—the publications of Ellis, Freeman, and Johns, relative to Madagascar,—of Williams and Ellis concerning Polynesia,—of Wilson on Greece,—of William Campbell, Smith, and Buyers, on India,—of Morrison, Milne, and Medhurst, regarding China,—and of Swan on the mode of conducting the missionary enterprise, constitute no mean library on this specific subject. The stations of that society are so widely spread that they comprehend the main portions of the earth, with their respective inhabitants. This circumstance has not only supplied to its missionaries an abundance of diversified materials, but also powerful incentives to the publication of their facts and opinions. On looking over this series of volumes, it is clear, however, that something more is wanted to place Africa on a level with the other compartments of the world. That want is now supplied in the work before us, which presents pictures of life, scenes of trial, incidents of travel, and facts illustrative of the power of the gospel such as we did not previously possess. This ample volume not only comprises the substance of those speeches with which Mr. Moffat, since his arrival, has been electrifying multitudes in all parts of England, but much fresh matter of great value, which could not be rendered so available for popular and profitable addresses on the platform.

Mr. Moffat having laid down a few general statements concerning the country, the Hottentots, Bushmen, Kafirs, and others, proceeds to detail the facts connected with the establishment of the first mission. Here the attention is at once arrested

by Dr. Vanderkemp—a remarkable compound of oddity and excellence. This gentleman was a native of Holland, and perhaps, taking him all in all, the most gifted and accomplished man that has entered the field of modern missions. Mr. Moffat thus describes him:—

'He was a man of exalted genius and learning. He had mingled with courtiers. He had been an inmate of the universities of Leyden and Edinburgh. He had obtained plaudits for his remarkable progress in literature, in philosophy, divinity, physic, and the military art. He was not only a profound student in ancient languages, but in all the modern European tongues, even to that of the Highlanders of Scotland, and had distinguished himself in the armies of his earthly sovereign, in connexion with which he rose to be captain of horse, and lieutenant of the dragoon guards. Yet this man, constrained by the 'love of Christ,' could cheerfully lay aside all his honours, mingle with savages, bear their sneers and contumely, condescend to serve the meanest of his troublesome guests, take the axe, the sickle, the spade, and the mattock, lie down on the place where dogs repose, and spend nights with his couch drenched with rain, the cold wind bringing his fragile house about his ears. Though annoyed by the nightly visits of hungry hyenas, sometimes destroying his sheep and travelling appurtenances, and even seizing the leg of beef at his tent door,—though compelled to wander about in quest of lost cattle, and exposed to the perplexing and humbling caprice of those whose characters were stains on human nature—whisperings occasionally reaching his ears that murderous plans were in progress for his destruction—he calmly proceeded with his benevolent efforts, and to secure his object, would stoop with 'the meekness of wisdom' to please and propitiate the rude and wayward children of the desert whom he sought to bless.'—p. 28.

The Doctor finished his benevolent career at the close of 1811, expiring as he uttered the words, 'All is well.' The following is our author's estimate of his character:—

'Dr. Vanderkemp was the friend and advocate of civil liberty. The condition of the slaves pressed heavily upon his mind, and the sufferings of those who had embraced the gospel made large demands on his almost unbounded generosity; so that he expended nearly 1000*l.* of his personal property in unbinding the heavy burdens, and setting the captives free. It is probable that his extreme sympathy with this enslaved people induced him, with more feeling than judgment, to choose a wife from amongst them. Being a most unsuitable companion for such a person, her subsequent conduct cast a gloom over the remnant of his days of suffering and toil; and as I have heard it remarked by one who knew him well, undoubtedly accelerated his death. It was from his lips that the Kafirs (a nation of atheists) first heard the gospel, the theme of Divine love; and if we cast our eyes over the history of missions, and the successes of the 'Martyr of Erromanga,' we see at once the value of a pioneer of almost any description, and

[illegible] especially of [illegible] pioneer as Dr. Vanderkemp. [illegible] s [illegible] public defender of the rights of the Hottentot. Al[illegible] expansive sympathy betrays not unfrequently in his [illegible] may be deemed instability of purpose, it is obviously at [illegible] benevolent desire to grasp the whole of the race, while [illegible] eyes, y[illegible] dering around the tempestuous horizon, sought a hav[illegible] in which to shelter them from the storm. [illegible] coul[illegible] d not [illegible] ov[illegible] d to himself; for when advised for [illegible] own [illegible] ty to [illegible] e [illegible] for a season, his reply was, 'If [illegible] w [illegible] t I sh[illegible] e my ov[illegible] by leaving them, I should not f[illegible] to [illegible] for the [illegible] amongst them.' In this, thoug[illegible] w[illegible] g [illegible] pru[illegible] e, [illegible] magnanimity of soul which, in o[illegible] circu[illegible], w[illegible] e [illegible] forth the applause of a nation.

'But it may be said that this is a partial view of the character of this great man; and it is only just to admit that the Doctor was eccentric, and many, very many, of his personal hardships were self-inflicted. Though his mission to the Kafirs was a bold, and, in Africa, an unprecedented undertaking, he was always within the reach of civilized men; and except when Gaika detained him a short time in the country, he had always an asylum open to receive him. His trials in this respect were very different from those of the founders of the Namaqua and Griqua Missions, who were hundreds of miles beyond the abodes of civilized society, and the protecting arm of civil power. In a colonial village, where there were many who admired, and were ready to serve him, the Doctor would go out to the water, washing his own linen; and frequently at home and abroad, he would dispense with hat, shirt, and shoes, while the patron and advocate of civilization. These were anomalies and shades of character which, of course, added nothing to his usefulness, while his ultra notions on the subject of predestination left a leaven in some of the African churches, which it required the labour of many years to remove.'—pp. 40—42.

Mr. Moffat bestows considerable pains upon the origin, history, and character of the Bushmen, whom he pronounces 'the feeblest, poorest, most degraded and despised of all the sons of Ham.' Notwithstanding the Bushman's condition, the following statement will show that he is occasionally a formidable adversary to his oppressors:—

'One characteristic in their predatory expeditions is exceedingly provoking. When they have taken a troop of cattle, their first object is to escape to a rendezvous, a cave or an overhanging precipice, or some sequestered spot difficult of access to strangers, for want of water. As soon as they perceive that any of the cattle are too fatigued to proceed, they stab them; and if the pursuers come within sight, and there is the slightest probability of their being overtaken, they will thrust their spears, if time permit, into every animal in the troop. I have known sixty head levelled in this way. This habit, which obtains universally among that unfortunate people, exasperates their enemies to the last degree, and vengeance falls on men, women, and

children, whenever they come within reach of their missiles. Though their poisoned arrows cannot take in one-third of the length of a musket shot, they aim with great precision. I have known men shot dead on the spot with poisoned arrows, and others, who did not at first appear to be mortally wounded, I have seen die in convulsive agony in a few hours. It is impossible to look at some of their domiciles, without the inquiry involuntarily rising in the mind—Are these the abodes of human beings? In a bushy country, they will form a hollow in a central position, and bring the branches together over the head. Here the man, his wife, and probably a child or two, lie huddled in a heap, on a little grass, in a hollow spot, not larger than an ostrich's nest. Where bushes are scarce, they form a hollow under the edge of a rock, covering it partially with reeds or grass, and they are often to be found in fissures and caves of the mountains. When they have abundance of meat, they do nothing but gorge and sleep, dance and sing, till their stock is exhausted. But hunger, that imperious master, soon drives them to the chase. It is astonishing to what a distance they will run in pursuit of the animal which has received the fatal arrow. I have seen them, on the successful return of a hunting party, the merriest of the merry, exhibiting bursts of enthusiastic joy; while their momentary happiness, contrasted with their real condition, produced on my mind the deepest sorrow.'—pp. 55, 56.

Our missionary next proceeds to discourse of Namaqualand, and then introduces us to the famous Africaner, one of the most notable robbers of his age and country. He was a man of prodigious capacity, the Napoleon of the desert, while he found a powerful coadjutor in his brother Titus, of whom Mr. Moffat relates a singular story. Titus had been carrying on a conflict with Nicholas Berend, 'a very superior man both in appearance and intellect':—

'The two had been engaged for hours in mutual strife, taking and retaking a herd of cattle. By means of the large drove and bushes, each had managed to conceal himself. Suddenly a passage opening in the troop, which exposed the enraged combatants to each other's view, their rifles were instantly levelled. The moment they touched the triggers, a cow darted in between, and the two balls lodged in the centre of the animal, which fell dead on the spot. But for this interposition, both would, in all probability, have fallen, as they were most expert marksmen. Titus, a man who could take his gun in the dead of night, enter an immense deep pool in the Orange River, swim to the centre, take his seat on a rock just above the surface of the water, and wait the approach of a hippopotamus, which he would shoot just as it opened its monstrous jaws to seize him. A man who would deliberately smile, the moment he laid the lion dead at his feet.'—p. 81.

Africaner, who had for many years been a terror to the Colonists, and who menaced destruction to the Mission in Namaqua-

[illegible], was among the first trophies of Divine grace. The following narrative presents a picture of great beauty:—

'Soon after my stated services commenced—which were, according to the custom of our missionaries at that period, every morning and evening, and school for three or four hours during the day—I was cheered with tokens of the Divine presence. The chief, who had for some time past been in a doubtful state, attended with such regularity, that I might as well doubt of morning's dawn, as of his attendance on the appointed means of grace. To reading, in which he was not very expert, he attended with all the assiduity and energy of a youthful believer; the Testament became his constant companion, and his profiting appeared unto all. Often have I seen him under the shadow of a great rock, nearly the livelong day, eagerly perusing the pages of Divine inspiration; or if in his hut he would sit, unconscious of the affairs of a family around, or the entrance of a stranger, with his eye gazing on the blessed book, and his mind wrapt up in things divine. Many were the nights he sat with me, on a great stone, at the door of my habitation, conversing with me till the dawn of another day, on creation, providence, redemption, and the glories of the heavenly world. He was like the bee, gathering honey from every flower, and at such seasons he would, from what he had stored up in the course of the day's reading, repeat generally, in the very language of Scripture, those passages which he could best fully comprehend. He had no commentary, except the living voice of his teacher, nor marginal references, but he soon discovered the importance of consulting parallel passages, which an excellent memory enabled him readily to find. He did not confine his expanding mind to the volume of revelation, though he had been taught by experience that that contained heights, and depths, and lengths, and breadths, which no man comprehends. He was led to look upon the book of nature; and he would regard the heavenly orbs with an inquiring look, cast his eye on the earth beneath his tread, and regarding both as displays of creative power and infinite intelligence, would inquire about endless space and infinite duration. I have often been amused, when sitting with him and others, who wished to hear his questions answered, and descriptions given of the majesty, extent, and number of the works of God; he would at last rub his hands on his head, exclaiming, 'I have heard enough,' I feel as if my head was too small, and as if it would swell with these great subjects.''—pp. 108—110.

Mr. Moffat records a dream of Africaner—who, it seems, was by no means addicted to superstition—a dream which, in its main features, remarkably corresponds with the famous dream of John Newton, in which reference is made to the burning mountain, the boiling sea, and the mystic ring. Each interpreted his own dream much in the same manner.

'He supposed, in his dream, that he was at the base of a steep and rugged mountain, over which he must pass by a path, leading along an

almost perpendicular precipice to the summit. On the left of the path the fearful declivity presented one furnace of fire and smoke, mingled with lightning. As he looked round to flee from a sight which made his whole frame tremble, one appeared out of those murky regions, whose voice, like thunder, said that there was no escape but by the narrow path. He attempted to ascend thereby, but felt the reflected heat from the precipice (to which he was obliged to cling) more intense than that from the burning pit beneath. When ready to sink with mental and physical agony, he cast his eyes upwards beyond the burning gulf, and saw a person stand on a green mount, on which the sun appeared to shine with peculiar brilliancy. This individual drew near to the ridge of the precipice, and beckoned him to advance. Shielding the side of his face with his hands, he ascended, through heat and smoke, such as he would have thought no human frame could endure. He at last reached the long-desired spot, which became increasingly bright, and when about to address the stranger, he awoke.'—pp. 185, 186.

The work before us is so miscellaneous and diversified as not to admit of analysis; to be rightly appreciated, it must be deliberately and thoughtfully read. We shall nevertheless state a few of its facts, and exhibit some of its features; and, in attempting this, the first thing that claims our notice is, the spiritual and moral condition of the country. The pictures presented by Mr. Moffat on this subject are as terrible as they are true. Had such works as the one before us appeared prior to Burke's splendid piece of irony, 'A Vindication of Natural Society, or a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to Mankind from every species of Artificial Society,' it would not only have somewhat tempered his rhetoric, but have supplied shade to his colouring. The following is an example. The Missionary, in one of his journeys, on reaching a wide-spread scene of desolation, asked one of his attendants how it came to pass, and the weary native, who had just sat down, starting to his feet, burst forth in the following strain of impassioned narrative. Stretching his hand forth in the direction of the ruins, he exclaimed—

''I, even I, beheld it!' and paused, as if in deep thought. 'There lived the great chief of multitudes. He reigned among them like a king. He was the chief of the blue-coloured cattle. They were numerous as the dense mist on the mountain brow; his flocks covered the plain. He thought the number of his warriors would awe his enemies. His people boasted in their spears, and laughed at the cowardice of such as had fled from their towns. 'I shall slay them, and hang up their shields on my hill. Our race is a race of warriors. Who ever subdued our fathers? they were mighty in combat. We still possess the spoils of ancient times. Have not our dogs eaten the shields of their nobles? The vultures shall devour the slain of our enemies.' Thus they sang, and thus they danced, till they beheld on yonder heights the approaching foe. The noise of their song was

hushed in night, and their hearts were filled with dismay. They saw the clouds ascend from the plains. It was the smoke of burning towns. The confusion of a whirlwind was in the heart of the great chief of the blue-coloured cattle. This shout was raised, 'They are friends;' but they shouted again, 'They are foes;' till their near approach proclaimed them naked Matabele. The men seized their arms, and rushed out, as if to chase the antelope. The onset was as the strike of lightning, and their spears as the shaking of a forest in the autumn storm. The Matabele lions raised the shout of death, and flew upon their victims. It was the shout of victory. Their hissing and hollow groans told their progress among the dead. A few moments laid hundreds on the ground. The clash of shields was the signal of triumph. Our people fled with their cattle to the top of yonder mount. The Matabele entered the town with the roar of the flow; they pillaged and fired the houses, speared the mothers, and cast their infants to the flames. The sun went down. The victors emerged from the smoking plain, and pursued their course, surrounding the base of yonder hill. They slaughtered cattle; they danced and sang till the dawn of day; they ascended, and killed till their hands were weary of the spear.' Stooping to the ground on which we stood, he took up a little dust in his hand; blowing it off, and holding out his naked palm, he added, 'That is all that remains of the great chief of the blue-coloured cattle!' It is impossible for me to describe my feelings while listening to this descriptive effusion of native eloquence; and I afterwards embraced opportunities of writing it down, of which the above is only an abridgment. I found also from other aborigines that his was no fabled song, but merely a compendious sketch of the catastrophe.'—pp. 527, 528.

This Ossianic passage only indicates a state of things universally prevalent in that unhappy continent. Nothing is wanting to complete the general misery. The cup of affliction is full to the brim. Everywhere man is the enemy of man. The wisdom which is from above, which is first pure and then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, is there unknown. Peace and the peacemaker are both strangers in that land.

The prostration of intellect among most of the tribes is complete. They are degraded beyond all other portions of the human race. What other missionary has ever told a tale like the following?

'The situation of the missionary among the Bechuanas is peculiar, differing, with slight exception, from any other among any nation on the face of the earth. He has no idolatry to arrest his progress, and his mind is not overwhelmed with the horrors which are to be found in countries where idols and idol temples are resorted to by millions of devotees; his ears are never stunned by their orgies; his eyes are not offended by human and other sacrifices, nor is he the spectator of the unhappy widow immolated on the funeral pile of her husband; the

infant screams of Moloch's victims never rend his heart. He meets with no sacred streams, nor hears of voluntary victims to propitiate the anger of imaginary deities. He seeks in vain to find a temple, an altar, or a single emblem of heathen worship. No fragments remain of former days, as mementoes to the present generation that their ancestors ever loved, served, or reverenced a being greater than man. A profound silence reigns on this awful subject. Satan has been too successful in leading captive at his will a majority of the human race, by an almost endless variety of deities. As if creation were not sufficiently profuse, vanity has excited a host of inventive and degenerate minds to form images, of every shape and size, exhibiting the horrid, the ludicrous, and the obscene. While Satan is obviously the author of the polytheism of other nations, he has employed his agency, with fatal success, in erasing every vestige of religious impression from the minds of the Bechuanas, Hottentots, and Bushmen; leaving them without a single ray to guide them from the dark and dread futurity, or a single link to unite them with the skies.

'Thus the missionary could make no appeals to legends, or to altars, or to an unknown God, or to ideas kindred to those he wished to impart. His was not the work of turning the stream backward to its ancient course. Their religious system, like those streams in the wilderness which lose themselves in the sand, had entirely disappeared; and it devolved on the missionaries to prepare for the gracious distribution of the waters of salvation in that desert soil, sowing the seed of the word, breathing many a prayer, and shedding many a tear, till the Spirit of God should cause it to vegetate, and yield the fruits of righteousness.'—pp. 243, 244.

This is certainly an extraordinary state of things, and one for which many of our readers were not prepared. We regret our inability, at present, to state the reasonings of Mr. Moffat upon this subject and that of innate ideas, but we unhesitatingly avow our general agreement with his conclusions. It is more to our immediate purpose to state that while the volume before us strikingly illustrates the Scriptural account of human nature; it also powerfully supports the apostolic declaration that the Gospel is the power of God unto man's salvation wherever it is believed. The book presents a number of interesting examples of its heavenly influence; first fruits, of the most precious description, have already appeared in all the fields of which Mr. Moffat has given us a record. But this work is quite as much a book of Travels as a journal of Missions. It abounds in fact and anecdote, in descriptions of nature and of life. The lion, in particular, comes in for a large share of the author's attention. Many facts are related of this noble creature, full of terrible interest. Many a heart will quake, and many an ear will tingle, during the evenings of the approaching winter, as our masters and misses, and also people of larger growth and firmer nerve, sit down in

good earnest to ponder the wonders and terrors of this tragic volume. We shall just introduce the forest king by the following recital:—

'A man belonging to Mr. Schmelen's congregation, at Bethany, returning homewards from a visit to his friends, took a circuitous course in order to pass a small fountain, or rather pool, where he hoped to kill an antelope to carry home to his family. The sun had risen to some height by the time he reached the spot, and seeing no game, he laid his gun down on a shelving low rock, the back part of which was covered over with a species of dwarf thorn-bushes. He went to the water, took a hearty drink, and returned to the rock, smoked his pipe, and being a little tired, fell asleep. In a short time the heat reflected from the rock awoke him, and opening his eyes, he saw a large lion crouching before him, with its eyes glaring in his face, and within little more than a yard of his feet. He sat motionless for some minutes, till he had recovered his presence of mind, then eyeing his gun, moved his hand slowly towards it; the lion seeing him, raised its head, and gave a tremendous roar; he made another and another attempt, but the gun being far beyond his reach, he gave it up, as the lion seemed well aware of his object, and was enraged whenever he attempted to move his hand. His situation now became painful in the extreme; the rock on which he sat became so hot that he could scarcely bear his naked feet to touch it, and kept moving them, alternately placing one above the other. The day passed, and the night also, but the lion never moved from the spot; the sun rose again, and its intense heat soon rendered his feet past feeling. At noon the lion rose and walked to the water, only a few yards distant, looking behind as it went, lest the man should move, and seeing him stretch out his hand to take his gun, turned in a rage, and was on the point of springing upon him. The animal went to the water, drank, and returning, lay down again at the edge of the rock. Another night passed, the man, in describing it, said, he knew not whether he slept, but if he did, it must have been with his eyes open, for he always saw the lion at his feet. Next day, in the forenoon, the animal went again to the water, and while there, he listened to some noise apparently from an opposite quarter, and disappeared in the bushes. The man now made another effort, and seized his gun; but on attempting to rise, he fell, his ankles being without power. With his gun in his hand, he crept towards the water, and drank, but looking at his feet, he saw, as he expressed it, his 'toes roasted,' and the skin torn off with the grass. There he sat a few moments, expecting the lion's return, when he was resolved to send the contents of the gun through its head: but as it did not appear, tying his gun to his back, the poor man made the best of his way on his hands and knees, to the nearest path, hoping some solitary individual might pass. He could go no farther, when, providentially, a person came up, who took him to a place of safety, from whence he obtained help, though he lost his toes, and was a cripple for life.'—pp. 139, 140.

We must deny ourselves, and resist a very strong temptation, not only to multiply quotations, but to raise questions of grave and profitable speculation. Waiving much then that has been suggested by a prolonged critical survey of the volume before us, we now proceed to state our views upon a point of no slender importance—a point upon which we have strong reason to believe that the public and the Christian church are not without need of guidance. We refer to the comparative claims of Williams and of Moffat, as practical missionaries, and to the qualities of their respective publications. The sequel, we trust, will show that this is no idle inquiry, but one fraught with useful results.

From the preface to this volume, we learn that the author and the late Mr. Williams were accepted by the directors of the London Missionary Society at the same time, and designated to the work of God, at the same place, and on the same occasion. These were memorable events for Africa and the Isles of the South Seas. Little did the most sagacious of the parties concerned in them anticipate the results which have flowed from the labours of those two simple and unpretending youths. The London Missionary Society have, we presume, sent forth few young men from whom less was expected, and by whom more has been performed. Young in years, neither of them had proved his powers, for both were denied the advantages of what is termed a liberal education, and they went forth with but slender experience either of men or things. For the spheres, however, which they were respectively destined to occupy, such an education would have been of little service, and the experience requisite for such work can be acquired only by toil and suffering. They both eminently possessed the natural gifts which were necessary to the efficient discharge of the duties assigned them in their several walks of evangelical labour. Since they commenced their missionary career a quarter of a century has passed away; one of them has been gathered to his fathers, and the other may be considered as having reached the climax of his operations. Had Mr. Williams survived for a number of years, there is no reason to believe that he would have added much to the facts of his marvellous volume. On that narrative his fame will rest in the ages to come. The same remark will apply to Mr. Moffat. We earnestly hope this excellent missionary may be spared to return, and that he may long survive to promote the work of Christ in the land of his choice, and among the objects of his benevolent affection. But, we think, it is not to be expected that he will greatly augment the stock of interesting materials comprised and presented in the volume before us. This book will, in after times, constitute the basis of his missionary reputation. That which may remain of his career, whatever be

its hue or its texture, is a point which can but slightly affect the estimate to be formed of him by generations unborn. The critics of the present day are, therefore, very much in the same condition as if they belonged to posterity. We have before us the bulk of the data from which our successors will reason and judge concerning these two eminent contemporary missionaries. Thus circumstanced, then, we feel disposed to anticipate the decision of posterity. We are impelled to this perhaps rash attempt less by the pleasure attendant on critical disquisition than by a conviction of its necessity, in the present instance, to the ends not simply of literary but of moral justice; for to the right appreciation of the merits of the missionary Moffat, that must be done which the multitude will not do for themselves. A proper estimate must be formed of the circumstances under which he was called to perform his African service, and these circumstances must be computed and contrasted with those of the late missionary Williams. It is otherwise impossible to do justice to their respective merits and claims as Christian evangelists. The misapprehension upon this point, which already begins to prevail, clearly marks out the duty of those whose province it is to guide the public mind.

To us it appears certain that the globe could not furnish two fields of missionary labour more diverse in all points relating to material nature, than Africa and Polynesia. Of the latter, even a subdued and literal description is so fraught with the picturesque, the romantic, and the beautiful, as to resemble that of a fairy land. Of the former, the sterility, nakedness, and horror, can hardly be depicted. The one is richly spread with the Creator's bounty, supplying the natives with a continual feast; the other is doomed to utter desolation, denying both to man and animals, not simply the means of comfort, but almost of existence. The lovely isles are everywhere adorned and blessed with wood and water, studded with the bread-fruit and the cocoa-nut trees, and the inhabitant, in order to live and thrive, has only to pluck the one and perforate the other. The dreary continent offers no spontaneous blessing, and for the greater part refuses more than the smallest reward to the most laborious culture. When Mr. Moffat entered the Karroo country, excepting the dark green of the mimosas, so far as his eye could reach, he saw neither tree nor shrub. Nowhere appeared a single sign of life, nor one point on which the eye could dwell with a moment's pleasure. The compass of human sight was too small to take in the circumference of the whole—the soul sunk beneath the weight of the horrors of the wide-spread desert. The late Mr. Campbell, of Kingsland, after travelling several days in those dismal plains, stood still, and addressing the author, with emphasis said, 'It would require a good pair of spectacles

to see a blade of grass in this world!' In addition to the food which the isles so plentifully supplied, the surrounding ocean everywhere furnished an inexhaustible store of the finest provision. The continent, in some places, it is true, blended its barrenness with game, but to procure it the missionary had not seldom to hazard a dispute with the savage, the hyena, and the lion, and the supply was always precarious. While the South Sea missionary rejoiced in abundance, the African was ofttimes at the point of starvation. In the isles, while the temperature is always moderate, the sylvan shade supplies to the inhabitants the most refreshing shelter from the hottest sun, and the cooling breeze which nightly sweeps across the bosom of the Great Pacific, serves to invigorate and brace them. On the continent, especially in those regions where Mr. Moffat chiefly laboured, or travelled, for months together, there was often neither dew nor rain; not even a cloud was seen; the few green things which existed, perished, sheep and cattle died, the seed cast into the earth lay unchanged, streams failed, and springs were dried up; the atmosphere felt as an oven, and the burning earth scorched the feet that pressed it. It is certain, then, that the personal privations of Moffat have, in all points, greatly exceeded those of Williams. But these diversities, in regard to their spheres of labour, are chiefly important, from the influence they exert on the labour itself. In the case of Moffat, they increased by fourfold its difficulties. Soil and climate are grand elements in the formation of character. The African character is a strong reflection of the natural attributes of the country. That unhappy mixture of migratory and predatory habits, so extensively prevalent among the tribes of the regions in which our author sojourned, with all the evils and difficulties that flow from it, appears to us to be at once accounted for by facts connected with food.

It had been well for Mr. Moffat if the question of difference had terminated with soil and climate; but it extended to society in all its elements, and in all its aspects, and that difference was everywhere against him. In the South Seas, society is distributed into manageable masses, which are brought together and kept together by the limits of their territory, with all the compactness of a European municipality. It is not easy to conceive of human beings in a condition more favourable for missionary operation. In Africa, on the contrary, all is the reverse. There society, in many places, can hardly be said to exist; man is wild, and, as in his character, so in his movements, he largely resembles his brother beasts, roving at large with no other end or aim but that of obtaining food and shelter. The isles of the Pacific were covered with civil institutions. Organization

existed in various degrees of completeness, and despotism in divers degrees of power. In the Tonga group, for instance, there were the How, the Egi, the Matabooles, the Mooas, and the Booas, forming a gradation of rank which constituted a tower of strength. In all the groups there was more or less of the symbol of order and government. There was also a mythology, however undefined, complex, and contradictory. Taaroa, Hina, Rootane, Fetaia, Rimaroa, Tearii, Ruanuu, Oro, and several hundred additional deities, received the devotion of the benighted Polynesians. There was, moreover, in all the isles, except the Tongan, a priesthood forming a distinct order, while the office in all its departments was hereditary. This class was numerous, and consisted of persons of every rank. The people in every district had thus perpetually before them the priest, the altar, the temple, and the god. In all these respects, how different the condition of Africa! The sons of Ham had sunk far beneath idolatry. The late John Campbell said, oddly, but truly, 'they looked on the Sun with the eyes of an ox.' Every vestige of divine knowledge was erased from their minds. The idea of worship was not less foreign to them than to the buffalo or the zebra.

We pass by the difficulties to the evangelist arising from such a depth of intellectual prostration, and hasten to notice its effects on the fancy of his reader, in connexion with accounts of subsequent success. African conversion, as detailed by Moffat, is a plain prosaic affair, not greatly differing from that which occurs among ourselves. It is an invisible operation, attended with no other results than those which terminate on personal character. There is no poetry about the thing, nothing to astonish and electrify the natural mind. To the spiritual eye, indeed, there is inexpressible beauty and glory; but there is little to awaken the sympathy of literary taste, or to extort the plaudits of a blinded world. In Polynesia, how different was the scene. Conversion there, as detailed by Williams, was attended with all the excitements of war, and celebrated with all the rejoicings of victory. Idols rejected, priests confounded, altars overturned, and temples in flames, proclaim the triumph of the gospel. The whole frame of society is changed, the order of the priesthood expires, the old religion dies away, schools are instituted, edifices for prayer rise like exhalations, the people become clothed, cottages, as if created by enchantment, stud the plantations, and adorn the coral strand. The people, in the midst of peace and plenty, free from care, and unburdened with labour, enjoy one perpetual holiday. Religion is their business, their business, religion. The scene approximates a paradise. Nothing is wanting to the poet, the painter, and the orator, for the crea-

tion of pictures to regale the taste, and to dazzle the fancy. In Polynesia, the wonders of nature are so blended with the wonders of grace, that they who cannot appreciate the beauty of the one, may yet enjoy the luxury of the other, and to such as are duly alive to both, the banquet is double. Vast multitudes have, we doubt not, been charmed beyond expression with the 'Narrative' of Williams, who had no sympathy with its spiritual qualities, while to not a few by whom such qualities were duly estimated, the pleasure imparted by them was much enhanced by their marvellous accompaniments. By no power of intellect, by no magic of genius, could such a narrative be formed concerning missionary enterprise in Africa, as that of Williams in Polynesia. Away then with all essays at comparison where clearly there is no resemblance.

Rightly to judge of the men and of their books, it is indispensable to keep in mind these circumstances. Their volumes are mirrors which represent themselves in their missionary character. We behold their full-length portraits drawn from the life by their own hands. Looking on this picture and on that, he will be a bold, rather than a wise man, who will venture to say which is the more meritorious. We consider each as first in the class to which it belongs.

Williams and Moffat are, in our opinion, both unrivalled in their respective spheres; and it strikes us, that each found the very sphere to which he was peculiarly adapted; to have reversed had not been to improve the order. We see strong reasons to think that Williams would not have remarkably succeeded, as compared with Moffat, in Africa, and that Moffat would have come short of Williams in Polynesia. For the one, Williams was too bending; for the other, Moffat was too inflexible. The Scotchman had constitutionally, and from national habit, more in common with the African, and the Englishman more with the Polynesian character. That is hard and rigid; this, soft and pliant. Had they been located together in the South Seas, Moffat had been second to Williams—in Africa, Williams had been second to Moffat. The difference of the books, however, arises less from the men than from their spheres. Each acted nobly, and as he acted, has written. In their respective fields they will to future ages remain splendid patterns to those that shall follow them.

We give place to none in our admiration of the 'Martyr of Erromanga;' but we dare not pronounce him superior to the Bishop of the Bechuanas. We adjudge to them both equal honour, and send them together down to posterity as men who adorned the church of the nineteenth century, and in their own times ranked among the most honoured and efficient agents of

the London Missionary Society—an institution which forms one of the most distinguished ornaments of our age and country.

Having thus endeavoured to prevent misapprehension by laying down the principles of just judgment, in the case before us, we dismiss Mr. Moffat's volume, which we commend to our readers as a production of uncommon excellence. It is a work for every class, from the Prince, to whom it is appropriately dedicated, to the shepherd boy tending his flocks amid the Grampians. Its facts are adapted equally to amuse the innocence of childhood, and to ennoble the speculations of philosophy. While it enlarges the boundaries of moral science, it illustrates the power and displays the glory of the gospel of Christ. To the scholar, the critic, the historian, the geographer, the philosopher, the statesman, the philanthropist, and the divine,—to each of these the work of Robert Moffat presents claims which demand and will repay investigation.

Art. III. *The Antiquities of the Christian Church. Translated and compiled from the works of Augusti; with numerous additions from Rheinwald, Siegel, and others.* By the Rev. Lyman Coleman. Reprinted from the American Edition of 1841. London: Ward and Co. Library of Standard Divinity, No. 37.

ALTHOUGH this work has been included in a Library of Standard Divinity, it must not for a moment be imagined that it is an indispensable one to those who read principally for edification in the ordinary sense. Compilations on Christian antiquities are, in fact, to be regarded not so much as provision warehouses, where food of some kind or other, or of several kinds, but all more or less nutritive, though adapted to different constitutions, is stored up for distribution, as old curiosity shops, wherein there are but few things positively useful (the bulk of the collection being oddities, in very different states of preservation), and which are chiefly frequented by old gentlemen, quaintly dressed, though sometimes by ladies who are not old, all of whom lavish on the objects which they find, and especially on those which they procure there, an excessive measure of interest and fondness. Such, we say, are, in general, these compilations on the antiquities of the Christian church, which have usually very little indeed to do with the *old* foundation on which the church itself is built, or those great *primitive* blessings wherein the kingdom of God consists, such as righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, but are chiefly occupied with the mint, and anise, and cummin of Christian pharisees, with the foundations of dead works

laid again, the beggarly elements of a would-be Christian legality, and the *disjecta membra* of the wicked one described in the 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians.

We would not, however, be understood as, by this representation, dissuading any of our friends from visiting these antiquarian collections. By no means. Our advice is,—go thither as often as you please, only buy nothing: appropriate nothing which is not good and useful. Indeed, we would rather recommend them to visit such collections,—as one would visit a museum, or any other exhibition. We will even do more: we will offer our author's services and our own to illustrate them, and any of our friends who choose to accompany us now, may have an opportunity of seeing that which will surprise them.

We are arrived; and Mr. Coleman's book shall serve us as a catalogue. What a number of rooms and cases! Let us go into the room containing the 'antiquities,' illustrative of the ancient 'ORDERS' of the 'CLERGY.' The lots are numbered according to the paging of the catalogue. What have we here?

No. 39 *a*. A PROEDRIA, 'the *elevated* seat which the bishop occupied in the synod.'—p. 39.

This seat is made after the form of the Roman tribune. Some previous visitor has attached a card to it with the references, Matt. xx. 25—28, and 2 Thess. ii. 4. What can he have meant?

No. 40 (1.) A bishop's 'ring.'
(2.) A bishop's 'staff, or crook.'
(3.) A bishop's 'mitre, or fillet.'
(4.) A bishop's 'gloves, *chirothecæ*.'
(5.) A bishop's 'sandals.'
(6.) A bishop's '*caligæ*, or boots.'
(7.) A bishop's 'robe, ὠμοφόριον, ἱερὰ στολὴ, pallium superhumerale, pectorale; ephod.'

No. 41 *a* and *b*. Bishop's crosses.

Respecting Nos. 40 (1) (6) (7) and (8), our catalogue furnishes, pp. 40, 41, the following important information:—

'1. A ring, emblematical of his [the bishop's] espousals to the church, in imitation of the ancient ceremony of presenting a ring on the espousal of the parties in marriage. It was called the ring of his espousals, *annulus sponsalitius, annulus pronubus*, and sometimes, *annulus palatii*.'—p. 40.

It was doubtless in consequence of this nuptial contract that bishops in former times were so very unwilling to change their bishopries, seeing that these changes involved the crime of nuptial infidelity.

'6. *Caligæ*, or boots. These in ancient warfare were a part of the military equipments of the soldier. To the bishop they were emblematical of that spiritual warfare upon which he entered.'—Ibid.

'There is a tradition that those in the present collection were the caligæ belonging to that episcopal suit of which the coat of mail was sent to his holiness the pope, with the inquiry of Jacob's sons: See now whether this be thy son's coat or not. The tradition is favoured by some deep stains of blood which are still seen upon them.

'7. The *robe*, &c. This badge was so essential, that writers often use the robe to denote both the person and the office of the bishop. It was at first worn by all bishops, but afterwards became the distinctive badge of archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs. Gregory Nazianzen affirms that it was the insignia [appropriate vestment] of the Roman emperor as *pontifex maximus*; and that Constantine the Great first granted it to the Bishop of Jerusalem. But this is in direct opposition to tradition, which reports that Mark the Evangelist, as Bishop of Alexandria, first assumed the robe, and left it for his followers.'—Ibid.

The obscurity which rests over the occasion of this pallium becoming the peculiar property of the archbishops, extends to some other connected circumstances, among which may be particularized the consideration received by the bishops for resigning their claim upon it. Whether they were indemnified for their loss, by obtaining a confirmation from their superiors of their own assumption of the exclusive right of conferring holy orders, or in what other way, is not exactly known. The documents, it is presumed, were only preserved till custom had obtained for the innovation the force of law, and were then destroyed by the mutual connivance of the parties immediately concerned. The tradition respecting Mark the Evangelist is unquestionably of no authority, as it is next to certain that he had no ecclesiastical wardrobe.

'8. *The cross.* This was both worn on the neck or breast, and carried in public processions, and thus became a twofold badge of the bishop's office. He was accustomed to wear upon the neck, or breast, a cross made of wood, or gold, or some sacred relic, which by the Greeks was called τὸ περίαμμα, and was regarded as an amulet or phylactery. The cross, which was carried before the bishops in processions and festive parades, was called *crux gestatoria*. For a long time the bishops of Rome claimed the right of carrying the cross as exclusively their own. In the twelfth century it was granted to metropolitans and patriarchs, and to archbishops in the time of Gregory IX. The patriarchs of the Greek church did not so frequently carry the cross, but in the place of it they carried lamps and burning candles.'—p. 41.

While examining these crosses, we must not forget that neither the περίαμμα nor the *crux gestatoria* was that which the Saviour requires his disciples to take up. This latter is a spiritual one borne in the heart, as a cleansing and restorative discipline. The former were ornaments carried, as has been seen, on the breast, or on men's shoulders. It does not follow that the bearers of either kind knew anything of the other.

But let us now consult our catalogue for a few of the more remarkable curiosities, else we may, as people often do, waste nearly all our time in examining mere trifles, though surrounded by real wonders. Here, then, we have—

Nos. 67, 67*, 67**, the golden head-bands of the evangelists John and Mark, and of the apostle James.

No. 67 *a*. The 'splendid mantle' of St. Bartholomew.

The authority for the genuineness of these relics we find to be thus given in our catalogue. (It is of course entirely satisfactory. For though John had neither silver nor gold when he commenced his public ministry, that fact by no means proves that he did not wear a golden head-band afterwards.)

'Hegesippus, as related by Eusebius, ascribes to John, James, and Mark, a golden head-band, and to Bartholomew, a splendid mantle.'—p. 67.

No. 130. A pot of 'perfumed ointment,' as anciently 'compounded of various ingredients,' for use in the rite of confirmation.

No. 133. A relic taken from a coffin, and supposed to be an example of the ancient ἐφόδιον, or *viaticum*.

On this our catalogue says:—

'It was an ancient custom to administer the sacrament to the sick in the last stages of life, and also to put the sacred elements in the coffin of the deceased. Hence the appellation above. Death was, to the ancient Christian, a journey from this to the eternal world, and the sacrament furnished the needful provisions for that journey. But the custom of administering the sacrament to the dying was finally abandoned.'—p. 133.

But we must turn from articles of this description, to notice the pictures in this remarkable collection. With the aid of our catalogue, we find some most singular scenes depicted; some in oil, others in distemper, others, very ancient and of course very rude, in mosaic,—e. g.:

No. 57. 'The ordination of an exorcist in the African church.'

'The appointment and office of the exorcists is, by the fourth council of Carthage, c. 7, described as follows:—When an exorcist is ordained, he shall receive at the hands of the bishop a book, wherein the *forms of exorcising* are written, the bishop saying, 'Receive thou

[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the energumens [i. e., the [illegible] catechumens.' This was the uniform mode of [illegible] [illegible]ently, the exorcising of demoniacs was either wholly [illegible]tinued, subjected by explicit decrees of council to the [illegible] of presbyters or bishops. The routine of their duties was pr[illegible]ibed by the bishop according to circumstances of time or place.'—pp. 57, 58.

No. 70. Officers of the ancient church making the distribution of church property.

No. 70 (*a.*) Same subject.

On these two pictures we have the following note:—

'Various rules were from time to time given for the distribution of funds. One required that they should be divided into three equal parts, one of which was to be paid to the bishop, another to the clergy, and the third was to be expended in making repairs, and providing lights of the house, &c. Another orders a fourfold division to be equally appropriated to the bishop, the clergy, and the poor, and in repairs of the churches and their furniture.'—p. 70.

No. 87. The baptism of a new peal of church bells.

'The custom of consecrating by baptism bells is a superstition of early date, perhaps as early as the eighth century.'—p. 87.

No. 151. Penitents weeping in the porch of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. On this custom our catalogue informs us:—

'Προσκλαίοντες, *flentes*, mourners, or weepers. These were rather candidates for penance than actual penitents. They were wont to lie prostrate in the porch of the church. Sometimes they knelt or stood, entreating the faithful and the clergy to intercede for them for their forgiveness and reconciliation. Tertullian says, 'they were accustomed to fall down at the presbyter's feet, and kneel to the friends of God, and entreat all the brethren to intercede for them.' These were probably called χειμάζοντες, *hiemantes*, because they remained in the open air, not being permitted on any occasion to enter within the sacred enclosure of the church.'—p. 151.

No. 182. A widow praying and presenting her oblation for the soul of her deceased husband.

'Tertullian, in his treatise on the *Soldier's Chaplet*, speaks of prayer for the dead as a custom of the church at the time of his writing that treatise, which was probably not long after the year 200: 'We make anniversary oblations for the dead, for their birthdays, meaning the days of their death.' In another of his works, the same author says, that it was the practice of a widow to pray for the soul of her deceased husband, desiring on his behalf *present refreshment or rest, and a part in the first resurrection*, and offering annually an oblation for him on the day of his falling asleep,—i. e., his death. And elsewhere, he represents a bereaved husband as praying for the soul of his deceased wife, and offering annual oblations for her.'—p. 182.

No. 191. Representation of the Festival of Whitsunday, as formerly commemorated in the Roman church.

'The catholics were accustomed to throw down fire from the arches above, to denote the cloven tongues. Flowers of various hues were scattered, in token of the various tongues and gifts of the Spirit; and doves were let loose to flutter about the church, as an emblem of the Spirit's presence.'—pp. 191, 192.

The work, which, so far, with a friendly liberty, we have made use of as a catalogue *raisonnée* of ancient peculiarities and abuses, must not, however, be dismissed without a higher character. Illustrating a subject which belongs to the comprehensive domain of church history, it has much of the interest attaching to that part of Christian literature with some peculiarly its own. It constitutes, indeed, no abatement from the value of works on ecclesiastical antiquities, that they disclose so much absurdity, grovelling ignorance, servility of spirit, and chicanery; for what is the chief object of history but to teach by example, and principally to prevent, by beacons raised and lighted by materials gathered from former crime and calamity, the renewed experience of both? Thus works like those of Mosheim, Arnold, Neander, Gieseler, Guericke, (to omit all earlier works,) on the general history of the church; those of Marheinecke, Von Raumer, Waddington, and Ranke, on particular periods and subjects of it; those of Neander, Ullmann, Müller, and others, on ecclesiastical biography, and those of Augusti, Rheinwald, Siegel, and Bochmer, with the earlier monographs of Hildebrand, and others too numerous to mention, on ecclesiastical antiquities, have laid the public under deep and lasting obligations to their respective authors.

With the works just named, excepting perhaps the work of Rheinwald, that now under review cannot be classed, it being professedly a compilation. But it is a compilation of very superior merit. More is performed in it than the title absolutely promises; for while it is there stated to be 'translated and compiled from the works of Augusti, with numerous additions from Rheinwald, Siegel, and *others*,' some of the most valuable matter has been derived from neither of the authors named. We may instance chapter 18, 'on the domestic and social character of the primitive Christians,' which is compiled chiefly, as Mr. Coleman has stated in his preface, from Jamieson's work on the manners and trials of the primitive Christians. Chapter 22, on the 'sacred seasons of the Puritans,' and chapter 23, on 'the Armenian Church,' though containing very interesting matter cognate to the subject of the work, do not, however, in strictness, belong to it, and would have been better in an appendix, especially considering

how much more matter might have been taken from Augusti's Handbuch strictly belonging to the subject. But Mr. Coleman was obliged to draw the line somewhere, and though Augusti's work supplies a large quantity of instructive matter which Mr. Coleman has not used, most of it belongs to a later period than, excepting in the two chapters just named, his work professes to describe.

An introduction by Professor Sears gives an accurate and sufficient account of the principal German treatises upon this subject. Like that gentleman, we have not seen the work of Boehmer, of Breslaw, but the other works are familiar to us, and we coincide entirely in the description of them which he has given.

Mr. Coleman's work is very full of information respecting the ancient ministers of the church, and matters pertaining to them. To this part of his subject he has devoted six chapters. In some of these there is necessarily an intermixture of historical matter. These chapters will well repay careful perusal.

Chapter ix. on 'Churches and Sacred Places,' may be expected to excite some attention in this church-building age. But, alas! it treats of Christian architecture at a period long previous to the development of the Gothic or pointed style; which the Pugins of our day, and the architectural societies of Oxford and Cambridge should recollect, or *be reminded*, reaches to little more than a third of the antiquity of the religion it professes to symbolize and represent. The earlier examples of Christian architecture, of which Mr. Coleman has given plans after Rheinwald, belong to the style which Mr. Pugin so delights to characterize as pagan.

Among other very valuable chapters, we would specify as having particularly interested us, ch. x., on the 'Prayers and Psalmody of the Church;' ch. xi., on the 'Use of the Scriptures in Religious Worship;' ch. xii., 'Homilies;' ch. xiv., on 'Baptism;' ch. xvi., on 'The Lord's Supper;' and ch. xviii. on 'the Domestic and Social Character of the Primitive Christians;' particularly the two last; but this does not imply that the subjects of any of the other chapters have been unsatisfactorily treated. The work is, throughout, well written.

While the numerous short extracts we have given will suffice to convey an idea of the multifarious information comprised in this volume, it is due to Mr. Coleman to present one or two others of an instructive character. The following is from the ninth section of the chapter on the 'Prayers and Psalmody of the Church.'

'The historical facts connected with the Lord's Prayer may be stated as follow:—

'1. It was not in use in the age of the Apostles. Not the remotest hint is given in the history of the apostles that this prayer constituted any part of their religious worship. The apostle is silent on this point even in 1 Cor. xiv., where he is treating of their devotions. In the absence of written testimony, we are indeed directed to uncertain tradition to supply its place. But in every view of the subject the assertion that this prayer was used either by the apostles or their immediate successors, must be regarded as arbitrary and groundless.

'Justin Martyr, the earliest of the [philosophical] fathers, says that the presiding officer offered prayers and thanksgivings ὅση ἐύναμις αὐτῷ, and that the people responded, Amen. By the ὅση ἐύναμις αὐτῷ, it may be understood that he spoke in as clear and audible a voice as he could, '*totis viribus*' or more properly, as Tertullian expresses it, *ex proprio ingenio*, according to the best of his ability. At the same time, Justin, in several places, seems distinctly to allude to the Lord's Prayer. He speaks of God as the Father, τῶν ὅλων, which is of similar import with the expression, 'Our Father *in heaven*.'

'Irenæus distinctly quotes from our Lord's Prayer, but gives no intimation of its being used in public worship; and Clement Alexandrinus many times alludes to it in like manner. The authority of the apostolical constitutions is irrelevant, as belonging to a later period.

'2. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen, fully concur in testifying to the use of the Lord's Prayer in the second and third centuries.

'Tertullian declares it to be not only a form prescribed by Christ for all ages, but asserts that it contains the substance of all prayer, and is an epitome of the whole gospel. Cyprian repeats much the same sentiments, acknowledging Tertullian as his guide and instructor, and often explaining more fully the sentiments of that author. He calls the Lord's Prayer 'Our public and common prayer.' Origen also has a long treatise on the same subject, in which he says that this was a prescribed form, containing all that the true Christian ever has occasion to pray for. Authorities without number, to the same effect, may be accumulated from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries.

'3. The use of the Lord's Prayer in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, was restricted to the faithful only, and was denied to catechumens. By Chrysostom it was styled εὐχη τῶν πιστῶν, the prayer of the faithful.

'The reason of this exclusion was, in general, that none but Christian believers had the true spirit of adoption, so that they could sincerely say 'Our Father who art in heaven.' Another reason was, that the petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' was understood in a mystical sense, as relating to spiritual gifts, and appropriate especially to be used in the communion service, at which no catechumen or profane person was permitted, under any pretext whatever, to be present.

'The ancient liturgies of the Greek church connect with the Lord's Prayer a doxology which has been ascribed to Basil and to Chrysostom, recognising the doctrine of the Trinity as implied in the prayer, 'Thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, both now and for ever, world without end.' The doctrine revealed in

doxology none but the faithful were permitted to know. The doxology which is given in Matthew, at the close of the Lord's Prayer, was unknown to Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and Cyril of Jerusalem; but it was extant as early as the middle of the fourth century. Neither the doxology nor that above mentioned is supposed by writers to have belonged to the original text.

'Believers were expected to repeat this prayer *three times* daily. They who were baptized were also required to repeat it, together with the creed, immediately upon coming out of the water. It was also repeated in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and of marriages, funerals, ordinations, &c.'—pp. 96, 97.

How natural to fallen man is this slavish spirit of turning again to weak and beggarly elements, and desiring the bondage of burdensome and hurtful forms! We need not wonder that it should have appeared in the second, third, and fourth centuries, however, or that it should have maintained its hold so many ages in the Greek and Roman churches, or that after the partial influence of a lame and limping Reformation, which never pervaded the whole of the population, it should still be so welcome to the lords of our national establishment, and the bulk of the national clergy. It shewed itself even in the apostolic age; and the severest of Paul's writings, the epistle to the Galatians, is expressly, and we might almost say exclusively, directed against it. In the twelfth section of this chapter, Mr. Coleman has given Ambrose's celebrated hymn, '*Æterna Christi Munera*,' with Dr. Mant's loose, but in some respects judicious version of it, and a Greek hymn of Clement of Alexandria, Στόμιον πώλων ἀδαῶν, which he has described as the most ancient one of the primitive church. No hymn of Clement of Alexandria can, however, be properly represented as a hymn of the primitive church; and, in Dr. Routh's 'Reliquiæ Sacræ,' and Dr. Pye Smith's 'Scripture Testimony,' into which they have, if our memory do not mislead us, been transcribed from the former work, some hymns considerably more ancient are to be found. The earliest hymnology of the Christian church is succinctly but ably treated in an extended preface to the second edition of Dr. Münter's metrical translation of the 'Revelation,' published at Copenhagen in 1806.

We had marked for quotation a part of the second section of the sixteenth chapter. This section contains a 'Scriptural account of the Lord's Supper,' and its statements are of great value in a work of this description, from the effect they have in proving and counteracting the corruptions described in other parts of the work. RECTUM EST REGULA SUI ET OBLIQUI. If Christians would always compare what they see in ecclesiastical practice, or what they find described in ecclesiastical antiquities,

with what is developed in the New Testament, the study of books upon this subject would be of the highest service in preventing well intended but capricious departures from the simplicity which is in Christ. The work we are now reviewing, by the notices which it gives of really primitive, or New Testament, usage, affords, better than any other with which we are acquainted, the opportunity of making such comparisons, and has, on this account, our recommendation in preference to every other.

The publishers of this work, by including it in their 'Library of Standard Divinity,' have placed within the reach of theological students so large a quantity of matter at so low a price, that they will have themselves only to blame if they continue ignorant on this hitherto neglected subject. In two hundred and twenty-four closely printed medium octavo pages, an amount of information is afforded for a few shillings, which, till Mr. Riddle's work appeared, was only to be obtained at a very high price, from the bulky work of Bingham, or the unsatisfactory abridgment of Blackmore. The matter of Mr. Coleman's book, if printed in the ordinary way, would, we suppose, make two ordinary volumes in demy octavo, and sell at eighteen shillings or a guinea. It is easy, therefore, to calculate the benefit conferred upon students and other theological readers by the publication in this library of Mr. Coleman's work, Storr and Flatt's 'Biblical Theology,' Jahn's 'History of the Hebrew Commonwealth,' and 'Biblical Antiquities,' Bush's and Barnes's 'Notes,' and Knapp's 'Christian Theology.' The notes and illustrations of Dr. Woods, jun., have rendered the last-mentioned volume invaluable to students. But our gratification at seeing all these valuable works produced at so low a rate is not unmingled. On the one hand, we feel that the American policy, or rather the policy of the American publishers, hitherto so determinedly opposed to an international copyright law, deprives the authors or translators of those works of the benefit which they might derive from the sale of their literary labour on this side of the water, unless they choose to risk the expenses attending a British edition; on the other, we are apprehensive that the cheapness of publication which is practicable where nothing is paid for copyright, may be found detrimental to our native theological literature. It occurred to ourselves, for instance, to be consulted, four or five years ago, on the translation of Siegel's 'Lexicon of Ecclesiastical Antiquities.' Had the work been undertaken, as we advised, it would now have had to contend not only with Mr. Riddle's manual, but with this very cheap and excellent reprint. We can now only rejoice, for our friend's sake, that he did not engage in what must, we think, have turned out to be an expensive and comparatively useless labour. So far as individual cases go,

they are of course mere private matters, and ought to give way to public benefit; but we are sure that it might be a public evil if many of our own authors felt deterred from literary labour by the risks of such *unequal* competition. We would here observe that we attach no blame whatever to the reprinting publisher. The risks of publication in every place are so great, that it is no wonder publishers should desire to reduce them to their *minimum*, of which there is no surer way than the reduction to the lowest practicable amount of the selling price of what they publish. Reprints too of foreign publications have been made without scruple by houses of the highest character; and if publishers have, as such, any public duty, it would certainly be to make good literature as cheap as possible. It would be Utopian, therefore, to expect, as the law stands, any protection of the interest of foreign authors in their writings from publishers. But what they cannot do, legislatures may, by the establishment of an international law upon the subject. And if the hindrance to such a measure arise, as is understood, almost wholly from America, it certainly manifests a consciousness of dependence upon foreign intellect, which is by no means to her honour. This discreditable literary dependence is, however, stamped with something very like injustice, when it refuses the privilege of copyright to British authors publishing on their own account in the United States. This privilege is granted to American authors in Britain, as the works of the novelist Cooper, published by Bentley, and the travels of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Stephens, both published by Murray, suffice to prove; and why should the United States be contented to deserve the reproach of so injurious a partiality?

Art. IV. *Three Sermons on the Church, preached in the Parish Church of St. James, Westminster, during Lent*, 1842. By Charles James Lord Bishop of London. Second Edition. London: B. Fellowes, Ludgate Street. 1842. pp. 76.

We intend to dedicate to these discourses a space very disproportioned to their extent or their merits, and equally disproportioned to the personal claims of their author, who, to speak sooth, when stripped of his lawn sleeves and his silk apron, is a very common-place sort of a personage; with as much divinity as is necessary for a bishop, and with powers of logic by no means formidable. To make amends for deficiencies in these respects, he has a naturally exalted view of the prerogatives of bishops, and a very decided disposition to act and speak with a correspondent dignity; not to mention what is partly the consequence of his rank, and partly the gift of nature, a tone of

self-sufficiency and complacency truly wonderful, and a power of assertion which any one of the fathers might have envied.

We have no doubt that the three discourses on 'the Church' will in due time find their way to the same oblivion which has been predestined for most productions of the like class, and that without any attempt of ours to hasten so desirable a consummation. Episcopal charges, visitation sermons, *et hoc genus omne*, have, with very few and rare exceptions, in proportion to the mass of such literature, sunk down at once 'like lead in the mighty waters;' they have a sort of prescript right to be soon forgotten—a gravity, an invincible tendency downward which nothing can counterpoise. Their dreary commonplace, not the less common-place that it consists of the most incredible paradoxes, (for these parodoxes have been repeated so incessantly that they are grown perfectly vapid,) infallibly secures their perdition. To read them, is like taking morphia—a quintessence of opium.

The Lord Bishop of London's three discourses, of course, contain the usual amount of declamation on 'our Holy Apostolic Church,' on the singular privileges of which its members are possessed, specially as gifted with a ministry which has the undoubted advantage of 'apostolical succession;' the usual nonsense on these subjects being uttered with an air of assumption perfectly ludicrous, and with so bold a '*petitio principii*,' that, as in some other cases of *begging*, his lordship's conduct ought rather to be styled *felony*.

As our readers, then, may easily imagine, it is not on account of the novelty or importance of the views contained in these discourses that we propose to give them a somewhat prolonged examination, nor yet on account of any superior ability with which they are explained or enforced,—for both the learning and the reasoning, in these discourses at least, are of a very moderate character,—but from the official rank of the author, who, at this juncture, may be justly supposed to be an expositor of the views of a very large and influential body. He may be considered a sort of weather gauge of the present state of the atmosphere in the church, an index and criterion of the extent to which the hateful heresies of the Oxford school have infected the body ecclesiastic. We may the more safely consider these discourses in this light, that his lordship of London has never, so far as we are aware, manifested any disposition to be a martyr for the truth, or to make any loud outcry for any doctrine which is not tolerably backed by friends and patronage. He is by no means in love with what Sydney Smith calls 'concoction by fire,' either literally or metaphorically; and is one of those who would have been an obedient protestant in the days of Edward VI., an obedient

ic again in the reign of Mary, and a protestant once more accession of Elizabeth. In truth, he is one of those who loved the losing side, and though we do not say that he 'run with a multitude to do evil,' yet is it certain that he never run *but* with a multitude, even to do good. We e sure, therefore, that he would look up at the weather- on half the steeples of his diocese and consult the barometer he greatest diligence, before he would commit himself to ing very decided on the subjects to which these discourses Considered in this point of view, these meagre perform- become very interesting, and, in truth, disclose a state of on the part of the church absolutely appalling. If the views ained and expressed by his lordship be indeed those of rity of 'her bishops, priests, and deacons,' the spirit of ian charity has almost been eaten out of her, and that ar prayer becomes unusually appropriate, that it would him who alone 'doeth great marvels' to pour out upon her onaries 'the healthful spirit of his grace.' It was generally sup- that the bishops were far from friendly to the proceedings of ractarians, and certainly some of them did themselves honour ir express denunciation of, at least, *parts* of the system. is remarkable that, as a body, they have done nothing, not y way of protest; nay, that on the part of those who have sed their dissent, words, mere words, are, with one excep- he only signs by which they have indicated their hostility. is no lack of favourers of the Pusey heresies amongst the ins and protégées of bishops, nor did we ever hear of the t doctrine in that respect standing in the way of any pre- t. A little gentle admonition about 'carrying some points trine too far,' or a caution as to 'driving too fast,' perhaps or two as to the necessity of acting upon the principle rcising 'reserve in the communication of religious know- '—this is all. It is, in truth, too much to suppose that the s should fairly face the Oxford heresy, not merely on ac- of the weight of odium they would incur, and the powerful ckless body they would provoke, but because, in truth, the ies which form, after all, the basis of that pernicious system, hich are chiefly insisted upon, are so devoutly believed by shops themselves and are so tickling and flattering to pal vanity and presumption, that a bishop, who is at the ime but a mortal man, cannot find it in his heart to deal y with those who maintain them. How can one of these rable fathers of the church' read the flattering things which d to them in the 'Tracts for the Times,' and feel any more ft within him for the hard work of castigation? How can ke up his mind to crush the parasite who is whispering in

his ear such delicious absurdities as those which will be found below.*

It is true, indeed, as we shall presently see, that Charles James Lord Bishop of London, does take upon himself to condemn, in some points, the extravagance and bigotry of the more bold and consistent Oxford champions, but he more than makes up for that by his express adhesion in the more vital and important points of their system. He condemns them for denouncing the foreign protestants who enjoy not the questionable felicity of living under an episcopal regimen; nay, he will not presume to pronounce even on *dissenters* (the italics are his lordship's own) the sentence 'of absolute exclusion from the church of Christ, nor declare that they are beyond the pale of salvation!' We shall have more to say upon this gracious stretch of episcopal charity by-and-by. It is doubtless something that his lordship refrains from pronouncing upon us 'the sentence of absolute exclusion from the church of Christ,' because such a declaration from episcopal lips would, no doubt, be final. Yet, upon second thoughts, we must say that, as he only allows us a possibility of being 'within the pale of salvation,' and 'describes us as in a state of great uncertainty and hazard,' his charity does not appear to require much either of surprise or thanks, while he has certainly admitted enough to satisfy the party whose bigotry he at the same time condemns. Whether one who represents such men as Richard Baxter and John Howe 'as in a state of great uncertainty and hazard,' is quite entitled to blame the Oxford bigots for their uncharitableness we will not venture to decide. To us we must confess it appears very like conduct which deserves the apostolic rebuke—'Thou, therefore, who teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost *thou* steal? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?' We must frankly confess, strange as the avowal may seem, that considering how very little the bishop gives us, and the insulting air of charity with which he gives us *that*, we prefer greatly the

* 'To them [the bishops] we willingly and affectionately relinquish their high privileges and honours; we encroach not upon the rights of the SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES [the capitals are not ours]; we touch not their sword and crosier. Yet surely we may be their shield-bearers in the battle without offence; and by our voice and deeds be to them what Luke and Timothy were to St. Paul! 'The Lord Jesus Christ gave his spirit to his apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops.' . . . 'Now every one of us believes this.' 'Enlighten the people in this matter. Exalt our Holy Fathers, the Bishops, as the Representatives of the Apostles and the Angels of the Churches, and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry.' —Oxford Tracts. Vol. I. No. 1.

downright, honest, undisguised exclusiveness of the Oxford madmen. We not only think their bigotry more upright and sincere, but less injurious to the cause of truth. The naked, unmasked insolence of these men is its own antidote; people, at least all reflecting people, are simply disgusted with it. But the more politic language of the bishop is, 'We do not absolutely *damn* the dissenters; no, not *even them*, *that* would not be right; but we think them in a state of great uncertainty and hazard. There is no doubt whatever that *we* are in the right, and perfectly safe; therefore keep, good people, at your peril, on the safe side. With dissenters there is, at the best, only a possibility of salvation.' In the meantime, as already hinted, the bishop has said enough, and more than enough, to identify him on all essential points with the Oxford heresiarchs; he has, accordingly, been formally and triumphantly claimed by some of the high-church organs, and his three discourses hailed as a positive triumph of their principles. So far as the spirit of these discourses goes, we think the claim well founded; for though, as we have seen, the bishop blames the Oxford party in some points, it is in such a way, that he repeats the crime while he condemns it. He distinctly gives in his adhesion to the idiotic doctrine of apostolic succession; the *sacramental* character of the church, by which mysterious language the bishop assures us that he signifies that the church is the means of 'conveying and dispensing grace;' the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in its most pernicious form, &c., &c., &c.

But it is time to give a more particular account of these curious discourses.

The first sermon is on the notion of a 'church,' and is by far the best, or, to speak with more accuracy, by no means the worst of the three. With the exception of some erroneous statements, with respect to the *office** of the church, which are but too sadly characteristic of his lordship's school, and for which we, of course, must stand prepared, there is a great appearance of liberality in his lordship's fundamental notion of the church. Thus he tells us that the word 'church,' taken in the largest sense, denotes 'the general assembly of the faithful, called out of an unbelieving world, and forming one mystical body, members one of another, Jesus Christ himself being the head. . . . .

* The following is a specimen of the delightfully obscure language which his lordship, in common with the whole school to which he belongs, is pleased to employ on this subject:—'The office of the church is to *bring* sinners to Christ by furnishing to those who *are* incorporated into it the means of knowledge and holiness. It is therefore not merely *instrumental* as a teacher, but *sacramental* as a medium of the believer's personal union with his Saviour, conveying and dispensing grace.'—p. 16.

that this united society of believers constitutes the household of God, a distinct family, and a peculiar commonwealth;' that, on the other hand, taken in a more restricted sense, it sometimes denotes those who inhabit a particular country or city, [rather, we should say, certain portions of these.] Thus, we read of the church of God, the churches of the Gentiles, the churches of the saints, the churches of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, Syria, and Cilicia; the church of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Ephesus.'* His lordship then proceeds further to define the word church, by the description given in the nineteenth Article: 'The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' Now, if his lordship had stopped here, admitting that certain diversities of polity and different modes of worship in various communities were equally capable of satisfying these conditions of a church, it had been well; he would have laid a solid foundation for a truly extensive charity, and advocated principles which would have rendered his recognition of protestant churches, *not* favoured with episcopal government (whether those churches be found at home or abroad), perfectly consistent. But his lordship does not stop here. With all this seeming show of liberality, he proceeds to limit the definition farther, till all charity vanishes from the result. What he gave with one hand, he dexterously takes away with the other. To what straits this will drive him in his still resolute charity towards the *foreign* protestant communions, we shall presently see. But his lordship is so determined to be charitable towards *them*, that he will be so, though at the expense of logic, common sense, and consistency. But none of these are of much account with his lordship; would that we could

* There is yet another phrase, which is so undeniably that of Scripture, that it was impossible his lordship should pass it by. The apostle speaks of the church, which is in the house of Nymphas, and of that in the house of Philemon. In order to avoid any awkward inferences from these significant expressions, his lordship has provided a very peculiar and convenient method of interpretation. 'It is *clear*,' says he, 'that in these last-mentioned instances, we *must* understand the phrase as denoting, not distinct and independent churches in the houses of Nymphas and Philemon, but only those members of the church who were also members of those families.' As his lordship, with that plenary power of assertion which we have ascribed to him, and which doubtless belongs to him as a privilege of his episcopal office, renders no reason for his interpretation, there will not be wanting contumacious spirits who will see considerable obscurity in his lordship's 'it is clear,' and who will demur to the obligation implied in his lordship's '*must*.' Truly these bishops are a very peremptory sort of personages. A very pleasant appendage of a church dignitary it must be—to be exempted from the vulgar and troublesome duty of rendering reasons.

believe that charity was of more. But we proceed with his lordship's limitations.

'This definition of a church,' he says, [citing the above words of the nineteenth article] 'is of a very general kind, as to every thing but the purity of the word preached, and the observance of all things essential to the due administration of the sacraments,' *leaving it still open to inquiry what those things are.* Of course, his lordship leaves this inquiry 'open' for a very little while; in fact, only for a week, when he mounts the ecclesiastical rostrum again, and virtually assures his audience that only churches under episcopal regimen can be sure that 'they have the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' Not to keep his hearers, however, in any alarming suspense on so vital and important a point, he takes care to give them a consoling hint, that though 'all local churches which teach the pure word of God, and duly administer the ordinances of Christ, are branches, more or less flourishing and fruitful, of the one holy universal church,' it is still those local churches which 'can trace their apostolical descent;' and how many, or rather, how few they are, he will not long leave us in doubt.

Accordingly, in his next discourse, he proceeds to develop this fruitful hint, and, of course, soon 'closes' the inquiry which his last discourse had left 'open.' After some common-place observations on the importance of a perpetual and stated ministry —of a class of public functionaries, whose very duty is seclusion from the business of common life (rather a delicate topic for a Christian minister, who is *also* a member of parliament), and whose vocation is to expound and inculcate inspired truth, he proceeds to inquire, 'with an assurance of not being disappointed in the inquiry,' (and truly, he who inquires in the same prejudiced manner, may be sure of finding whatever he has a mind for,) 'what was the course pursued by the apostles in order to secure the perpetuity, and purity, and efficiency of the church of Christ?' He goes on, 'If we discover, as we readily may, in the inspired records of their acts, and in their own instructions to the churches, the distinct outlines of that spiritual polity which they constituted for those objects, we have a model and rule of church government which cannot mislead us; and if we find, upon pursuing our researches through the history of successive ages of the church, that same rule and model followed, in its essential features, by all Christian communities, however differing upon other points,' (ay, *if—if* has always been a notable particle,) 'we have strong reason for concluding that it is the *right* rule and the *true* model; and that it was intended by the Holy Apostles to be (what in fact it was, for more than fifteen

that this united society of believers constitutes the household of God, a distinct family, and a peculiar commonwealth;' that, on the other hand, taken in a more restricted sense, it sometimes denotes those who inhabit a particular country or city, [rather, we should say, certain portions of these.] Thus, we read of the church of God, the churches of the Gentiles, the churches of the saints, the churches of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, Syria, and Cilicia; the church of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Ephesus.'* His lordship then proceeds further to define the word church, by the description given in the nineteenth Article: 'The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' Now, if his lordship had stopped here, admitting that certain diversities of polity and different modes of worship in various communities were equally capable of satisfying these conditions of a church, it had been well; he would have laid a solid foundation for a truly extensive charity, and advocated principles which would have rendered his recognition of protestant churches, *not* favoured with episcopal government (whether those churches be found at home or abroad), perfectly consistent. But his lordship does not stop here. With all this seeming show of liberality, he proceeds to limit the definition farther, till all charity vanishes from the result. What he gave with one hand, he dexterously takes away with the other. To what straits this will drive him in his still resolute charity towards the *foreign* protestant communions, we shall presently see. But his lordship is so determined to be charitable towards *them*, that he will be so, though at the expense of logic, common sense, and consistency. But none of these are of much account with his lordship; would that we could

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centuries the pattern and example by which all the branches of Christ's universal church should frame their government and discipline.'

Such is his lordship's hypothetical syllogism. *If* we find a certain model in scripture, &c., and *if* we find that model always adopted by the churches of successive ages, &c., we have a strong reason for concluding, &c. Undoubtedly, a very strong reason for concluding that that form of church government is the one designed by the inspired founders of the church to be perpetual. But then these *ifs* all require to be exchanged for something better; and till they are so, the hypothetical syllogism will yield but a hypothetical conclusion. But his lordship does not trouble his head about that, but immediately proceeds to the astounding assertion—'Now this is undeniably the case with episcopacy.'

What! undeniably the case that we 'may readily discover in the inspired records of the Acts of the Apostles, and in their own instructions to the churches,' the distinct outlines of 'episcopacy,' when the failure of direct evidence from scripture on its behalf is undeniably the greatest difficulty with which it has to contend, as its most candid advocates have been constrained to admit? Is it in the universally admitted and constant interchange in scripture of the very terms of office, πρεσβυτερος and επισκοπος, that we are so *readily* to discover that a bishop was originally, and was always designed to be, superior to a presbyter? Is it in the evident identity of office and qualification, so far as Scripture carries us? Truly, we do not think that we overstepped the mark when we said that the Bishop of London possessed a faculty of assertion most remarkable. But we have long ceased to wonder at the effrontery of those who advocate high church principles. Whatever assertions are needful to bulwark their cherished system, they seem to think themselves at liberty, as by a pious fraud, to make; everything they are pleased to assert, however unsupported by evidence, is forthwith 'undeniable,' indisputable, and so forth. These men well understand the policy of speaking in an imposing and *ex cathedrâ* tone, assured of a ready assent from those who are either too ignorant or too indolent to ask for evidence. If this be not the true solution of their audacity, they can only be saved from the imputation of being amongst the most disingenuous of disputants, by the not very flattering supposition that they are amongst the most dull and stupid. It is difficult, however, to give the Bishop of London credit for sufficient obtuseness, to secure him the benefit of such an exercise of charity.

We thought it had now been pretty well agreed, that the strength of episcopacy (and we will not imitate the bishop in *his*

f candour by denying it) lies in historical testimony to its nd very general adoption; but that, so far as Scripture is ned (in our view the only decisive test), episcopacy is in able destitution of argument. And it is evident that the himself so regards the matter. For instead of discovering (what he says 'we may readily discover for ourselves') pacy in the scriptures, he proceeds to lay the stress of his proof upon the testimony of ecclesiastical history. 'There ne doctrine or tenet of the Christian religion,' says he, 'in all Christians were for fifteen centuries so unanimously as in this of episcopacy. At all times, and in all parts of rld, however churches might differ in other opinions or es, all retained their bishops.' Even supposing this true, ch we shall presently make some remarks, what becomes first *if*—the condition that the outlines of episcopacy be clearly discernible in Scripture? His lordship after- indeed, is pleased to say, 'Let it be observed that this stration' (after insisting for some two or three meagre on the historic argument)—'let it be observed that this stration would hold good, even if there were no direct ce in the writings of the New Testament to the apostolical of episcopal government; but it is rendered, if possible, sure when we find St. Paul beseeching Timothy to abide esus, and to charge the presbyters to teach no other than doctrine; to judge of accusations brought against them, rebuke them that sinned; to lay hands on those who o be ordained to the ministry; to commit unto faithful e things that he had heard from the apostle, that they teach them to others also. We could not have a more full ise description of the essential functions of a bishop.'

ourse, his lordship draws the same inferences from the tions given to Titus. But it is astonishing that he does rceive the fallacy in all this reasoning, especially in the ce last cited. It is not denied—and many of the most can- iters on his side of the question have admitted it—that the f Timothy and Titus was much more that of an evangelist hat of bishop, in the modern sense of that word; that hy is expressly called an 'evangelist;' that neither is called hop;' that they had no *local* charge. His lordship's ing is the most extraordinary in the world. After enu- ng the apostolic injunctions given to Timothy, he says, ould not have a more full or precise description of the al functions of a bishop,'—ay, of the bishops of the present But who sees not that this is just begging the question,— estion being, whether modern bishops have not usurped

functions never designed *exclusively* to belong to them. The inference from Scripture, one would think, ought to be of a very different character. There we find 'bishops,' expressly called so by name, invested with certain offices and functions; one would imagine, therefore, that it is *there* we should seek a 'full and precise description of the essential functions of a bishop.' And so we safely may; but then, unhappily, *those* functions are exactly the same, which in the very same terms are attributed to 'presbyters;' and to the officials invested with those functions, the names 'bishop and presbyter' are indifferently and promiscuously applied. The matter may be stated thus:—'There are in Scripture ministers called 'bishops;' the apostle has expressly, *under that title*, assigned their qualifications, and described their office, which are just the same with those of presbyter. No, says the Bishop of London, we must not go there; we must seek 'a full and precise description of the functions of a bishop' in the description of the functions of those who are *not* called bishops, because *some* of those functions (though others are very different) best coincide with those of the bishops of the present times,' who, as the objector contends, have monopolized certain functions which never exclusively belonged to them.—The only other argument which the bishop deigns to bring from Scripture, is founded on the obscure expression in the apocalypse, where the letters addressed to the seven churches are severally inscribed to the 'angels'* of those churches—an expression far too obscure and doubtful upon which to rest so weighty and momentous an inference, as that the 'bishop' and 'presbyter,' who had hitherto been plainly one, by interchange of names and identity of offices, were now totally different classes of officers, and that henceforth bishops were to be considered nothing less than 'successors of the apostles!'

But if the arguments from Scripture are few and meagre, it is not to be wondered at, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*—and we cannot have evidence where there is none, or much where there is little. We must therefore be content to take assertion in its stead, and of that the bishop is not sparing. But we might reasonably have expected, that as episcopacy is undoubtedly strong in the historic argument, (though in our judgment far from strong enough to countervail the argument derived from Scripture, and not invul-

* Various interpretations have been given by anti-episcopal writers of this phrase; in the meantime, one principle of interpretation is obvious, that we ought not to interpret what is clear by what is obscure, but what is obscure by what is clear. The reader may consult Campbell's Ecclesiastical Lectures on this point. His whole reasonings on the subject of episcopacy merit a careful perusal, and are, in our judgment, unanswerable.

morable even apart from that,) we should have found the bishop here both more accurate and more cogent. We are well aware that in the compass of a sermon very much could not be said, but it might have been expected that the little that might be said would be perfectly fair; that, at all events, there would be no disingenuous concealment of difficulties, and no pretence that the testimonies to be adduced were more decisive or unanimous than they are. The more triumphant the bishop's argument, if we may believe him, the less excuse was there, because the less necessity, for misrepresentation and subterfuge. Yet we have abundant reason to complain of both. Not simply contenting himself (since he would not, or could not, go into details) with saying that the testimonies to the very early establishment of episcopacy are copious and abundant, he chooses not only to disguise the really vulnerable part of the argument, which arises from the notorious silence, or rather counter-evidence, of two out of those three apostolical fathers who alone are of any weight in this controversy, but actually asserts with the utmost intrepidity, that they are unequivocal in its favour. These are his words:—'The testimonies of still earlier fathers, *beginning with those who were companions of the apostles themselves*, are equally decisive, and they are the more weighty, because they are incidental, not controversial assertions (for the matter to which they refer was never in debate), but allusions to a well known and undisputed fact.' Now the simple fact is, that there is nothing whatever in two out of the three apostolical fathers just mentioned—namely, Clement and Polycarp—from which any candid author can extract a syllable in favour of episcopacy in the bishop's sense, or rather, there is in both far more that would seem adverse to it.* This the most candid defenders of episcopacy are not slow to admit, and it has cost those who are *not* candid no small pains to torture out of these reluctant witnesses anything to their purpose. Did the bishop know this, or did he not? If he did, where is his candour? If he did not, what must be his ignorance?

As to Ignatius, what shall we receive, and what shall we reject, till the much litigated question as to what portions of the writings attributed to him are genuine, and what are not, is fully set at rest? Supposing the question, however, decided in his favour, his testimony is no doubt thus far conclusive, that at the time he

* On this point, again, we would refer to Campbell's Ecclesiastical Lectures; or if that be not at hand, to two articles in this Review, one on 'Primitive and English Episcopacy,' April, 1837, and the other on the 'Ante-Nicene Fathers,' March, 1842. In both these, the points under consideration are fully examined, for which reason, and also because his lordship of London has not thought proper to adduce any particular passages, we may be excused from saying anything further on the subject here.

wrote, there were many churches which were each of them under the government of deacons and presbyters, with a superior called 'a bishop.' But whether this was universal, and in consonance with the mind of the apostles, or whether it was the commencement of that unauthorized innovation, which afterwards, as we plainly see, by incontestable evidence, led on to diocesans, metropolitans, patriarchs, and the pope, is quite another question. But even supposing the former of the two alternatives, such an *episcopacy* by no means tallies with that of the Bishop of London and those who think with him. The epistles of Ignatius, (their stronghold,) do not tell us that the bishop thus presiding over the presbyters was a *diocesan* bishop. They do not tell us that he had the control of more congregations than one, or that the bishop of that day was anything more than a *pastor* of one particular congregation, having under him a band of assistant presbyters. To *such* a primitive episcopacy, there are hundreds of congregationalists who would not at all object; hundreds more who, if their adversaries were contented with such an explanation of what is meant by the *three orders*, would not think the matters in dispute between the two parties of practical importance enough to pay the expenses of controversy. There are not a few others, who, it may be, would even think that such a system was not inconsistent with the latest disclosures of Scripture, and more consistent upon the whole with the earliest ecclesiastical antiquity. But then *such* a bishop would be, alas! but the minister of a single congregation, 'with one or more presbyters under him,' chosen by the suffrages of the people, and dependent upon their voluntary contributions. When would the Bishop of London be satisfied with such a 'primitive' episcopacy as this? Now, in our opinion, it may be justly maintained, that even this is an innovation (though a slight one) on scriptural precedents; granting it not to be so, however, it is assuredly all that the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical antiquity, all that the testimony of Ignatius himself, can establish. But what can be said of the want of candour which could first represent two out of the three apostolical fathers as witnesses on the side of episcopacy, when in reality they give no evidence for it at all, and then leave the reader to suppose that Ignatius affirms ten times as much as he does?

Yet though Ignatius proves, even if genuine, nothing more than the partial existence of that very moderate episcopacy of which we have already spoken, and which would but ill content our modern prelates, the bishop proceeds to say, in the usual style of 'bishop's logic,' 'It is, then, *indisputable* that the government of the *universal* church, in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, was episcopal,—that is to say, abstracting

from episcopacy all *accidentals*, and considering only what is *essential*; that the government of every *province* of the church was vested in one man, of eminent sanctity and sufficiency, to have the care of all the churches within a certain precinct or *diocese*.' And thus the worthy man, without more ado, thinks he has established the existence of diocesan episcopacy in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles! We maintain, on the contrary, that the bishop has not said one syllable, nor adduced one testimony, that proves any such thing; and even admitting (which, except for argument's sake, we do not) that the sort of episcopacy which Ignatius describes is that which the apostles designed to establish in the church, we still deny that there is any trace that it is *diocesan*; it was the business of the bishop, not to assert, but to prove. That there are plenty of testimonies in favour of diocesan episcopacy of a later date we willingly admit, and the bishop, and all of his way of thinking, are very welcome to them. They come too late for the purpose. They occur contemporaneously with the progress of those further changes in the government of the church, which we know were gross innovations on the simplicity of Scripture, and inconsistent with the testimony of the earliest and purest ages; they occur when grievous corruptions of all sorts, both in doctrine and discipline, had already made their appearance. We submit, therefore, that a 'diocese' is another of those curious 'accidentals' of episcopacy which the bishop says must be 'abstracted' in order to ascertain what are the 'essentials' of primitive episcopacy. The bishop has not told us what these 'accidentals' are; and truly he was wise in passing them over in silence; they would have formed a tolerably long catalogue, and would have amused and exercised the faculty of 'abstraction' not a little. As in some other cases, the 'accidentals' of a modern bishop are so numerous and so important as most completely to disguise and cover the 'essentials'; so valuable are they, indeed, that we shrewdly suspect that there has been many a bishop, who, of the two, would much sooner part with the 'essentials' than the 'accidentals.' Even supposing a 'diocese' not amongst the 'accidentals' of a bishop,—a modern bishop, 'abstracted' from all things acknowledged to be such, and reduced to the dimensions of a 'diocesan bishop' of the second century, would come forth from the process so altered by it that no man would know him again. He would be about as much like what he once was, as a hermit is like an alderman; altered as much as was the prior of Jorvaulx, after being despoiled by Robin Hood and his merry men of his 'gymmal rings, jewels, fair vestures, pouncet-box, and silver crisping tongs;' whereupon, as the witty author says, 'he rode off with considerably less pomp, and in a much more

apostolical condition, so far as worldly matters were concerned, than he had exhibited before this rencounter.' In order to figure to ourselves such a transformation as shall divest a modern bishop of his 'accidentals,' we must exercise our faculty of abstraction almost as vigorously as Crambe in Martinus Scriblerus. 'Martin declared that he had great difficulty in abstracting a lord mayor from his fur gown and gold chain; nay, that the horse he saw the lord mayor ride upon not a little disturbed his imagination. Crambe, to show himself of a more penetrating genius, swore that he could frame a conception of a lord mayor, not only without his horse, gown, and gold chain, but even without stature, feature, colour, hands, head, feet, or any body, which he supposed was the abstract of a lord mayor.' In like manner, we cannot get the 'abstract' of a bishop, even though he be a *diocesan* bishop of early times, without unswathing him from a world of curious 'accidentals.' We must suppose him *not* to be of the House of Lords, *not* troubled with the duties of a secular jurisdiction, *not* surrounded by proctors and lawyers, *not* to live in a 'palace,' *not* to sit on a 'throne,' *not* dignified with 'mitre and crosier,' *not* disguised in 'lawn sleeves and silk apron,' *not* to be in possession of five thousand, ten thousand, twenty thousand a year. Truly, these 'accidentals,' thoroughly stripped off, will leave a very different looking man from a modern bishop, but we should have a far better chance of detecting and appreciating his 'essentials.' As it is, we fear that these 'accidentals' often produce a sad revolution in the 'essentials,' if amongst the 'essentials' be included not only the right to rule, but the capacity to 'rule well,' and those other spiritual qualifications largely insisted upon by the apostle in *his* catalogue of episcopal 'essentials.'

But to return to the argument. His lordship seems to suppose that if he prove 'episcopacy,' no matter what is meant by the name, to have been in existence in the days of Ignatius, he is warranted in jumping to the conclusion that *diocesan* episcopacy is fully established as of divine right. But the question returns, what is meant by episcopacy? There is an episcopacy—the true primitive episcopacy—the episcopacy of Scripture, to which we have no objection whatever; there is an episcopacy of the earliest times, involving so slight a departure, if any, from the primitive model, that many would have not the slightest objection to that; then there is diocesan episcopacy, the *jure divino* authority of which it behoved the Bishop of London to prove; and there is modern episcopacy, with all the glorious 'accidentals' which it requires so much 'abstraction' to separate from the 'essentials.' To the ignorant and the unthinking, who are determined by words, and do not reflect on the changes which those words undergo,

often sufficient to show that at a certain date the word 'bishop' occurs, and they immediately fashion to themselves an idea of a bishop of that age, invested with a lordly jurisdiction, shining in pomp, possessed of splendid revenues, and, in short, authorised by all the magnificent 'accidentals' of modern days. This is a fallacy our opponents have often availed themselves of, and we verily believe there are not wanting among them men so deficient in candour, that they would even affirm that episcopacy in *their* sense is to be found in Scripture, merely because the word 'bishop' occurs in it, were it not so notorious that the words 'presbyter and bishop' are so constantly interchanged there. But to infer from the 'episcopacy' of the first half of the second century to the 'episcopacy' of modern times, is not so gross a violation of candour, though somewhat less obvious. This fallacy was well pointed out in an article already referred to, which appeared in this journal a few years ago, a sentence or two from which we will here extract.

'We think,' says the writer, 'it appears from the previous discussion, that it was no uncommon thing, even in the first century of the Christian era, for a church to be managed by an elder, named a bishop, with elders (also sometimes called bishops, everybody acknowledges) and deacons under him. The limits of their respective functions, supposing they were so clearly defined as some have been prone to imagine, do not, as has been already intimated, appear assignable from the documents which have been spared to us; for of course we disallow altogether of any attempt to interpret the names of offices, used in the first or even second century, by the signification which we very well know they came afterwards to bear, a course which, nevertheless, as we have just seen, our author has thought proper to adopt. Such an attempt proceeds upon the supposition, that things remained unaltered in the church from its very first formation; a supposition one might suppose too palpably contradicted by facts to require any further examination. It may, therefore, be a matter of astonishment to some of our readers, that this flagrant absurdity, for other we cannot name it, is habitually committed by writers of a certain school, who not only interpret the writers of the first two centuries by those of even the fourth, but also require that the discipline and practices of the church in the fourth century shall be regarded as of apostolical authority, binding upon the church *now*.'

Sure we are that the advocates of episcopacy will never be able to prove any one of the following four things:—

1. That there is any sufficient evidence in Scripture (and this consideration alone, we feel convinced, will ultimately decide the matter) on behalf of the superiority of the 'bishop,' or that there

is not prevailing evidence that 'bishop and presbyter' were designed to fill the same office and to exercise the same function.

2. That the rudimental episcopacy, which we find early in the second century, involved anything more than the government of a single congregation by a bishop or pastor, with one or more presbyters under him.

3. That there is evidence either in Scripture or the apostolical fathers, to satisfy any candid mind that the apostles ever contemplated *diocesan* episcopacy at all.

4. That, be the evidence for episcopacy what it may, its advocates can never prove from it the monstrous dogma of apostolical succession, the necessity of this form of church-government to the very being of a church and the validity of the ministry, or the right which they arrogantly assume of *unchurching* every communion in Christendom which is destitute of it.

This exclusiveness, we confess, does appear to us the most extraordinary arrogance of which any body of men have ever been guilty. Nothing, one would think, but evidence strong as that for any demonstration in Euclid, or at least for any proposition whatever in ethics, could induce a man even to approach the brink of conclusions so appalling. Now when we consider the number of propositions, all of them doubtful, and fiercely litigated by men of equal erudition, research, industry, acuteness, and candour, which must be received before these arrogant claims of episcopacy can be admitted; when we consider the numbers of profoundly learned men who deny that there is any sufficient evidence of episcopacy, in the sense of its advocates, and that it is nothing from beginning to end but a great usurpation; that there are as many others, who, admitting episcopacy in some shape or other, deny that it is of divine authority, as, for example, Paley; and that many of the most enlightened advocates even of diocesan episcopacy repudiate with scorn and abhorrence the exclusive claims and uncharitable assumptions of the Successionists, as, for example, Whately;—we are astonished that any man with a grain of common sense, or one-fourth of a grain of modesty, can think the evidence for these claims *so clear* as to justify him in acting upon them. Whatever episcopacy may say of the guilt of schism,—and it is constantly talking about it,—we shall believe that, until it abandons its outrageous claims, unbends from its haughty attitude, and foregoes its insolent exclusiveness, it is itself the very essence of schism.

But it will be said the Bishop of London does *not* unchurch *all* the communions of Christendom which do not acknowledge an episcopal regimen. He does not; *valeat quantum*. He extends his charity to the *foreign* non-episcopal churches, but withholds it from every dissenting communion at home. Whether

he be consistent, with his views of episcopacy, in conceding their rights, or if he concede theirs, in denying ours, might be a question with him, were he a person who troubled himself about consistency at all. For our own parts, we think he is equally inconsistent in what he grants and in what he withholds. As to the first; he expressly says, 'that the apostolical model [to wit, that of episcopacy in his sense] *ought* to be followed by *every* local church [the italics are his own], I have no manner of doubt, nor that its adoption is absolutely necessary to the church's perfectness and efficiency as a dispenser of truth and grace.' And yet, in spite of this, he discovers that the foreign non-episcopal churches which do *not* follow the model which *ought* to be followed, and which are destitute 'of that which is *absolutely necessary* to the church's efficiency and perfectness, as a dispenser of truth and grace,' are entitled to his all-availing protection. His reasoning is not a little curious; but we cite it chiefly for the purpose of showing, first, that, unhappily for his lordship's charitable intentions, the facts are not as he states them, and that, on *his* principles, he must be content to follow his censured brethren who unchurch the foreign protestant non-episcopal churches; secondly, that if the reasoning may still be supposed valid, it should have induced him to push his charity a little further; and thirdly, that if he denies *us* what he grants *them*, it is not, as he professes, because we are destitute of episcopal government, (for they are equally destitute of it with ourselves,) but for very different reasons; in fact, because we are dissenters from the *national* establishment. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* There is nothing else whatever which *fairly* applies to their case, which does not equally apply to ours. Meanwhile, our readers will not fail to be amused with many of the expressions in the following extract. All is 'incontestable' and 'indisputable' on his lordship's side, if we may take his own word for it; *he* occupies a 'firm and unassailable position;' he proposes to 'consider with the calmness and candour of one who, *assured of his own safety*, is desirous of seeing what *degrees of security* are enjoyed by others;' he 'pities and laments their want of some of *his* privileges, &c.' Truly, his lordship may be very charitable, but his charity is not precisely of that stamp which 'boasteth not itself,' and 'is not puffed up.' But we proceed to our quotation.

'And this naturally leads us to consider the question, whether the episcopal form of church government, being undoubtedly apostolical in its origin, and universally prevailing for so many centuries; having possessed, in short, for fifteen hundred years, that characteristic of truth, the being held of divine authority always, everywhere, and by all men, is so obligatory upon Christians, that no congregation of believers, *not* being under this form of government, can be a true branch of Christ's

holy catholic church? . . . . But before we proceed with the inquiry, I wish to point out the difference which exists, as to the bearings of this subject, between those persons who separate themselves from a national Church, which is beyond question in all essentials a branch of the Church Catholic,—for instance, our own,—and those who are members of national Churches, or congregations, not under episcopal government; as, for example, the inhabitants of those countries on the Continent of Europe, where the Reformed religion prevails, as to doctrine, but where the government of the Church is not, as we believe, apostolical. It may be possible, and we believe it to be true, that the former incur the guilt of schism, from which the latter are exempt. The former cannot allege any of the reasons which alone can justify separation from a particular Church, that it practises idolatry, that it teaches doctrines contrary to the fundamentals of Christian faith, or to the laws of Gospel holiness; that it will not admit them to communion without their doing something forbidden, or professing something untrue; or, lastly, that it is itself in a state of schism from the true Church. None of these accusations can they prove against the national Church of this realm, and therefore they are themselves guilty of schism in separating from it. But the members of any one of the other reformed non-episcopal Churches to which I have alluded, do *not* separate themselves from *any* Church; nor if they quitted their own Church, is there any episcopal Church in their country to which they could unite themselves; and therefore, as long as their own Church holds the essentials of doctrine, they may continue therein, and are in no sense schismatics. Their own Church may not be in that perfect communion with the Catholic Church which would subsist if there were a unity of discipline as well as of doctrine: it may be the duty of their Church to desire that unity, and to take steps for its restoration; and it may be the duty of individual members of that Church to promote that happy consummation by all prudent and peaceable methods: but in the meantime, not thoroughly knowing what may be the impediments which block up the way to catholic unity, and of necessity render the progress therein tedious and difficult, I dare not pronounce that Church to be cut off altogether from the mystical body of Christ; and I am sure that none of its *members* are chargeable with the guilt of schism, who do not thwart and impede the efforts of the Church itself to assimilate its government and discipline to the apostolical model.

'That the apostolical model *ought* to be followed by *every* local Church, I have no manner of doubt; nor that its adoption is absolutely necessary to the Church's perfectness and efficiency, as a dispenser of truth and grace. But if I find entire branches of the great Christian family living under a different form of government, deprived of the advantages of episcopacy, in the first instance not by their own fault, but through the tyranny and obstinacy of the Church of Rome refusing them those advantages; being also in that state of dependence upon the secular power, which was occasioned by the want of a legitimate spiritual government, and from which, by their own mere motion, it is

difficult, if not impossible, to extricate themselves,—I cannot consent to speak of those communities as being altogether aliens from the Church of Christ, nor to deal with them as though they were entirely destitute of the privileges which belong to it. I pity and lament their want of some of those privileges; and I pray that *they* too may *feel* that want, and that the great Head of the Church may bring them into the full perception and enjoyment of those privileges; but I dare not *think* of them, still less *speak* of them, as heretics or schismatics; I dare not pronounce them, as such, excommunicate; and I tremble at the arrogance and uncharitableness which presume to deal out anathemas against those who deny no one fundamental point of faith, but who are defective (it may be questioned whether by their own fault) in the form of their government, and, as connected therewith, in the clear and indisputable succession of their ministry.

'Let us consider, for a moment, the real state of the case, with regard to the foreign Reformed Churches, with the calmness and candour of men, who, being assured of our own safety, are desirous of seeing what degrees of security are enjoyed by those who are, or ought to be, members of the same family with ourselves; and how far it may be necessary or desirable for us to use our best endeavours to place *them* in the same firm and unassailable position which the good providence of God has permitted *us* to occupy.

'It is certain that Luther and his companions did not *separate themselves* from the episcopal Church then existing in Germany; but that they were forcibly excommunicated and driven out by the Roman pontiff and his servants the German prelates. They appealed again and again to a General Council, and declared their willingness to retract any errors which they should be proved to have taught. Instead of acceding to this reasonable request, the Emperor endeavoured to subdue the Protestants by force of arms; and when at last a so-called General Council was assembled at Trent, their opinions, in so far as they differed from those of the Romish divines, were condemned without a hearing. All along they professed their desire to retain episcopal government, but being in the first instance forcibly deprived of it, and driven upon a provisional system of Church government, the supreme power of the Church being, as it were, put into commission, it is no wonder if, by degrees, they lost their respect for that which had caused them so much suffering; and also their desire to recover it. . . . . For these reasons it is admitted by those of our divines who take the highest ground in asserting the claims of episcopacy, that the earlier Lutherans and Calvinists were not heretics nor schismatics. If so, I would desire to be told, at what period of time their descendants became so? I know very well that it is not difficult to trace, in the history of their Churches, the gradual declension of orthodoxy; and to point out the individual writers who became, in succession, more and more heretical in their teaching, till they were plunged into that dismal gulf of rationalism, below which there is hardly a lower depth to reach. And I know, too, that this was a consequence, perhaps a punishment, of the imperfect system of Church government which was

suffered to remain so long after the first necessity had passed away. But I will not venture to say, that because this or that generation of men did not re-establish that perfect community with the Catholic Church in ecclesiastical discipline, which had been forcibly interrupted, not by *their* fault, therefore they, and those who came after them, and who were probably less able to take that step, are to be considered as schismatical; it being admitted that their forefathers, who lived under the same form of Church government, were not so. As Churches, they are undoubtedly defective, wanting some of those privileges and securities which are enjoyed, in all their completeness, by those Churches which are, and always have been, constituted according to the apostolic model: but to their individual members I dare not deny a participation in all things required of necessity to salvation.

'*It appears to me, that in this manner it is by no means difficult to reconcile truth with charity; to hold a firm conviction of the apostolical origin and constitution of our own Church, with a persuasion, or at least a charitable hope, that those national Churches, which having once unavoidably and unwillingly lost the perfectness of ecclesiastical order, have not yet regained it, possibly not having been able to do so, are yet within the pale of Christ's Church, so far at least as the being so is necessary to the final salvation of their individual members.*'—pp. 52—60.

A truly cautious and moderate conclusion. 'A charitable hope!'—On the whole, we have to remark, first, that the great facts necessary to justify his lordship's laudable attempt to reconcile the exercise of charity with the maintenance of his exclusive doctrines touching the divine right of episcopacy, are wanting. 'The members,' says he, 'of the foreign non-episcopal churches 'do not separate themselves from *any* church;'—have they not separated themselves from the church of Rome?—'nor if they quitted their own church, is there any episcopal church in their country to which they could unite themselves.' No, truly; *individual members* could not; but we thought it was of *churches* the right reverend father was speaking, as he expressly says he is. Now surely it would be very odd to assert that those churches as distinct communions (including, of course, the governors in each, who, also of course, form a part of them) could not, if they pleased, adopt the episcopal regimen. This none can deny; and therefore, whatever charity his lordship in this, his unwonted paroxysm of liberality, may be pleased to extend to individual members, the *churches*, as distinct communions, according to his lordship's principles, must be considered schismatical, and, in fact, no churches at all. That these churches could, if they pleased, have long since put themselves under episcopal government, is as plain as that two and two make four; for though his lordship is pleased to endeavour to perplex a very plain matter by saying that 'they were first of all deprived of the advantages

of episcopacy, not by their own fault, but through the tyranny and obstinacy of the church of Rome,' nothing is more certain than that, at any moment within the last three hundred years, they might have procured, for the mere asking, consecration of bishops from the English, who, indeed, would have been but too glad to comply with the request. They are therefore, *as churches*, in spite of all that the bishop has so laboriously urged, convicted of a long and wilful neglect of those 'inestimable' privileges which the bishop congratulates himself upon possessing, and therefore are, and will be, so long as they remain destitute of them, no better than schismatics.

But now, secondly, let us see whether, if his lordship's reasoning may be still supposed valid, it does not equally apply to other reformed communions besides those over whom his lordship has been pleased to extend his shield. 'It is certain,' says he, 'that Luther and his companions did not *separate themselves* from the episcopal church then existing in Germany, but that they were forcibly driven out and excommunicated by the Roman pontiff and his servants the German prelates.' Very well; and in the same sense, and in no other, did our nonconformist forefathers *separate themselves* from the church of England. Were they not driven out by the English prelates? What is the meaning of the phrase, '*ejected* ministers'? The Lutherans were not more unwilling separatists from the church of Rome than were the English nonconformists from the church of England; each party denied, not indeed the same points, but points which each church respectively held essential to a continuance in its communion, and therefore were expelled. And we will venture to say, that episcopacy in the abstract was as little the immediate cause of separation in the one case as the other; so that whatever indulgence is due to the foreign is equally due to the English dissentients. Nay, though episcopacy be a more frequent reason now-a-days, we will still venture to say that the dissenters are still unwilling separatists, and are virtually expelled because conformity would involve that which they believe forbidden. 'No such thing,' says his lordship; 'the points for which the Lutherans separated were important enough to justify their separation. Yours are not. You cannot allege against *our* church any of the reasons which alone can justify separation; that it practises idolatry; that it teaches doctrines contrary to the fundamentals of Christian faith, or to the laws of gospel holiness; that it will not admit you to communion without your doing something forbidden, or professing something untrue; or, lastly, that it is itself in a state of schism from the true church.' Here is the bishop at his old work again—begging the question. What is all this but to set himself up as an infallible judge of what alone can

appear to another man a sufficient reason *in conscience* for separation from any particular church. 'You cannot allege any sufficient reason,' &c. 'No, in your opinion doubtless we cannot,' is the easy reply; 'but who made *you* an infallible judge of what alone we think a sufficient reason for conscientious separation? *We* think we can allege such reason.' All that his lordship says is just what the church of Rome would have said, and did say, to Luther, 'You cannot allege sufficient reason,' &c., for, as all the world knows, the Romanists do not admit that their church practises idolatry, that it teaches doctrines contrary to the fundamentals of Christian faith, or to the laws of gospel holiness,' &c. Each community is pleased to affirm just what the bishop does; for each, of course, is perfectly right in its own eyes, and all who separate from it, destitute of any justifiable reasons. The only question is, whether a man who believes, as in the sight of God,—in other words, *in his conscience*,—that he *can* allege sufficient reasons for separating from a given church, and that 'it will not admit him to her communion without his doing something' in *his* judgment 'forbidden,' may nevertheless continue in communion, because he is told that, in the judgment of *another* man—some pope in miniature, like James Lord Bishop of London—he safely may? If he may not,—and we think there are few in these days who will deny this,—then his separation is not only justifiable, but necessary, if he would not do despite to the authority of that which is to him a supreme law—his *conscience;* and therefore all nonconformists from the English church in that predicament are entitled to the charity (not worth much, it is true) which his lordship extends to the members of foreign reformed churches, though the grounds of separation may, in the respective cases, be different. If a man *may* conform under the above circumstances, then we have only to request his lordship of London to be good enough to provide us with an *infallible* judge to distinguish those reasons of separation which are alone, and universally, justifiable causes of it, from those which, however apparently unanswerable to individual consciences, may be safely disregarded and set at nought. Such a judge, we fear, it would be difficult to find; his lordship has, in effect, modestly named himself, but we demur to receive him; his lordship himself would no doubt object to the church of Rome, as also should we. In the meantime we shall conclude this part of the subject by saying, that his lordship will not find a much better plan than this; first, of allowing each man to judge for himself what is *in conscience* a sufficient reason of separation from any given church; and secondly, of abstaining from uncharitably judging his motives for so doing.

But, thirdly, we affirmed that his lordship's real reason for not conceding to us the indulgence which he extends to the foreign

non-episcopal communions is, that we are *dissenters* from the national establishment. That the reason he has assigned ought not to be one at all, is evident, for the churches to which he has granted his charity are as destitute of episcopacy as ourselves, and, as we have shown, there are no principles which really apply in their case which do not apply in our own. We have shown that they could easily have obtained episcopal regimen had they been so minded; that if they were excluded by the church of Rome, so are we by the church of England; and that if reason *in conscience* be a sufficient justification of their living in a state of separation, we have a like justification, at least to all who will not, like the Bishop of London, set up for infallible judges of what alone is, ever was, may be, or can be, a reason in conscience.

But it is possible that his lordship may delude himself into the belief that it is purely for our not being under episcopal government that he denies us his charity; and that our being dissenters is *not* the real reason. If so, we will give him an opportunity of testing his feelings by imagining a case. If the congregationalists, convinced to-morrow that episcopacy was right, but still, for *other* reasons of conscience, unable to re-enter the establishment, were to ask his lordship to be pleased, in conjunction with his right reverend brethren, to consecrate a few bishops for them, that they might no longer be deprived of the 'inestimable privileges' which his lordship possesses, and might moreover have the felicity of being recognised as churches of Christ on his lordship's part, would he consent to do them this favour, and acknowledge them as true churches of Christ, or would he, imitating 'the tyranny and obstinacy of the church of Rome to the reformed,' withhold it? If the former, then we acknowledge that it is our being non-episcopal which deprives us of the full enjoyment of his lordship's charity, though it would still appear to us that he inconsistently grants it to the non-episcopal churches abroad, seeing they might easily obtain bishops if they were so inclined; if the latter, we shall take the liberty of supposing that our unpardonable sin is, dissent from the national establishment.

Upon the whole, it will be seen that, in our judgment, those Oxford bigots who do not recognise the non-episcopal reformed churches are far more consistent than his lordship; that though his lordship is somewhat more charitable, he is so in spite of all consistency and against all reason; that he is equally inconsistent in what he concedes, in what he denies, and in the reasoning by which he attempts to justify either the one or the other.

In the meantime, his lordship, and all who think as he does, are fond of urging the old charge of 'schism' against us. If such terms could kill, we had been annihilated long ago. We are not

in the slightest degree terrified by his lordship's very awful looks or big-sounding words. He wants, in our estimation, the infallibility which could alone give any weight to either. James Lord Bishop of London we cannot regard as equally worthy of reverence with an apostle. Nay, in *his* sense, we must deny him to be even a *successor* of the apostles.

But we must not withhold from our readers the passage in which his lordship, though he cannot extend to us the same 'charitable hope' which he extends to the non-episcopal churches abroad, is willing to show how far he can go in our behalf. It is chiefly remarkable as being a gauge, or index, of the uttermost degree of episcopal charity. It exhibits to us a bishop *striving* to be charitable, going as far as ever he can, not indulging in bigotry, as some might perversely imagine, but straining a point or two to give a favourable view of our case. And what is the result? Why, that 'he will not pronounce, even on *us*, the sentence of absolute exclusion from the church of Christ, nor declare that we are beyond the pale of salvation.' Truly, if his lordship's charity is not of that kind which 'boasteth not itself,' and 'is not puffed up,' it must be acknowledged that, at all events, it is of the kind which 'hopeth all things.' To be quite serious, however, if such is his lordship's charity, what must be his bigotry!

'I would once more observe, that these considerations bear only upon the case of the reformed Churches of other countries; and that they have no force, with reference to seceders from our own national Church, who cannot urge any of the pleas upon which the former may claim to be exempt from a sentence of excommunication from the Catholic Church, as wanting the government by Bishops. When people of the same community separate themselves from the church of that community, not differing from it in fundamentals, no such pleas can be advanced; they may not be chargeable with *heresy*, but I do not understand how they can escape the guilt of *schism*. Against *them* we may justly urge the divine right of episcopacy, as that right has now been explained; and we are not to be induced, by mistaken notions of charity, to forbear from asserting it, in the way of argument and admonition. If our Church be a true branch of the Church Catholic, as we have proved it to be, it is impossible that separation from it should not be schismatical; those who leave, or keep aloof from its communion, do not *endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*. It is no justification of such conduct, that many of those who practise it are men of a holy life and conversation; nor does it follow that their forms of Church government are lawful, because the labours of their ministers or teachers may have been productive of some good. As long as the fundamental truths of the Gospel are preached, even though it be *of contention*, they will not be wholly void of effect. But whatever good may be accomplished by such means, is in a great degree counterbalanced by the certain evils of schism; and might be accomplished

more surely, and effectually, and lastingly, by a faithful use of those ordinances which are formally of *apostolic*, and virtually of *divine* institution. No man can justify his voluntary separation from the national Church, but upon the ground that she requires of him the profession of some article of faith at variance with the fundamental truths of the Gospel, or the performance of some act of worship forbidden, either expressly or implicitly, by the Word of God. This principle was acknowledged, and for some time acted upon, by the English Puritans, who disapproved of certain expressions, and forms, and practices, and rules, insisted upon by the Church of England, and yet did not feel themselves at liberty to leave her communion. But now, for slighter reasons, or for none at all, many are either guilty of schism themselves, or countenance and justify it in others.

'Yet although none of the excuses which have been urged for the want of apostolical government in some national Churches can be pleaded in justification of those who separate from our own episcopal church, I would not pronounce even upon *them* the sentence of absolute exclusion from the Church of Christ, nor declare that they are beyond the pale of salvation. I think them in a state of great uncertainty and hazard; I am sure that they want many spiritual privileges and advantages which I am thankful for possessing; but I must leave the work of judgment to Him who readeth the hearts of men, and *knoweth them that are his;* and I will content myself with praying for them, and labouring to convince them of the duty and the rewards of unity. I remember that it was to a Samaritan leper, who was an alien from the elder Church of God, one of an heretical community, that our blessed Saviour said, *Thy faith hath made thee whole.*'—pp. 70—73.

On this passage we offer no further comment. We leave it to the judgment of our readers, to decide whether his lordship is precisely the person to take to task the bigots of his own communion.

We cannot withhold from our readers one other choice passage in which, with the same plenary privilege of assertion which his lordship has indulged all the way through, and the same happy insensibility to the necessity of any kind of proof, he undertakes to enumerate all the blessings and benefits for which we are indebted to episcopacy. Truly he 'magnifies his office.' Hear him.

'But this touches upon the important question of the divine right of episcopacy, and its universal authority; which I must reserve for future discussion. I have at least shown it to be primitive, apostolic, catholic: we ourselves have experienced it to be so in its fruits. It was by means of episcopacy, under the blessing of the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church, that the light of the gospel dawned upon these islands, and that their barbarous and rude inhabitants were in itiated by baptism into all the privileges, and blessings, and hopes of the

Christian covenant; and subjected to all the humanizing and civilizing influences of that truth and grace which are dispensed by the Church. Whatever may be said of the abuses of that form of government, or of the temporary neglect of its essential rights and advantages, it is to episcopacy that this country owes the enjoyment, not only of its religious liberties, but in a great degree also of its civil freedom, and its social happiness. But, what is a far higher praise, it owes to the same channel of the divine goodness the transmission and preservation of Gospel truth, obscured for a time, and eclipsed, but never totally extinguished; and of those liturgical offices which, while they minister grace and edification to the Church's faithful children now on earth, connect them with the worshippers of her first and purest ages, the fathers, and martyrs, and confessors, who set forth the beauty of her holiness in their lives, and made fruitful her vineyard with their blood. It is through this channel that the spiritual blessings we enjoy must be transmitted to our children, and, we believe, diffused throughout the world.'—pp. 45, 46.

His lordship very wisely passes by the miseries and sufferings which episcopacy has caused us; but let that pass. And so it is 'to episcopacy that this country owes the enjoyment of its religious liberties, and in a great degree also of its civil freedom!' Just as much, we reply, as the Goodwin Sands were owing to Tenterden steeple. Surely his lordship must assume incredible ignorance on the part of his readers to venture on such a statement. Does he suppose that history is a sealed book to us, or that the names of Whitgift, Laud, Sheldon, and a host of others, are blotted from its pages? How many acts, we should like to know, has episcopacy, *as such*, performed, which have certified its attachment to the principles of religious liberty? What one measure have the bishops, *as a body*, ever introduced or sanctioned in the House of Lords, the object of which has been to secure or extend it? What one fragment of unjust or oppressive power have the bishops ever voluntarily relinquished, or relinquished at all till it has been torn from them by the people?

But we are tired of exposing his lordship's extravagances. A reasoner so strong in assertions and so feeble in arguments it has seldom been our lot to encounter. It is a pity that he ever quitted the more congenial employment of editing Greek plays, and it were well if he returned to it with all convenient speed. The Crown may make a bishop, and often does so out of very strange materials, but it cannot make a theologian.

Art. V. *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay.* Edited by her Niece. Vols. III. and IV. London: Henry Colburn.

These volumes extend over a period of four years, from 1786 to 1789 inclusive. They embrace that portion of Madame D'Arblay's life which will prove most interesting to the general reader, and are as full and minute in their details as their predecessors. Her appointment in the queen's household gave her an opportunity of observing the domestic habits of the royal family, which she has recorded with much minuteness. Royal personages have to pay dearly for their elevation. They lose much of the substantial happiness of life, in order to compass its shadow. For the glare and pomp of kingship they sacrifice the calmness and privacy of domestic life;—live in an atmosphere of excitement, with the eyes of a nation gazing intently on them. This is one of the conditions of their state, and they have, therefore, no just cause for complaint when the pen of an attendant records, for the instruction or amusement of others, the tenour and spirit of their daily life. Their errors and follies, the sallies of their temper, their fickleness and pride, the selfishness which their flatterers inculcate, and the disregard of other persons' feelings which naturally springs out of their position, all these things are expected to be chronicled by a prurient and undistinguishing curiosity.

It must not be supposed that Madame D'Arblay has trespassed in this matter. She was too loyal a person, and had been too loyally educated, to take pleasure in revealing to unhallowed eyes the weaker points of her royal mistress. She speaks of the king and queen, and, indeed, of all the members of the royal household, after the manner of an old cavalier. Their mantle had evidently fallen upon her, and she proved herself worthy of the inheritance. Her devotion was as blind as it was ardent, and there was no worshipper at the shrine of royalty who prostrated himself before the idol with more profound veneration. From the monarch down to the Princess Amelia, of whom, when just three years old, it is remarked that her demeanour was decorous and dignified, 'as if conscious of her high rank, and of the importance of condescendingly sustaining it,' all was superhuman, the very embodiment of royalty according to the notions of a former age. We must not, therefore, look to her descriptions for the more shaded and darker features of the picture. All is bright and sunny, the very personification of human virtue half deified. We do not quarrel with this, though we sometimes smile at the vanity which imagined unwonted condescension and exuberant goodness in the most ordinary civilities which could be shown to an inferior. The vanity of the diarist is, indeed, the most con-

spicuous feature of the diary. It obtrudes itself in almost every page, and frequently leads to a prolixity, and minuteness of detail, which are wearisome in the extreme. It is obvious that Miss Fanny Burney is of far more importance in her own eyes than all the literati with whom she mingled, or the titled puppets who flattered, and, perhaps, laughed at her. But notwithstanding all this—and much more might be said respecting it—the volumes before us are both interesting and instructive. They furnish a revelation from which important lessons may be drawn, and disclose the spirit and social life of a class, of whose movements but little authentic information is possessed. That the representation afforded of the manners and conversation of her day is a substantially correct one, we do not entertain a doubt, notwithstanding the effort of a recent critic—for purposes sufficiently obvious—to prove the contrary. It may be true that the representation is not to the honour either of the wits or of the princes of the last century, but that furnishes no reason why its correctness should be denied, or the good faith of the author be impugned. Miss Burney, at the period when the third volume opens, was fully established in the queen's household, and many of our readers will smile at the account which she gives of her daily occupation. It is sufficiently trifling to realize the conjectures of the most ultra democrat amongst us, and occurs under date of July 24, 1786.

'I rise at six o'clock, dress in a morning gown and cap, and wait my first summons, which is at all times from seven to near eight, but commonly in the exact half hour between them. The Queen never sends for me till her hair is dressed. This, in a morning, is always done by her wardrobe-woman, Mrs. Thielky, a German, but who speaks English perfectly well. Mrs. Schwellenberg, since the first week, has never come down in a morning at all. The Queen's dress is finished by Mrs. Thielky and myself. No maid ever enters the room while the Queen is in it. Mrs. Thielky hands the things to me, and I put them on. 'Tis fortunate for me I have not the handing them! I should never know which to take first, embarrassed as I am, and should run a prodigious risk of giving the gown before the hoop, and the fan before the neck-kerchief. By eight o'clock, or a little after, for she is extremely expeditious, she is dressed. She then goes out to join the King, and be joined by the Princesses, and they all proceed to the King's chapel in the Castle, to prayers, attended by the governesses of the Princesses, and the King's equerry. Various others at times attend; but only these indispensably. I then return to my own room to breakfast. I make this meal the most pleasant part of the day; I have a book for my companion, and I allow myself an hour for it. * * * * At nine o'clock I send off my breakfast things, and relinquish my book, to make a serious and steady examination of everything I have upon my hands in the way of business—in which prepa-

any one was [illegible], drawing away her hand, she presented him her cheek. He accepted her kindness with the same frank affection that she offered it; and the next moment they both spoke English, and talked upon common and general subjects.

'What they said I am far enough from knowing; but the whole was too rapid to give me time to quit the room; and I could not but see with pleasure that the Queen had received some favour with which she was sensibly delighted, and that the King, in her acknowledgments, was happily and amply paid.'—Ib., pp. 170, 171.

Miss Burney seldom refers to either of the king's sons, yet an occasional reference throws light on their position in the palace, and on the feelings with which they were regarded by their royal parents. Speaking of the queen, she remarks, in allusion to a party too obvious to need mention—

'I was afterwards much touched with a sort of unconscious confidence with which she relieved her mind. She asked me my opinion of a paper in the 'Tatler,' whi[illegible] I did not recollect; and when she was dressed, and seated in her [illegible]room, she made me give her the book, and read to me this pape[illegible]r account of a young man of a good heart and sweet disposit[illegible]n, [illegible]ired by pleasure into a libertine life, which he pursue[illegible] by [illegible]r, but with constant remorse, and ceaseless shame and unhapp[illegible]

'It was impossible for me to r[illegible] object: all the mother was in her voice while she read it, and her gust[illegible]ng eyes told the application made throughout. My mind sympathized sincerely, though my tongue did not dare allude to her feelings. She looked pensively down when she had finished it, and before she broke silence, a page came to announce the Duchess of Ancaster.'—Ib., p. 201.

Some of our readers will probably be surprised at the following, which Miss Burney records as the substance of one of her conversations with the queen. We commend it to the grave consideration of those who deem external splendour the symbol and proof of internal happiness:—

'In the morning I had the honour of a conversation with the queen, the most delightful, on her part, I had ever yet been indulged with. It was all upon dress, and she said so nearly what I had just imputed to her in my little stanzas, that I could scarce refrain producing them, yet could not muster courage. She told me, with the sweetest grace imaginable, how well she had liked at first her jewels and ornaments as queen,—'But how soon,' cried she, 'was that over! Believe me, Miss Burney, it is a pleasure of a week,—a fortnight, at most,—and to return no more! I thought, at first, I should always choose to wear them; but the fatigue and trouble of putting them on, and the care they required, and the fear of losing them,—believe me, ma'am, in a fortnight's time I longed again for my own earlier dress, and wished never to see them more!'

'She then still more opened her opinions and feelings. She told me she had never, in her most juvenile years, loved dress and show, nor received the smallest pleasure from anything in her external appearance beyond neatness and comfort; yet did not disavow that the first week or fortnight of being a queen, when only in her seventeenth year, she thought splendour sufficiently becoming her station to believe she should thenceforth choose constantly to support it. But her eyes alone were dazzled, not her mind; and therefore the delusion speedily vanished, and her understanding was too strong to give it any chance of returning.'—Ib., pp. 202, 203.

Our diarist thus describes a ceremony which took place in St. George's Chapel, and which will probably awaken a smile on the countenance of some of our dissenting readers. The scene which it portrays, though out of date, and foreign from the genuine spirit of protestantism, would seem to be appropriate to our parliamentary church.

'The King was to make an offering, as Sovereign of the Garter. He was seated in the Dean of Windsor's stall, and the Queen sat by his side. The Princesses were in the opposite seats, and all of them at the end of the church.

'When the service was over, the offering ceremony began. The dean and the senior canon went first to the communion table: the dean then read aloud, 'Let your light so shine before men, &c.' The organ began a slow and solemn movement, and the King came down from his stall, and proceeded, with a grave and majestic walk, towards the communion table. When he had proceeded about a third of the way, he stopped, and bowed low to the altar; then he moved on, and again, at an equal distance, stopped for the same formality, which was a third and last time repeated as he reached the steps of the altar. Then he made his offering, which, according to the order of the original institution, was ten pounds in gold and silver, and delivered in a purse; he then knelt down, and made a silent prayer, after which, in the same measured steps, he returned to his stall, when the whole ceremony concluded by another slow movement on the organ.

'The air of piety, and the unaffected grace and dignity with which the King performed this rite, surprised and moved me; Mr Smelt, the most affectionate of his many loyal subjects, even shed tears from emotion, in looking at him in this serious office. The King, I am told, always acquits himself with true majesty, where he is necessarily to appear in state as a monarch.'—Ib., pp. 269, 270.

The fourth volume is occupied principally with the trial of Warren Hastings, and the derangement of the king, and will be read,—more particularly the latter part of it,—with the deepest interest. We must pass over her record of the former event as briefly as possible, in order to reserve our space for the details furnished respecting the illness of George III. Since the trial of the Earl of Strafford, Westminster Hall had not witnessed

uch a scene as was exhibited on the 13th of February, 1728, vhen the Governor-general of India was arraigned of high rimes and misdemeanors by the Commons of England. Miss Burney was a frequent attendant, and has preserved some points f the great spectacle which might otherwise have escaped the nowledge of posterity. She was personally known to Mr. Hastings, and was strongly prepossessed in his favour. Amongst he managers of the prosecution she had also some acquaintances, nd had been accustomed to regard Mr. Burke—the chief of hem—with profound admiration. She occupied a seat in the rand chamberlain's box in the centre of the upper end of the all, immediately above the place allotted to Mr. Hastings. The rial did not commence till near noon, when the managers ap- ointed by the Commons entered. 'I shuddered,' remarks Miss Burney, 'and drew involuntarily back, when, as the doors were ung open, I saw Mr. Burke, as head of the committee, make is solemn entry. He held a scroll in his hand, and walked lone, his brow knit with corroding care and deep labouring hought,—a brow how different to that which had proved so lluring to my warmest admiration when first I met him! so ighly as he had been my favourite, so captivating as I had ound his manners and conversation in our first acquaintance, nd so much as I had owed to his zeal and kindness to me and ıy affairs in its progress! How did I grieve to behold him, now he cruel prosecutor (such to me he appeared) of an injured and nnocent man!'

Mr. Burke was followed by Fox, Sheridan, Wyndham, Grey, nd other distinguished men, whose names are identified with ur history. It was at once an imposing and a solemn scene. Men breathed softly, and looked with deepest interest from the epresentatives of the Commons to the bar where the great riminal was about to stand. At length Mr. Hastings entered, receded by the gentleman-usher of the black rod, and his man- ıer and appearance are thus described:—

'The moment he came in sight, which was not for full ten minutes fter his awful summons, he made a low bow to the chancellor and ourt facing him. I saw not his face, as he was directly under me. He moved on slowly, and, I think, supported between his two bails, to he opening of his own box; there, lower still, he bowed again, and hen, advancing to the bar, he leant his hands upon it, and dropped on is knees; but a voice in the same moment proclaiming he had leave to ise, he stood up almost instantaneously, and a third time profoundly owed to the court.'—Vol. iv. p. 61.

'During this reading, to which I vainly lent all my attention, Mr. Hastings finding it, I presume, equally impossible to hear a word, egan to cast his eyes around the house, and having taken a survey of

all in front and at the sides, he turned about and looked up; pale looked his face—pale, ill, and altered. I was much affected by the sight of that dreadful harass which was written on his countenance. Had I looked at him without restraint, it could not have been without tears. I felt shocked, too, shocked and ashamed, to be seen by him in that place. I had wished to be present from an earnest interest in the business, joined to a firm confidence in his powers of defence; but his eyes were not those I wished to meet in Westminster Hall.'—Ib., p. 83.

Mr. Wyndham frequently repaired to the grand chamberlain's box, to bandy arguments with Miss Burney, or rather, as we may well believe, to relieve an overburdened mind by administering to the vanity of his fair disputant. His reflections on the situation of Mr. Hastings were characteristic of an honourable and generous mind, one thoroughly convinced of the enormous crimes of the prisoner, yet keenly alive to what was due to his position. They are thus recorded:—

'Suddenly his eye dropped down upon poor Mr. Hastings: the expression of his face instantly lost the gaiety and ease with which it had addressed me; he stopped short in his remarks; he fixed his eyes steadfastly on this new, and but too interesting object, and after viewing him some time in a sort of earnest silence, he suddenly exclaimed, as if speaking to himself, and from an impulse irresistible—'What a sight is that! to see that man, that small portion of human clay, that poor feeble machine of earth, enclosed now in that little space, brought to that bar, a prisoner in a spot six foot square—and to reflect on his late power! Nations at his command! Princes prostrate at his feet!—What a change! how must he feel it!—'

'He broke forth again, after a pause of some length,—'Wonderful indeed! almost past credibility, is such a reverse! He that, so lately, had the Eastern world nearly at his beck; he, under whose tyrant power princes and potentates sunk and trembled; he, whose authority was without the reach of responsibility!—'

'Again he stopped, seeming struck, almost beyond the power of speech, with meditative commiseration; but then, suddenly rousing himself, as if recollecting his 'almost blunted purpose,' he passionately exclaimed, 'O could those—the thousands, the millions, who have groaned and languished under the iron rod of his oppressions—could they but—whatever region they inhabit—be permitted one dawn of light to look into this hall, and see him *there!* *There*—where he now stands—it might prove, perhaps, some recompense for their sufferings!'

'Still he looked at him, earnest in rumination, and as if unable to turn away his eyes; and presently he again exclaimed, 'How wonderful an instance of the instability of mortal power is presented in that object! From possessions so extensive, from a despotism so uncontrolled, to see him now there, in that small circumference! In the history of human nature how memorable will be the records of this day! a day that brings to the great tribunal of the nation a man whose

rations for dress are always included, not for the present day alone, but for the court-days, which require a particular dress; for the next arriving birth-day of any of the Royal Family, every one of which requires new apparel; for Kew, where the dress is plainest; and for going on here, where the dress is very pleasant to me, requiring no show nor finery, but merely to be neat, not inelegant, and moderately fashionable. That over, I have my time at my own disposal, till a quarter before twelve, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when I have it only to a quarter before eleven. My rummages and business sometimes occupy me uninterruptedly to those hours. When they do not, I give till ten to necessary letters of duty, ceremony, or long arrears;—and now, from ten to the times I have mentioned, I devote to walking. These times mentioned call me to the irksome and quick-returning labours of the toilette. The hour advanced on the Wednesdays and Saturdays is for curling and craping the hair, which it now requires twice a week. A quarter before one is the usual time for the Queen to begin dressing for the day. Mrs. Schwellenberg then constantly attends; so do I; Mrs. Thielky, of course, at all times. We help her off with her gown, and on with her powdering things, and then the hair-dresser is admitted. She generally reads the newspapers during that operation. When she observes that I have run to her but half dressed, she constantly gives me leave to return and finish as soon as she is seated. If she is grave, and reads steadily on, she dismisses me, whether I am dressed or not; but at all times she never forgets to send me away while she is powdering, with a consideration not to spoil my clothes, that one would not expect belonged to her high station. Neither does she ever detain me without making a point of reading here and there some little paragraph aloud. * * * I find her then always removed to her state dressing-room, if any room in this private mansion can have the epithet of state. There, in a very short time, her dress is finished. She then says she wont detain me, and I hear and see no more of her till bed-time. It is commonly three o'clock when I am thus set at large, and I have then two hours quite at my own disposal; but, in the natural course of things, not a moment after! * * * * At five, we have dinner. Mrs. Schwellenberg and I meet in the eating-room. We are commonly *tête-à-tête:* when there is anybody added, it is from her invitation only. Whatever right my place might afford me of also inviting my friends to the table, I have now totally lost, by want of courage and spirits to claim it originally. When we have dined, we go up stairs to her apartment, which is directly over mine. Here we have coffee till the *terracing* is over; this is at about eight o'clock. Our *tête-à-tête* then finishes, and we come down again to the eating-room. There the equerry, whoever he is, comes to tea constantly, and with him any gentleman that the King or Queen may have invited for the evening; and when tea is over, he conducts them, and goes himself, to the concert-room. This is commonly about nine o'clock. From that time, if Mrs. Schwellenberg is alone, I never quit her for a minute, till I come to my little supper at near eleven. Between eleven and twelve my last summons usually takes place,

earlier and later occasionally. Twenty minutes is the customary time then spent with the Queen; half an hour, I believe, is seldom exceeded.'—Vol. iii. pp. 27, 31.

This routine must have been sufficiently wearisome to the fair novelist, who could scarcely fail to perceive its hollowness, or to despise herself for sacrificing the better aspirations of her genius for the glitter and pride of courtly service. We are not, therefore, surprised at the dissatisfaction which soon creeps out, notwithstanding the superabundance of her loyalty. It would have been strange, indeed, if the author of *Evelina* could be satisfied with the inanities and petty triflings of a court. She was formed for better things, and the spiritual within groaned at the restraints under which she was placed. 'Here I must remain,' she writes on one occasion to her sister. 'The die is cast, and that struggle is no more. To keep off every other, to support the loss of the dearest friends, and best society, and bear in exchange the tyranny, the *exigence*, the *ennui*, and attempted indignities of their greatest contrast—this must be my constant endeavour.'

The attachment of George III. to the Princess Amelia is well known, and a slight allusion to it occurs about this period, when she was a mere infant. The queen had requested Miss Burney to take the young princess into the garden, where the king was waiting for her. This was of course instantly done, and we are told, 'the king, who dotes upon her, seemed good-humouredly pleased to see me bring her. He took her little hand, and led her away.' The fatal influence which this attachment is supposed to have exercised over the intellect of the monarch, attaches considerable interest to its early manifestation.

A removal from Windsor to Kew, which occurred not unfrequently, varied somewhat the otherwise monotonous character of her life. At this latter place, the style of the royal household was more simple and retired, and the establishment altogether was less regal, and more like that of a private gentleman. Miss Burney remarks:—

'The Kew life, you will perceive, is different from the Windsor. As there are no early prayers, the Queen rises later; and as there is no form or ceremony here of any sort, her dress is plain, and the hour for the second toilette extremely uncertain. The royal family are here always in so very retired a way, that they live as the simplest country gentlefolks. The King has not even an equerry with him, nor the Queen any lady to attend her when she goes her airings. * * * It is a still greater difficulty to see company here than at Windsor, for as my apartments are upstairs, there is a greater danger of encountering some of the royal family; and I find all the household are more delicate in inviting or admitting any friends here than elsewhere, on account of the very easy and unreserved way in which the family

[illegible], running about from one end of the house to the other, without precaution or care.'—Ib., p. 37.

An interesting account is given of the effect produced at Windsor by the attempt of Margaret Nicholson (August 2, 1786) on the life of the king. Such attempts were *then* happily unknown in English history, as they have ever been deemed foreign from the English character. George the Third hastened to Windsor, in order to assure the queen of his safety, and arrived there before any intelligence of his danger had been received. 'Here I am! safe and well, as you see!' exclaimed the monarch, 'but I have very narrowly escaped being stabbed!' The abruptness of the communication was too much for his auditors, who 'wept even with violence.' The king, we are informed, 'with the gayest good humour, did his utmost to comfort them, and then gave a relation of the affair, with a calmness and unconcern that, had any one but himself been his hero, would have been regarded as totally unfeeling.'

The conduct of George the Third on this occasion was calm and magnanimous. When the assassin was seized by the populace, and was about to be sacrificed to the indignant resentment which her act had enkindled, the king nobly, and on the instant, exclaimed, 'The poor creature is mad! Do not hurt her—she has not hurt me!' His subsequent demeanour is thus described:—

'The insanity of the woman has now fully been proved; but that noble confidence which gave that instant excuse for her was then all his own.

'Nor did he rest here; notwithstanding the excess of terror for his safety, and doubt of further mischief, with which all his family and all his household were seized, he still maintained the most cheerful composure, and insisted upon walking on the terrace, with no other attendant than his single equerry.

'The poor Queen went with him, pale and silent,—the Princesses followed, scarce yet commanding their tears. In the evening, just as usual, the King had his concert, but it was an evening of grief and horror to his family; nothing was listened to, scarce a word was spoken; the Princesses wept continually; the Queen, still more deeply struck, could only, from time to time, hold out her hand to the King, and say, 'I have you yet!'

'The affection for the King felt by all his household has been at once pleasant and affecting to me to observe; there has not been a dry eye in either of the lodges, on the recital of his danger, and not a face but his own that has not worn marks of care ever since.'—Ib., p. 48.

Soon after this event, the king paid a visit to Oxford, accompanied by his queen and three of the princesses. Miss Burney attended her majesty on this occasion, and has given an animated sketch of the reception with which the royal party met. We are

tempted to transcribe an extract from her account, as furnishing a parallel to what has sometimes—so at least report says—taken place on the presentation of other divines, less distinguished by their ecclesiastical preferments, but not less pure or ardent in their loyalty. It was in the theatre of the university, after an address had been presented by the vice-chancellor, that the following scene occurred:—

'After this, the Vice-Chancellor and Professors begged for the honour of kissing the King's hand. Lord Harcourt was again the backward messenger; and here followed a great mark of goodness in the King; he saw that nothing less than a thorough-bred old courtier, such as Lord Harcourt, could walk backwards down these steps, before himself, and in sight of so full a hall of spectators, and he therefore dispensed with being approached to his seat, and walked down himself into the area, where the Vice-Chancellor kissed his hand, and was imitated by every Professor and Doctor in the room.

'Notwithstanding this considerate good-nature in his Majesty, the sight, at times, was very ridiculous. Some of the worthy collegiates, unused to such ceremonies, and unaccustomed to such a presence, the moment they had kissed the King's hand, turned their backs to him, and walked away as in any common room; others, attempting to do better, did still worse, by tottering and stumbling, and falling foul of those behind them; some, ashamed to kneel, took the King's hand straight up to their mouths; others, equally off their guard, plumped down on both knees, and could hardly get up again; and many, in their confusion, fairly arose by pulling his Majesty's hand to raise them.

'As the King spoke to every one, upon Lord Harcourt's presenting them, this ceremonial took up a good deal of time; but it was too new and diverting to appear long.'—Ib., pp. 97, 98.

The most interesting portions of the third volume are those which illustrate the domestic character of the king and queen. The terms on which they lived were those of intimate and confiding attachment,—implicit trust and affectionate esteem on the one side being met by fond reverence and complacency on the other. Their social hours exhibited, in consequence, a scene vastly different from that which is ordinarily witnessed in the palaces of kings. The following anecdote speaks a volume on this point:—

'I cannot here help mentioning a very interesting little scene at which I was present about this time. The Queen had nobody but myself with her, one morning, when the King hastily entered the room with some letters in his hand, and addressing her in German, which he spoke very fast, and with much apparent interest in what he said, he brought the letters up to her, and put them into her hand. She received them with much agitation, but evidently of a much pleased sort, and endeavoured to kiss his hand as he held them. He would not let her, but made an effort, with a countenance of the highest satisfaction, to kiss hers. I saw instantly in her eyes a forgetfulness, at the moment, that

'She looked like death—colourless and wan; but nature is infectious; the tears gushed from her own eyes, and a perfect agony of weeping ensued, which, once begun, she could not stop; she did not indeed try; for when it subsided, and she wiped her eyes, she said, "I thank you, Miss Burney—you have made me cry—it is a great relief to me; I had not been able to cry before all this night long."

'O what a scene followed! what a scene was related! The king, in the middle of the night, had insisted upon seeing if his queen was not removed from the house; and he had come into her room, with a candle in his hand, opened the bed-curtains, and satisfied himself she was there, and Miss Goldsworthy by her side. This observance of the directions had much soothed him; but he stayed a full half hour, and the depth of terror during that time no words can paint. The fear of such another entrance was now so strongly upon the nerves of the poor queen, that she could hardly support herself.

'The king—the royal sufferer was still in the next room, attended by Sir George Baker—and Dr. Heberden, and his pages, with Colonel Goldsworthy occasionally, and as he called for him. He kept talking unceasingly; his voice was so lost in hoarseness and weakness, it was rendered almost inarticulate; but its tone was still all benevolence,—all kindness, all touching graciousness.

'It was thought advisable the queen should not rise, lest the king should be offended that she did not go to him; at present he was content, because he conceived her to be nursing for her illness.

'But what a situation for her! She would not let me leave her now; she made me remain in the room, and ordered me to sit down. I was too trembling to refuse. Lady Elizabeth soon joined us. We all three stayed with her; she frequently bid me listen, to hear what the king was saying or doing. I did, and carried the best accounts I could manage, without deviating from truth, except by some omissions. Nothing could be so afflicting as this task; even now, it brings fresh to my ear his poor exhausted voice. "I am nervous," he cried; "I am not ill, but I am nervous; if you would know what is the matter with me, I am nervous. But I love you both very well, if you would tell me truth; I love Dr. Heberden best, for he has not told me a lie: Sir George has told me a lie—a white lie, he says, but I hate a white lie! If you will tell me a lie, let it be a black lie!"

'This was what he kept saying almost constantly, mixed in with other matter, but always returning, and in a voice that truly will never cease vibrating in my recollection.'—Ib., pp. 286—289.

The subsequent progress of his majesty's illness, with the alternations of hope and fear, of thrilling agony, and of temporary joy, to which the royal household were subjected, are detailed by our diarist with absorbing interest. The visitation was in itself sufficiently overwhelming, but there were political considerations which added to its poignancy, and greatly embittered the lot of the queen. Though Miss Burney passes over these points of the history as slightly as possible, enough is

said to indicate the terms on which the queen and her eldest son were, and the little regard which the latter, and some of the court attendants, paid to her feelings. 'I think,' remarks Miss Burney, on occasion of the physicians repairing to the Prince of Wales to report their opinion on the king's state, 'a deeper blow I have never witnessed. Already to become but second, even for the king! The tears were now wiped; indignation arose with pain, the severest pain, of every species.' We can find room only for one short extract more:—

'While I was yet with my poor royal sufferer this morning, the Prince of Wales came hastily into the room. He apologized for his intrusion, and then gave a very energetic history of the preceding night. It had been indeed most affectingly dreadful! The king had risen in the middle of the night, and would take no denial to walking into the next room. There he saw the large congress I have mentioned: amazed and in consternation, he demanded what they did there? Much followed that I have heard since, particularly the warmest elogé on his dear son Frederick, his favourite, his friend. 'Yes,' he cried, 'Frederick is my friend!'—and this son was then present amongst the rest, but not seen!

'Sir George Baker was there, and was privately exhorted by the gentlemen to lead the king back to his room; but he had not courage: he attempted only to speak, and the king penned him in a corner, told him he was a mere old woman—that he wondered he had ever followed his advice, for he knew nothing of his complaint, which was only nervous!

The Prince of Wales, by signs and whispers, would have urged others to have drawn him away, but no one dared approach him, and he remained there a considerable time, 'Nor do I know when he would have been got back,' continued the prince, 'if at last Mr. Fairly had not undertaken him. I am extremely obliged to Mr. Fairly indeed. He came boldly up to him, and took him by the arm, and begged him to go to bed, and then drew him along, and said he must go. Then he said he would not, and cried, 'Who are you?' 'I am Mr. Fairly, sir,' he answered, 'and your Majesty has been very good to me often, and now I am going to be very good to you, for you must come to bed, sir: it is necessary to your life.' And then he was so surprised, that he let himself be drawn along just like a child; and so they got him to bed. I believe else he would have stayed all night!'

'Mr. Fairly has had some melancholy experience in a case of this sort, with a very near connexion of his own. How fortunate he was present!'—Ib., pp. 299, 300.

We shall again recur to the work as it proceeds, and in the meantime, content ourselves with recommending it to our readers as an amusing companion, whose very prolixity and wearisomeness disclose traits of character, and illustrations of manners, of which we should grieve to be deprived.

Art. VI. 1. *France since* 1830. By Thomas Raikes, Esq. 2 vols. London: Boone, New Bond-street. 1841.

2. *Europe in* 1840. Translated from the German of Wolfgang Menzel. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1841.

The author of the work that stands first at the head of this article puts forth no pretensions to the research or talents of an historian. With a narrative of facts, not always detailed according to the date of their occurrence, he intermixes, and very agreeably so, various anecdotes of an interesting nature not generally known in England, which he had originally collected and preserved in the shape of a journal. These are calculated to produce some amusement, if not information, to the reader. In the relation of events, truth, he assures us, has been invariably consulted; and we find no reason to impugn that declaration; but, on the contrary, must admit that in this respect he has confined himself to a fair and candid recital of those facts which are acknowledged to be true by all parties. To be sure, the main occurrences he relates in the first portion of his work, we mean those of the late revolution, and of the period immediately subsequent to it, are not altogether new to us, having been frequently narrated and commented upon by previous writers, such as Mr. H. Bulwer and others; but the chief distinction in the merits of Mr. Raikes's book consists in its more minute, continuous, and familiar narrative of those interesting events, as well as in its fund of anecdotes and tales, tending to illustrate and contrast the present and former conditions of society in France. Looked at in this character, the volumes before us must be regarded as a peculiarly instructive and entertaining production. As the manuscript was composed, he informs us, two years ago, and the publication of it unavoidably postponed, he has availed himself of the delay to prefix an ample introduction, in order to bring down the historical narration of political events to a more recent date. Differing as we often do from the peculiar views of the writer, in reference not only to the ultimate general effects of the late changes to be verified hereafter, but likewise as regards the immediate moral consequences of transactions in close connexion with them; we yet cannot refrain from generally recommending the performance as affording groundwork for profitable speculation on the very important and interesting subject on which it treats, while we confine ourselves in the present article almost wholly to a discussion of the political topics involved in the author's preliminary narrative.

In the opening of his work, Mr. Raikes very justly remarks—

'What Ferguson observes of the multitude may with equal pro-

priety be applied to sovereign princes. They unintentionally contribute to the bringing about events which they never contemplated. Every step, says he, and every movement of the multitude, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future, and nations stumble upon establishments, which are indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design.

'A revolution has taken place in this country, which paralysed trade, disjointed society, altered the succession, and rendered France an object of terror and suspicion to her neighbours. The most zealous partisans of this violent explosion allow, that never since the dreadful crisis in 1789 had the country been in so prosperous and flourishing a condition. The blessings of a long peace had closed the wounds inflicted by the invasion of 1815, public credit was established, the funds were above par, personal liberty was assured, commerce had revived, and wealth was circulating freely through all the channels of this vast empire. A great influx of foreigners came to reside in the capital, and colonies of English, induced by the comparative cheapness of living in France, established themselves in various provinces, thus increasing the circulation of capital, and the demand for consumption throughout the country. The public funds not only rose in price, but were considered the most eligible investment in Europe, the hotels swarmed with guests, house rent became exorbitant, and the building speculations were so extensive that the cost of land in Paris was hereby doubled.

'Three days sufficed to shake this prosperous fabric to its very foundation. History abounds in details of secret conspiracies, long and artfully combined, planned with care, and executed with courage: but in this wonderful example of human vicissitudes it does not appear that one single individual, even of the most prominent actors in this scene, retired to his bed on the night of Sunday, the 25th of July, with even a latent suspicion that a great revolution would break out on the following day.'

Bearing in view this representation of the external prosperity of France at the period to which it refers, it is a problem worthy of solution, whether, in looking at the positive results, this revolution has as yet produced any of its promised fruits, or, in other words, improved the moral or political situation of the French people. For this, after all, is the great question. Admitting, as we do and must, that the reign of the Bourbons was inimical to the welfare of France, and incompatible with the spirit of the age, more than ten years have now elapsed since their final expulsion, and it is only fair to ask the question, whether the nation has since become more prosperous, more moral, more tranquil, or more free?—whether the patriotic sentiments professed in the outset by the leaders of this great commotion, have been realized and identified by any noble exertions for the public good, or whether they have not rather proved in the sequel a

so short a time since, was of equal magnitude with his crimes!' pp. 71, 72.

Burney was present on the second day of Mr. Burke's ted speech, which occupied four sittings of the court. The rustible affluence of Mr. Burke's mind was never evinced ater advantage than on this occasion. It was a vast field hich his excursive and impassioned intellect had to range. rongs of millions, the morality of nations, the honour of ntry, the supremacy of law, were amongst the topics he discuss, and he proved himself equal to the perilous re-ents of the case. 'Therefore,' said the orator at the close harangue, 'I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes isdemeanors; I impeach him in the name of the Com-House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed; I im-him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient e has sullied; I impeach him in the name of the people ia, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose y he has turned into a desert; lastly, in the name of nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common and oppressor of all!' The effect of this speech on her own is thus described in a conversation with Mr. Wyndham:—

old him that his opening had struck me with the highest admi-of his powers, from the eloquence, the imagination, the fire, the ty of expression, and the ready flow of language, with which he gifted, in a most superior manner, for any and every purpose to rhetoric could lead. 'And when he came to his two narratives,' nued, 'when he related the particulars of those dreadful mur-e interested, he engaged, he at last overpowered me; I felt my ost, I could hardly keep on my seat. My eyes dreaded a single towards a man so accused as Mr. Hastings; I wanted to sink floor, that they might be saved so painful a sight. I had no e could clear himself; not another wish in his favour remained. hen from this narration Mr. Burke proceeded to his own com-and declamation—when the charges of rapacity, cruelty, tyranny eneral, and made with all the violence of personal detestation, ntinued and aggravated without any further fact or illustration; ıere appeared more of study than of truth, more of invective f justice; and, in short, so little of proof to so much of passion, a very short time I began to lift up my head, my seat was no uneasy, my eyes were indifferent which way they looked, or bject caught them; and before I was myself aware of the declen-Mr. Burke's powers over my feelings, I found myself a mere or in a public place, and looking all around it, with my opera-n my hand!'—Ib., pp. 119, 120.

health of the king, which had hitherto been remarkably

robust, began to decline in the summer of 1788. A visit to Cheltenham was undertaken, in the hope of amendment, but the royal patient returned without improvement, and his disease gradually assumed a more alarming character. Miss Burney's notices of this subject are frequent, and full of painful interest, and we should be glad, did our space permit it, to transcribe largely from her pages. The fears of the royal household were not thoroughly awakened till October, 1788, on the 20th of which month our author records in her diary, 'The king was taken very ill in the night, and we have all been cruelly frightened; but it went off, and thank Heaven! he is now better.'

A few days afterwards, we meet with the following, in which we begin to discern more obvious symptoms of the fearful malady which was besetting the royal sufferer:—

'I had a sort of conference with his Majesty, or rather I was the object to whom he spoke, with a manner so uncommon, that a high fever alone could account for it; a rapidity, a hoarseness of voice, a volubility, an earnestness—a vehemence, rather—it startled me inexpressibly; yet with a graciousness exceeding even all I ever met with before—it was almost kindness!

'Heaven—Heaven preserve him! The queen grows more and more uneasy. She alarms me sometimes for herself, at other times she has a sedateness that wonders me still more.

'Sunday, Oct. 26th.—The king was prevailed upon not to go to chapel this morning. I met him in the passage from the queen's room; he stopped me, and conversed upon his health near half-an-hour, still with that extreme quickness of speech and manner that belongs to fever; and he hardly sleeps, he tells me, one minute all night; indeed, if he recovers not his rest, a most delirious fever seems to threaten him. He is all agitation, all emotion, yet all benevolence and goodness, even to a degree that makes it touching to hear him speak. He assures everybody of his health; he seems only fearful to give uneasiness to others, yet certainly he is better than last night. Nobody speaks of his illness, nor what they think of it.

'Saturday, Nov. 1st.—Our king does not advance in amendment; he grows so weak that he walks like a gouty man, yet has such spirits that he has talked away his voice, and is so hoarse it is painful to hear him. The queen is evidently in great uneasiness. God send him better! * * * *

'During the reading this morning, twice, at pathetic passages, my poor queen shed tears. 'How nervous I am!' she cried; 'I am quite a fool! Don't you think so?'

''No, ma'am!' was all I dared answer. * * * *

'The king was hunting. Her anxiety for his return was greater than ever. The moment he arrived he sent a page to desire to have coffee and take his bark in the queen's dressing-room. She said she would pour it out herself, and sent to inquire how he drank it.

'The king is very sensible of the great change there is in himself,

[illegible] of her distu[illegible]e at it. It seems, but Heaven avert it! a threat [illegible] total breaking up of the constitution. This, too, seems his own [illegible]. I was present at his first seeing Lady Effingham on his return [illegible] Windsor this last time. 'My dear Effy,' he cried, 'you see me, all [illegible]nce, an old man.'

I was so much affected by this exclamation, that I wished to run [illegible] of the room. Yet I could not but recover when Lady Effingham, [illegible]her well-meaning but literal way, composedly answered, 'We must grow old, sir; I am sure I do.'

He then produced a walking-stick which he had just ordered. 'He could not,' he said, 'get on without it; his strength seemed diminishing [illegible]rly.'

He took the bark, he said; 'But the *queen*,' he cried, 'is my physician, and no man need have a better; she is my *friend*, and no man *can* have a better.'

'How the queen commanded herself I cannot conceive; but there was something so touching in this speech, from his hoarse voice and altered countenance, that it overset me very much.

'Nor can I ever forget him in what passed this night. When I came to the queen's dressing-room he was still with her. He constantly conducts her to it before he retires to his own. He was begging her not to speak to him when he got to his room, that he might fall asleep, as he felt great want of that refreshment. He repeated this desire, I believe, at least a hundred times, though, far enough from needing it, the poor queen never uttered one syllable! He then applied to me, saying he was really very well, except in that one particular, that he could not sleep.'—Ib., pp. 273—276.

The king's symptoms varied perpetually, so as to keep his family and attendants in continued suspense. 'The queen,' remarks Miss Burney, 'is almost overpowered with some secret terror. I am affected beyond all expression in her presence, to see what struggles she makes to support serenity.' At length the worst fears of the royal family appeared about to be realized. The princes repaired to Kew, and everything betokened an alarming crisis.

'November 5th.—O dreadful day! My very heart has so sickened in looking over my memorandums, that I was forced to go to other employments. I will not, however, omit its narration. 'Tis too interesting ever to escape my own memory, and my dear friends have never yet had the beginning of the thread which led to all the terrible scenes of which they have variously heard.

'I found my poor royal mistress, in the morning, sad and sadder still; something horrible seemed impending, and I saw her whole resource was in religion. We had talked lately much upon solemn subjects, and she appeared already preparing herself to be resigned for whatever might happen.

'I was still wholly unsuspicious of the greatness of the cause she had for dread. Illness, a breaking up of the constitution, the payment

of sudden infirmity and premature old age for the waste of unguarded health and strength,—these seemed to me the threats awaiting her; and great and grievous enough, yet how short of the fact! * * * *

'At noon the king went out in his chaise, with the princess royal, for an airing. I looked from my window to see him; he was all smiling benignity, but gave so many orders to the postilions, and got in and out of the carriage twice, with such agitation, that again my fear of a great fever hanging over him grew more and more powerful. Alas! how little did I imagine I should see him no more for so long—so black a period! * * * *

'Soon after, suddenly arrived the Prince of Wales. He came into the room. He had just quitted Brighthelmstone. Something passing within seemed to render this meeting awfully distant on both sides. She asked if he should not return to Brighthelmstone? He answered yes, the next day. He desired to speak with her; they retired together.'—Ib., pp. 279—281.

'O my dear friends, what a history! The king, at dinner, had broken forth into positive delirium, which long had been menacing all who saw him most closely; and the queen was so overpowered as to fall into violent hysterics. All the princesses were in misery, and the Prince of Wales had burst into tears. No one knew what was to follow—no one could conjecture the event.'—Ib., p. 284.

'November 6th.—I rose at six, dressed in haste by candle-light, and unable to wait for my summons in a suspense so awful, I stole along the passage in the dark, a thick fog intercepting all faint light, to see if I could meet with Sandys, or any one, to tell me how the night had passed.

'When I came to the little dressing-room, I stopped, irresolute what to do. I heard men's voices; I was seized with the most cruel alarm at such a sound in her Majesty's dressing-room. I waited some time, and then the door opened, and I saw Colonel Goldsworthy and Mr. Batterscomb. I was relieved from my first apprehension, yet shocked enough to see them there at this early hour. They had both sat up there all night, as well as Sandys. Every page, both of the king and queen, had also sat up, dispersed in the passages and anterooms! and O, what horror in every face I met!

'I waited here, amongst them, till Sandys was ordered by the queen to carry her a pair of gloves. I could not resist the opportunity to venture myself before her. I glided into the room, but stopped at the door: she was in bed, sitting up; Miss Goldsworthy was on a stool by her side!

'I feared approaching without permission, yet could not prevail with myself to retreat. She was looking down, and did not see me. Miss Goldsworthy, turning round, said, 'Tis Miss Burney, ma'am.'

'She leaned her head forward, and in a most soft manner said, 'Miss Burney, how are you?'

'Deeply affected, I hastened up to her, but in trying to speak, burst into an irresistible torrent of tears.

'My dearest friends, I do it at this moment again, and can hardly write for them; yet I wish you to know all this piercing history right.

cloak for the views of selfish ambition and the speculations of private interest?

Mr. Raikes has devoted the chief portion of his labours to a reply to the *moral* side of this question; in which, whatever we should naturally desire to see as the advocates of liberal opinions, we cannot deny that he possesses but too good grounds for concluding that the French people have *morally* deteriorated under the present *regime*.

'The principle of equality,' says he, 'to which the late revolution has given birth, if it served to chasten and subdue the higher orders, has had a very contrary effect on the lower classes. It has engendered a spirit of independence bordering on rudeness, a contempt for their superiors, an envy of the rich, and a sullen incivility to all, which formerly never characterized the French people. The vice of drunkenness has made rapid strides, and the calendar of crime is proportionably increased; there is hardly a case of murder out of the many detailed in the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, where the culprit does not allege this plea in extenuation of his crime, and often with much truth.'*

It will be *our* object in this paper to apply ourselves mainly to the correlative side of the question,—that is, to the *political* condition of the French, as it may be deduced more particularly from the history of the stirring incidents of these few latter years.

Though in the year 1840, during the negotiations relative to the Eastern question, the throne of July assumed a strikingly

* We are enabled, from experience, to bear our testimony to the truth of the above statement. We ourselves sojourned at Paris for some months in the summer of 1822, and again a few years ago. We found a marked and palpable difference in the manners and behaviour of the common people of the two periods. They had altered much for the worse, we thought, during the interval. The French were once proverbial for their honesty and sobriety, as well as politeness. An anecdote may tend somewhat to illustrate the former of these characteristics. In 1822, our *compagnon de voyage* was an old French emigrant, who, the morning after our arrival in Paris, sat down to rest himself on one of the benches in the promenade of the *Palais Royal*. While here, he had occasion to take out his purse for the purpose of purchasing some trinket offered for sale. After sitting a short time longer, we resolved to accompany each other to another part of the capital, and had walked a considerable distance down the *Rue St. Honoré*, when all at once our friend discovered that he had lost his purse, containing all his travelling cash. What could have become of it? Had he dropped it? Surely no one had picked his pocket? Perhaps he had left it on the seat at the *Palais Royal*? Concluding that this latter might possibly be the case, we retraced our steps, though with little expectation of recovering it, as we had been absent half an hour or more, and multitudes of people must have passed by the spot, and probably taken possession of it. Great was our surprise, however, and great the delight of our companion, when, on approaching the place, a man, apparently belonging to the working classes, was occupying the very bench, with the purse on his knee, exposed purposely for the owner, should he pass by, to recognise it. On examining the contents, after we had retired, not a *sou* was missing!

[illegible] the face of Europe; the events which contributed [illegible] as far as January, [illegible] Carlist party coalesced, under the [illegible] M. [illegible] and thus caused [illegible] M. M[illegible] In compliance with the [illegible] last effort to retain his seat [illegible] the Thiers party had now gained [illegible] their new auxiliaries, that he [illegible] the [illegible] of February following. M. Thiers, since his ejection from the ministry in 1836, had incurred, from some never satisfactorily explained cause, the personal dislike of Louis Philippe, which, increasing rather than diminishing, now rendered that gentleman's return to power incompatible with the feelings of the monarch. Disappointed in his hopes of place, M. Thiers had still sufficient influence to *brouiller les cartes*, and create such political dissensions, that the king found it impossible to form a new administration. Hence a provisional ministry was got together, with M. Gasparin at its head: but the elements of its constitution being such as not to escape the shaft of ridicule, which in France is always fatal, it was but of short-lived duration. The discomfiture of Thiers was attended with a popular movement, as the new chamber met on the 4th of April. The consolidation of a regular ministry was at length accomplished: on the 12th of May the aspiring hopes of M. Thiers were finally crushed, and a new ministry was announced to replace the provisional cabinet, in which Marshal Soult was premier, to the complete exclusion of Thiers. Tumults again broke out in some quarters of Paris, in which the conflict with the troops continued two days. On the 15th, M. Thiers was destined to undergo another mortification in the loss of the Presidency of the Chamber, by a majority of seven in favour of M. Sausset, which, as the influence of the crown was evidently opposed to him, only tended to embitter all his previous feeling of resentment against the author.

There is no country where the tenure of office, or the duration of a ministry, is so precarious as in France; jealousy, party spirit, or jarring interests, soon contrive to interpose some insurmountable difficulties. Such was the case during the administration of Soult. After a short career of nine months, when the ill judged motion of a dotation to the Duke of Nemours on the occasion of his marriage, was brought forward, the Chamber of Deputies rejected it by a majority of twenty six, and Marshal Soult with his colleagues, immediately resigned.

The king, now finding himself in a very embarrassing position, sent for the Duc de Broglie, but the overtures proved abortive, and his Majesty was at length compelled, however repugnant it

might be to his own feelings and principles, to have recourse again to M. Thiers. The advances of the king were haughtily received by the statesman, who affected to lay down stipulations for the future political conditions on which alone he would condescend to accept office. Under these circumstances, on the 1st of March, 1840, M. Thiers commenced an administration, which has proved more menacing to the peace of Europe, and, in several respects, more detrimental to the best interests of France, than any government which has ever existed in that country since the year 1815.

At first, elated with his triumph, and confident of success, the new minister set all opposition at defiance; but ere a fortnight had elapsed, his tenure of place became precarious. The motion for the secret service money on the 24th was fated to be his severest trial. It was very doubtful if he could maintain his position, and the apprehensions at the Thuilleries began to grow alarming. The king saw before him only two alternatives, in case Thiers should be defeated,—M. Molé and riots, or Odillon Barrot and revolution. The whole influence of the crown was instantly set to work, therefore, to support the ministerial question, and it was successful. Thus, then, was M. Thiers firmly reinstated by the very power that had viewed his accession with alarm and disgust; and he, in return, delivered a speech of the most violent revolutionary tendency, which certainly did not contribute to diminish the antipathy felt by the king towards his minister.

Soon after his accession to power, M. Thiers made a speech highly flattering to the English alliance; he expressed the strongest wish to cultivate that connexion which has since become the more remarkable, because so short a time elapsed before his sentiments underwent a thorough change. This alliance had been the mainstay of the Talleyrand policy; for it had proved of great assistance to France in her then uncertain and difficult position, while it was clear that England herself could gain nothing by it; her objects were of a higher order. The Duke of Wellington, in recognising Louis Philippe, and Earl Grey, in cementing more strongly that union, were solely governed by a disinterested wish to preserve the peace of Europe. When the French government became at length more firmly established, the English alliance, though no longer of the same vital importance, was still maintained with the same appearance of frankness and cordiality; jealousies, however, could not fail to arise, and the truth of the fable, which represents two men riding on the same horse, where one must inevitably sit before, and the other behind, became now to be verified. The links of this famous alliance began to lose their original strength when the alleged

objects of the quadruple treaty, relative to the settlement of the affairs of Spain, were attempted to be fulfilled; and next, the blockades in the South American seas by France, became a subject of secret grievance between these two powers. In respect to this latter case, several remarkable instances of unfriendly or hostile proceeding, furnishing just grounds of complaint on the part of England, either as regards her commerce or naval honour, are probably in the recollection of our readers. Then there was another source of contention—the oyster beds and fishing grounds in the British Channel; and it is well known that the French Minister of Marine did not always interfere in these differences with that spirit of impartiality and justice which ought to characterize the proceedings of a friendly nation. And about this time, in the Chamber of Peers, that hotbed of the ultra-Carlist party, the English alliance was a constant theme of vituperation; and it was publicly denounced as a sign of the prostration of France. These observations are made merely to show that this intimate connexion had been gradually on the wane, and that, if untoward events have brought it to a rather rough conclusion, France herself had become indifferent to the term of its continuation.

But Russia! Long had this power secretly lamented the intimate alliance between France and England, which had already mortified her pride, and frustrated her political plans on so many occasions; and she would naturally hail with delight every symptom of coolness and disaffection which threatened to bring about a separation of views and interests between the two most civilized nations of Europe. Animated with the hope that this spirit of jealousy and rivalry, gradually prevailing in that connexion, might ultimately effect their decided estrangement, Russia observed, at the same time, with a latent satisfaction, that the march of affairs in the East was advancing with rapid steps towards that crisis which would place at her disposal these elements of disunion. She held in her hands the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, a treaty which has always been considered a source of blame to English policy, as ceding very important and questionable rights to Russian ambition; and with this treaty in his possession, the Emperor Nicholas made a formal representation to the British cabinet, that the moment was now arrived when the contingencies foreseen in that document gave him an undoubted claim to interfere by arms in the protection of the Sultan's rights, and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, alarmingly menaced as it was by the successful encroachments of a rebellious vassal.

It would be irrelevant to our purpose, as well as tedious, to detail the particulars of the preliminary negotiations on the cele-

[illegible] the Eastern question. It will suffice to state, that it was stipulated that England, France, Austria, and Prussia, should be invited to join in a general league to settle that question, in which case the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which had still another year to run, should forthwith become a dead letter. This circumstance was of itself sufficient to ensure Lord Palmerston's sanction; it is needless to say that he willingly acceded to this proposal. No objection was made on the part of Prussia; but it does not appear that Austria, in the commencement, was so eager to accept the proposed coalition, probably from some feeling of jealousy towards Russia; however, when once the treaty had been accepted, that power has shown itself as hearty in the cause, and as prominent in action, according to the means employed, as Great Britain herself.

We now come to France, and the part which she acted on this occasion. Ever since the celebrated expedition to Egypt, France has never ceased to look towards the opposite shores of the Mediterranean as the natural field offered to her long standing wishes for colonial speculation and influence. Her occupation of Algeria is one among many proofs of this disposition. It is not probable that she had any fixed idea of carrying her views to this length on the Egyptian territory, but she had long entertained a vague feeling that some advantage might be gained to herself by secretly protecting the cause of Mehemet Ali. The French regarded him somewhat in the light of an Eastern Napoleon, and had long been jealous of British influence at the Porte. It does not appear that there was any private agreement or understanding with the Pacha; the intercourse between the two governments was confined to good wishes, to facilities of communication, perhaps vague hopes of assistance, whenever the great struggle for independence should take place. When, therefore, the signature of this treaty, which had for its object the settlement of the affair between the Sultan and the Pacha, was first proposed to the French government, it met with a very different reception from that which had been shown by the other powers. It was not a positive point blank refusal, but a string of evasive remonstrances, which the French ambassador in London was at first instructed to offer to this proposal. M. Thiers, it is thought, had at first the vanity to suppose that his opposition to the general views, in the name of France, might prove an insurmountable impediment to the completion of the treaty. Instructions were given to the French ambassador, M. Guizot, to continue the system of delay, in order to gain time, to decline his adhesion to the principles of the treaty, and steadily to keep aloof from the execution of it. 'During this interval,' says Mr. Raikes, who is still residing at Paris, 'representations were pri-

[illegible] M. Thiers to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna. [illegible] those cabinets from the proposed [illegible] of June, advantage was taken of [illegible] German Prince, nearly connected [illegible] neighbourhood of Ems, to [illegible] that sovereign, which had for [illegible] what was called *une grande question* [illegible] has been since strongly suspected to [illegible] the part of France to aid and abet Russia [illegible] aggrandizement in the East, on the [illegible] on the other hand, should agree to gua- [illegible] France her old frontier on the Rhine, that constant [illegible] and ambition. It is generally known here [illegible] this private negotiation was short [illegible]

[illegible] entreaty was made to France, in the [illegible] to unite in the general project for the [illegible] in vain. At length this memor- [illegible] which has since become such a fatal source of dis- [illegible] was signed by the representatives of the [illegible] powers assembled in Downing-street, on the [illegible] 1840. M. Thiers, mortified at seeing all his hopes [illegible] found it necessary to fix upon some other [illegible] his indignation. He declared that the manner [illegible] event had been notified to the French [illegible] was uncourteous and insulting to the dignity of the nation which he represented. It is much to be feared, indeed, judging from the manner in which M. Guizot has mentioned the circumstance to his friends, as detailed by our author and the French journals generally, that Lord Palmerston did unfortunately afford some handle for the accusations with which his adversary was so delighted to attack him. The signature of the treaty was made public in Paris on the 24th. The irritation expressed at the first moment was mild, compared with the violent explosion of feeling which M. Thiers and his organs of the press afterwards thought fit to excite in the French nation against England, in order to soothe his own wounded vanity and defeated pretensions.

It soon became apparent that a community of discontent at the present turn of affairs had tended to unite, at least for the moment, the sovereign and his minister. However anxious the king might be to maintain peace, it was totally impossible for him not to feel and exhibit considerable indignation, when his minister was hourly impressing on his mind, and also on the public spirit, the irritating conviction that the national honour had been deeply insulted. France is a brave, and, above all

others, a chivalrous nation, highly susceptible of affront, and impatient of the slightest insult. It was therefore a mischievous policy of M. Thiers to work upon these high-minded passions in his countrymen, merely to avenge his own discomfiture in a political intrigue, which no impartial person can pretend to assert that he himself had conducted in a spirit of frankness and honesty, such as would have conciliated the sympathy and confidence of those with whom he had to deal. Having fomented the general indignation, and given reason to believe that he would support the Pacha, he issued orders, in the first instance, for the immediate levy of 200,000 men, and afterwards a measure was proposed for an increase of the effective army to 300,000 more. Private emissaries were dispatched by Thiers to Alexandria, and it is now generally understood that the demonstrations made by him, instead of assisting the Pacha, only served in the upshot to occasion him much perplexity and disappointment. In giving advice to Mehemet, M. Thiers was probably influenced by various other motives beside the wish to foil the objects of the treaty. In all points, however, he was equally disappointed. In August following, M. Guizot was summoned from London to give an account of his mission. On him, as ambassador, Thiers endeavoured to throw all the blame and obloquy; he complained that Guizot had not given him proper information of what was going on in London, and that he had suffered himself to be duped by the British cabinet. The latter, conscious of having performed his duty, felt himself seriously offended and ill-treated by such conduct. Meanwhile, notwithstanding, M. Thiers continued to launch forth the severest strictures on the ambassador, and on the doctrinaires generally, and threatened to carry things to the utmost extremity, or, as he himself expressed it, *jusq'au bouleversement de tout.*

'Politically speaking, and only politically,' says Mr. Raikes, 'every Englishman has an undoubted right to detest the name of M. Thiers. It is he who has used his baneful influence over the public press in France to revive from their nearly extinguished embers all those national animosities and prejudices which forty years ago disgraced and separated these two great and powerful countries. But in private life every one will concur in saying, that the talents and instruction of M. Thiers not only render him an ornament of society as an orator, a scholar, and an historian, but might also have qualified him for the post of minister if experience had not fatally proved that he was completely unfitted for the task. Of him it may be said, as of a certain Roman—

'Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperâsset.'

About this time a mad and fruitless attempt was made by Louis Bonaparte to invade France near Boulogne, and thus revive

the Napoleon dynasty. It created, however, no sensation beyond the comments of the day, amply proving that the cause of that family now excites no feeling of sympathy or interest in France.

Some time after the signature of the treaty, Lord Palmerston sent to the French Cabinet a memorandum of its contents, accompanying it with a note, stating, that though France had not thought fit to join in the views of the contracting parties, he still hoped that she would assist with her *appui moral*, a measure calculated to ensure the peace of Europe, as he was well aware that French influence had great weight with the Pacha. This note was very ill received, as it was considered taunting and ironical; and a laconic and not very courteous reply was given to it. Soon after this M. Guizot returned to his post in London.

The excitement now began, in some degree, to subside. All imagined, save the immediate adherents of M. Thiers, that France would endeavour to soften the Pacha, and that he himself would see the necessity of lowering his tone, and making full submission to the Sultan. However, the omission of any allusion to France in the Queen's speech on the prorogation of Parliament, whether arising from caution or inadvertency in the British Cabinet, excited a fresh feeling of irritation in Paris. It appears to have been an opportunity of conciliation unfortunately lost. Angry feelings, which are ever generated by wounded pride, broke out afresh towards England. The preparations for arming were now continued, the French funds declined, and the government decided that the fortification of Paris should be immediately commenced. This had always been a favourite measure of the king, though on a former occasion rejected by the Chamber.

At length the first warlike blow was struck, Beyrout was taken and nearly destroyed by the English squadron, and the combined troops landed in Syria. The anger and vexation excited in France by this convincing proof that the allied powers were determined to carry into full effect the whole spirit of the treaty, it would be difficult to describe. A complete panic was felt at the Bourse; the daily press poured forth the most violent invectives and menaces, which caused great popular excitement against England, as the chief actor in the attack. The audience at all the theatres called for the Marseillaise; the cry for war became very loud, as well in the provinces as in the capital. The mortification of M. Thiers had now reached its climax; he had placed France in a most undeserved humiliating position, because in her name he had threatened all Europe, that now disregarded her threats. This quarrel in the outset had been a duel of words between him and Lord Palmerston about an alleged want of courtesy to M. Guizot. Now, no man of sense in France or elsewhere would allow that this could constitute the slightest

pretext for going to war. And if M. Thiers thought otherwise, Europe, placed far above M. Thiers, had the temper and good sense to discriminate between the honour of his nation and the selfishness of its minister. She, that was perfectly ready, on all occasions, to assert and support the one, felt no disposition to truckle to the other.

Had the affairs of the East been left to rest on these grounds, Lord Palmerston might have continued his steady and triumphant course, conscious of not having offered any intentional or unnecessary provocation. But a measure was suggested, so foolish, ill-judged, and at the same time unauthorized by the treaty, that it could only be imputed to the well-known private animosity of Lord Ponsonby, our ambassador at the Porte, towards Mehemet Ali. This was the declaration of the summary *déchéance*, or deposition, of the Pacha by the Sultan.

As soon as this was known, Thiers urged the king to commence hostilities, but his better judgment firmly resisted. A cabinet council was held, in which four of the eight members were decidedly for peace, among whom were the three most interested in the question, namely—the Ministers of War, of the Marine, and of Finance. Upon this, Thiers resigned; but the king, conceiving that no man was justified in creating so much confusion, and then to desert his post, refused to accept his resignation, but convoked the Chambers earlier than usual, on the 28th of October. A note was now sent to M. Guizot ordering him to protest formally against the *déchéance* of the Pacha, and an additional ferment in the French capital was the result. Public attention was excited not only by this harsh act of deposing the Pacha, as a wanton stretch of power, useless to the general cause, and offensive to France, but also by the contents of a note from M. Thiers to M. Guizot in answer to Lord Palmerston, as well as by another dispatch of the 8th of October, from the same hand, forming a striking contrast to the former one. It seemed to make a merit of *insisting* only on the revocation of the *déchéance*, which the writer must have known was then disapproved and blamed by the representatives of the four powers in London, and leaving the question of Syria to be determined by the fate of war.

This *casus belli* laid down by M. Thiers, where no controversy could exist, did him great injury with the war party in France, and rendered his political influence more and more precarious. At the opening of the Chambers, M. Thiers did not hesitate to insist that an additional levy of 150,000 men and the mobilization of the national guard should be inserted in the king's speech. This was nothing less than throwing down the gauntlet to united Europe, and the king refused to sanction it. The ministry now

resigned *en masse*, and Louis Philippe, after much reflection, accepted their resignations. The peace party in the administration, it is said, were heartily tired of their position under M. Thiers, and gladly seized this opportunity of resigning their places. The minister himself, seeing his last effort fail in its object to procure the slightest modification in his favour, from the unbending policy of Lord Palmerston, made up his mind to quit the helm of affairs, and fight his own battle in another shape.

M. Guizot was now summoned from London, and on his arrival entered into negotiation with Marshal Soult, and after a few days the present ministry were sworn into office. On the 5th of November, the king opened the Chambers with a pacific speech. It was now understood, moreover, that the country was not in a condition to go to war, though still the popular wish. On the 12th, the 'Herald' published a note from Lord Palmerston, dated the 2nd, which evinced no signs of conciliation towards the new French Cabinet, and gave no specific assurance that the *déchéance* would be revoked. It made a very unpleasant impression at Paris, as coming after the pacific speech from the throne, though in fact written before that speech was known in London. The debates on the address were marked by much violence and irritation against England. Everything tended to prove very clearly that, though there might be peace at present between the two countries, the permanence of such relations must be very doubtful. M. Guizot observed, very calmly and justly, in an eloquent speech, that whenever there occurs in France any movement a little out of the ordinary course, Europe believes that a revolution is at hand; and whenever the European powers concert together for any object, there is a belief in France that they are coalescing against her.

The successes of the combined fleet under Sir Robert Stopford were, meanwhile, as unremitting as they were triumphant. After the fall of Beyrout, both St. Jean d'Acre and Sidon were subdued, and the terms offered to Mehemet Ali being accepted, the great objects of the treaty were accomplished without any deviation from the strict conditions upon which it was based. On the 9th of December, in consequence of the Syrian ports being occupied by Turkish troops, orders were issued from the Sultan to discontinue the blockade of the ports and harbours of the coast of Syria, and the remains of the Egyptian army under Ibrahim were afterwards withdrawn, in compliance with the terms of settlement.

In contemplating the untoward results to which this rupture between France and England, brought about by the affairs of the East, has already given, and will, in all probability, give rise, we cannot help coming to the conclusion, as we trace the procedure

of the negoti——, that g faults have been committed on both sides; and, however w may admire the general ability, tact, and courteousness disp yed by Lord Palmerston, while in office, we fully concur in the observations of Mr. Raikes, that 'it is certainly to be regretted that Lord Palmerston's unbending manner in many instances sh d have created a great feeling of acrimony and irritation aga l d; but it may also be affirmed, that France, under y er r, would never have found herself in her present a

Moreover, the able author t v t this head of this article—a whi e y p u do well to consult, both for the s or its t of the diplomatic relations of the le i of e s period to which it refers, and for an gh l discrimination of their respective nal e s, p and powers,—makes the followi rel s p script on the issue of the Eastern l, and t the nations towards each other.

'The year 1840 is past. It has exhibited to our contemplation novel and unlooked-for scenes. England and Russia have become reconciled, for the purpose of arranging, in alliance with Austria and Prussia, the complicated affairs of the East. It is true, they have taken Syria from the Egyptian Pacha, designing its restitution to the Sultan; and, in this course of procedure, *they have shown little deference towards France*—that loud-talking France, who lavished on the Pacha her unprofitable advice, promising assistance, and granting him none; *who menaced so boldly the four Powers, yet proved so reluctant to fulfil her threats;* whose preparations for war were on so enormous a scale as to rouse all Germany; but whose ministers again so hastily adopted a pacific language.'*

M. Guizot's system was now unfolded to the world. It has been named by the contradictory term of an *armed peace*. It was comprised in the establishment of armaments at home, and the profession of peaceful intentions abroad; in humouring the war

* For an elaborate article on this celebrated question, exhibiting at length the undisguised views and conclusions of our neighbours upon it, the reader is referred to three late numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for November 15th, December 1st, and 15th, 1841. As a specimen of the spirit in which it is composed, we give a translation of its concluding paragraph:—'We are entering, as M. Guizot has said, into a futurity of darkness. Shall we have war or peace in the end? I will not seek to penetrate the secrets of the future. But what I know, and all the world is conscious of, is, that France will not rest in the degrading position to which she has been driven by the will of the allied powers. The humiliation of 1815, submitted to for fifteen years, was effaced by the explosion of 1830. The dynasty of the Bourbons has paid for Europe; and the French people, satis-

fever in France, and in assuring Europe that she had nothing to apprehend from it. An *armed peace*, however, is a solecism in politics, and can never last long, not even in France, as the sequel is disclosing, because it can never be tolerated by other powers, on whom it must entail distrust, and unceasing anxiety and expense; and moreover, because it must inevitably put a stop to all commercial enterprise in the country by which it is adopted. M. Guizot, as a doctrinaire, is naturally a friend to peace, and because his own interests are concerned in its preservation. Every well-meaning person in both countries must therefore sincerely wish success to his ministerial career: for if he falls, each succeeding change must bring France nearer to that state of moral excitement which can only find vent in revolution or war, perhaps in both.

M. Thiers, though foremost in the ranks of opposition, voted for the fortifications of Paris, and he was soon afterwards nominated reporter to the committee on this question. The French themselves allege that these fortifications are intended as a defence against an invading enemy. But it is not at all likely that the powers of Europe, without some previous provocation, similar to that in the time of Napoleon, whose ambition plotted, and whose armies attempted, the subjection of every European state, will ever think of molesting France, or contaminating her soil with the foot of a foreign invader. But may not the idea suggest itself to the King of the French that these fortifications, well manned, might be of singular efficacy in repressing those turbulent and formidable *emeutes*, of which his capital has been so often the theatre?

Tuesday, the 15th of December, 1840, was fixed for the funeral pageant, which was to attend the corpse of Napoleon to his sepulchre at the Invalides. But where was the proud minister who, several months before, had first conceived the idea of restoring these inanimate remains to the soil of France, and the longing eyes of its inhabitants? an idea, which was to fill up the measure of his popularity, to make him, as president of the council, first actor in this glorious scene, and hand down his

fied with having shown what their indignation could effect, have generously retained it. How shall the humiliation of 1840 be expiated? Is not France hereafter absolved from that moderation which the Cabinets have abused! Can her conduct for the present be regulated by any other principle than that of her rights and her interests? For ten years an European policy has been imposed upon us; is it not time for a French one? Let us, then, prepare ourselves and collect our forces. Let us rest on our arms, endeavour to put our territory in good condition, and augment the public wealth, which is also a force; let us put an end to our intestine divisions, and be united in order to govern, and let no minister be able to say in France, when the moment to choose between peace and war shall arrive, '*The country was not ready.*'

charge to posterity as having completed, during his ministry, this great act of national gratitude? Where was M. Thiers? 'Fallen, fallen from his high estate,' and become a simple spectator among the ranks of the deputies. This singularly anxious day went off far more favourably than could have been expected, with less tumult than the common attendance at a crowded theatre, and almost without a single accident. The assembled multitude departed, when the pageant was over, with the utmost order and tranquillity, to their respective homes, and Paris was as quiet during the whole night as if no uncommon occurrence had drawn its inhabitants from their usual daily occupations.

The English alliance having become an object of general disgust in France, the speculators in politics with one accord directed their views and wishes towards a treaty with Russia. They asserted that Russia is the natural (?) ally of France; and an expectation was indicated from a high quarter that the new connexion between England and Russia would not last. The desire of approximation to the latter was not founded alone on this idea. A great relaxation in the prohibitory system of intercourse with France was about this time permitted by the Emperor Nicholas. A marked change in this respect took place, and notwithstanding the menacing attitude which France had assumed towards Europe, an influx of Russian visitors, and of superior rank, was remarked in Paris. Perhaps more than one cause might be found for this apparent sociability; but the general impression among dispassionate observers was, that the rupture of the alliance between France and England—an alliance which, for ten years, had marred all the political projects of Russia in Europe—having occurred in exact accordance with the emperor's design and wish, it now remained for him to consolidate his work, by preventing any chance of an amicable reunion. Thus he had a double object in receiving with complacency the avowed cajoleries of France, and by working upon the hopes of the one nation and the jealousies of the other, till he more and more effectually separated both from each other, he might hope in the end to make himself the centre of attraction, and thus rule the destinies of the world.

The continuance of the national animosity against England, after the solution of the Eastern question, and that even with greater vigour than before, is attributed by Mr. Raikes, and no doubt very correctly, to the violence of the press, which is become, he observes, 'a scourge and pest, more particularly in France, where the *journalistes* have erected themselves into a *puissance*. The profession here is so lucrative, that one half of the *fine gentlemen* at the opera are composed of this class; who, availing themselves of the actual disorganized state of society in

this country, push themselves into notice, and usurp that position which, in other countries, is held by men of rank and fortune.' It is undoubtedly true that there is no nation so immediately under the government of the public press as France. There are but few individuals, from the highest to the lowest, who do not read in the course of the day, one or more of the newspapers, which are numerous, and in general very cleverly written. And when it is considered that the great majority of readers receive their opinions from these sources, the immense influence of journalism becomes undeniable. The greater part of the public press in France, since her last revolution, has been the propagandist of revolutionary principles, and the fomenter of national pride, which have found a ready vent during the late unlucky differences. 'The editors may pretend to deny their influence, and allege that they themselves only follow in the wake of public opinion—a position which can only be exemplified by the simile of the rudder, which certainly follows the ship, but as certainly directs its course through the watery deep.'

Our foregoing remarks have related almost exclusively to political proceedings in France during the very eventful year 1840; the remainder of our observations, brief as they must be, will apply chiefly to those of the past year. Omitting what is comparatively unimportant, we come to that period, about the middle of March, when M. Guizot permitted M. Bourqueney to resume negotiations at the Porte, and the likelihood became apparent that a treaty would at last be signed which would once more bring France into the Congress of Europe. Meanwhile the business of the fortification of Paris came on, and was very warmly debated in the Chamber of Peers. On this subject Count Molé made a judicious and remarkable speech, and aimed at showing the futility of that warlike and defiant policy which inspired the armaments and fortifications. The result was that the bill for fortifying the capital passed the chamber on the 1st of April, and received the royal assent on the 3rd. About this time also, a new law, to extend literary property to fifty years after the decease of the author, was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by M. Lamartine, which met with a decided hostility, more especially from M. Berville. We have not space even to state the arguments of M. Berville, much less to examine them. Suffice it to say, that the chamber negatived at once the extension to fifty, and adopted thirty years as proposed by the government, except as regards dramatic compositions, to which the right endures fifty years.

With the exception of the publishing, in April of last year, a series of letters, alleged to have been written by Louis Philippe, when Duke of Orleans, some of which were supposed to be

forged, and for which publication the editors of the papers in which they appeared were prosecuted and acquitted, nothing of much importance seems to have occurred till about the middle of July, when a general and serious resistance was offered by the greater number of French towns, and more especially Toulouse, to a fiscal measure of the government; and the convention of the 13th (to which we have just alluded) was signed by the five great powers. The source of the disturbances at Toulouse and other towns appears to have been briefly this—that the attributions of French municipalities are, in great measure, fixed by law. According to this, the *recensement*, or registering of property, as the basis of taxation, is to be executed by the municipal council, aided by an officer of the revenue. The municipalities were generally lenient. M. Humann, the finance minister, was well acquainted with this leniency; but, instead of bringing in a law to remedy it, he undertook to effect the change by his own sovereign will as minister; and he ordered the revenue officers to make the registry, aided by the officers of the municipality. Thus M. Humann took the execution of the *recensement* from those to whom the law gave it, and transferred it to those to whom the law merely entrusted the control, assigning at the same time the control in exchange to those deprived of the execution. The consequence was that all the municipalities of France resisted this illegal procedure, and refused to aid in or control the registry; and hence also the people of Toulouse rose in resistance, and formed barricades in the different streets. Tranquillity, however, was at length restored, and the census was proceeded with throughout the country.

The convention of the 13th of July, 1841, enabling and enjoining the Porte to close the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to ships of war of all nations, so long as Turkey remains at peace, was signed by France, in common with the four other great powers. At the same time was signed the *final protocol* of the treaty of July, 1840, declaring the ends of that treaty attained, and the conference of London dissolved. M. Guizot had been long aiming at the signature of this protocol, and it was now obtained, not without difficulty. Though the convention itself respecting the Straits might not be of any paramount importance, it had this beneficial effect, that it brought France once again, in some measure, into friendly relation with the other governments of Europe. Soon after this circumstance, M. Guizot delivered an important speech to his constituents, in which he gave a calm and dignified account of the events which produced the isolation of France, and attributed to the personal feelings of the king, and the excellence of the French constitution, the maintenance

of the peace of Europe, alluding at the same time to the conduct of the great powers with exceeding mildness.

The month of September was marked by a most infamous and unaccountable, but, fortunately, unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Duc d'Aumale, one of the younger sons of the king. The assassin, Quenisset, was sentenced to perpetual banishment, and two of his accomplices to hard labour for life. The attempt to prove that the mad act of which these people stood convicted, was part and commencement of a serious and well-laid plan for revolutionizing the country, utterly failed; but the investigation carried on by a commission of the Chamber of Peers led to the pretended implication of a M. Dupoty, the editor of a weekly paper called the *Journal du Peuple*, to whom one of the accomplices of Quenisset, while in durance, wrote a note, merely begging the editor to defend the cause of the prisoners. By a monstrous perversion of law and justice, however, this affair of Dupoty, a comparatively meek and moderate politician, was brought within the meaning of the September laws, and he was condemned to five years' imprisonment by the Court of Peers, merely because his articles harmonized with the general spirit of disaffection which pervaded Quenisset and his companions. This must be considered a more deadly blow at the liberty of the press than that which caused the revolution of 1830. On this subject much might be said, but our limits warn us to desist.

There are several other interesting topics which we are likewise compelled to postpone to a future occasion; such as the recent reductions in the French army, the state of religion in France, and the probable moral causes that have been instrumental to so many regicide attempts of late years; the attempted interference in the affairs of Spain, the present state of parties and the tendency of French politics towards Conservatism, the predominancy of the Chamber of Peers, the adjournment of the signature of France to the Treaty for the Right of Search, and some other important topics which have transpired since the commencement of the present year. We cannot do better than conclude this paper in the words of one who is well acquainted with the subject on which he writes.*

'It were sincerely to be wished, for the honour of democracy and of really constitutional systems, that the France of July would achieve something creditable on the great works of peace. For hitherto all we can say of it is to enumerate the very many things which it ought to have done, and which it did not do. It has allowed the liberty of the press to perish. It has pent up the representation of the country into

* The Foreign Correspondent of the 'Examiner,' for February 12, 1842.

a close borough of 150,000 electors, returning a chamber consisting nearly one-half of placemen. In its foreign policy it has not defended either the freedom or independence of any country with success, Belgium excepted. It has been hostile to the liberty and independence of Spain. After exciting hopes and effervescence in the Liberals of Italy, it abandoned them. In short, the foreign policy of France since 1830 has been to undo one year what it did the year before; now following the hidden clue of court intrigue, now obeying the impulse of popular passions; exciting to insurrection one day, and making efforts to repress it the next. Finally, after much ferment, both in foreign and domestic policy, France has returned to the system which it followed thirty years ago, with repression and intimidation for the maxim of home government, hatred of all liberal governments and flattery of all despotic ones for the maxim of its foreign policy, the increase of its military force and preponderance its chief aim; in short, as far as political opinions go, France stands in 1842 precisely where she did in 1800. She has not made one step in advance.'

Brief Notices.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspere. Edited by Charles Knight. Vol. IV.

We have already expressed our general approbation of the value of this edition of Shakspere, in the notices we have given of the preceding volumes. Something more, however, is due to the indefatigable labours of the editor; and we purpose, therefore, when the work is a little further advanced, to devote some space to a critical examination of its merits, more especially, with reference to the question of the 'text,' respecting which Mr. Knight has challenged, or rather, has been necessitated, by the proceedings of a rival editor, to *invite* a rigid examination. The present volume contains the 'Winter's Tale,' 'The Tempest,' 'King John,' and 'King Richard the Second.'

Christian Consistency; or the Connexion between Experimental and Practical Religion. Designed for young persons. By E. Mannering, of Holywell Mount Chapel. London: R. Baynes.

Christian Consistency! Let the idea be realized, and what is it? The most symmetrical form of moral holiness exhibited upon earth. When it shall become the universal characteristic of the church, it will be the mightiest agent in carrying out the grand design of redemption among men. When Christian conduct in all points answers to the sublimity and purity of the Christian profession, the greatest obstacle to the evangelization of the world will be removed. It would cure all the existing evils which distract the church, and neutralize its

influence, while it would concentrate all the energies of a perpetually increasing spiritual community on the missionary enterprise, the only thing necessary in the order of means to accomplish all that prophecy reveals and the Redeemer anticipates. The whole earth must then be filled with his glory. Mr. Mannering's little work is well adapted to train up Christians to this their high vocation. We cordially recommend it to young Christians, the promotion of whose character, on the principle of a uniform consistency, the author benevolently contemplates.

Poems, by the late John Bethune; *with a Sketch of the Author's Life*, by his Brother. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

Some twenty years ago a traveller in Fifeshire passing along the road between Lindores and Newburgh, might have observed two very young men, in the garb of Scottish peasants, breaking stones, working hard from the early dawn to the setting of the sun. Had he inquired, he would have learned that their toil procured them the scantiest and coarsest fare, and yet, that out of their deep penury they contrived to support their aged parents, and at the same time, by the severest self-denial to accumulate a small surplus for a rainy day; that this little stock enabled them to sustain sickness, and meet disaster; that they at length saved enough to purchase the materials for erecting a commodious dwelling for the father and mother they had so long and arduously supported, and which they built with their own hands, during hours stolen from sleep and recreation, and added to the amount of their usual daily labour. Further inquiry would likewise have informed him that these youths were endowed with intellectual powers of a superior order,—that one of them possessed a highly poetical temperament,—that they cultivated their minds amidst innumerable privations and some heavy discouragements,—that they were moral and religious, in the truest sense of those terms,—that they were in the habit of writing for the periodicals of the day,—and that the poet had prepared for publication a volume of poems of considerable merit, which makes its appeal to the heart of sensibility without offending the most fastidious taste; while this sketch of his brief history, drawn by the hand of the surviving brother, will inform him through what unparalleled labours and sacrifices he struggled to an untimely grave. It is a tale of real life, told with stirring interest and a touching pathos, which calls forth unfeigned admiration and the tenderest sympathy. We have read it and the poetical effusions which it has embalmed with a melancholy pleasure, and conclude our brief notice of both, by quoting the testimony borne on their behalf by James Montgomery, which we think will induce many of our readers to procure the volume for themselves. Mr. Montgomery, in writing to the publishers, who had requested him to furnish an introductory recommendation to a second edition of the work then preparing for the press, remarks, in his reply to their application,—

'Among the numerous publications of the works in this line, of what are called 'uneducated poets,' few excel in compass or sweetness

those of John Bethune, as selected from multifarious compositions for this small volume; yet none have been produced under greater disadvantages or more disheartening circumstances. The light that could shine in such darkness, and shine out of it too in broad day, must have been that 'light from heaven' which poor Burns complains, rather unjustly, had led him astray—for passion and frailty were his betrayers. In the case of Bethune, however, it kept the spirit which it illumined in the right path, and solaced the patient sufferer amidst adversity, heart-sickness, and corporal endurance, even beyond the common lot of the multitude in the humble rank of society to which he belonged. That rank he adorned more by never rising above it than if he had struggled out of it into notoriety, and won an inferior place in a higher station; since, in that wherein he lived and died, he exemplified more perfectly than I can recollect in any similar instance, the animating fact, that no pressure of poverty, hardship of labour, or lack of education, can quench the spirit of poetry when it is inborn,—for, if inborn, it will break out in some degree through every external obstruction or annoyance.'

Misericorde au plus grand des Pecheurs. By the Rev. William Blood, A.M.

The same, in English, with an Introduction, by the Rev. W. C. Brownlee, D.D., New York. Tenth edition, enlarged.

The same, in French and English, interleaved. London: Ward and Co.

This is an affecting narrative of the means employed for the conversion of two criminals during their imprisonment, both before and after their trial and condemnation, and who suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The scene of the murder which they committed was about eight miles from Carlow, where they were executed in front of the county gaol. That their crime deserved the severest punishment a human legislature has a right to inflict, there can be no doubt. But we derived little satisfaction from that portion of the narrative which tells the mournful story of their violent and ignominious death. Had they been impenitent and hardened, we should have shuddered at their fate; and even believing them to have experienced that divine change which is the sure and only preparation for heaven, it is shocking to think of the sudden extinction of their natural life under circumstances so terribly appalling. True, they were murderers, and deserved to die. Be it so. But this does not reconcile us to the idea of capital punishments. If they be necessary, our acquiescence is implicit, but our reason remains unconvinced. It must afford great and lasting satisfaction to the pious author of this little book, as also to those who generously, patiently, and perseveringly assisted him in his work of mercy and labour of love, to reflect on the success of their benevolent and Christian efforts to save two immortal souls, who but for their visits, exhortations, and prayers, would have been launched into eternity only to experience the horrors, and to receive the dread

reward of their unpardoned guilt. We think Mr. Blood has made out a case, and that these pages do indeed disclose 'mercy' as extended 'to the chief of sinners.' It is an excellent tract, and cannot be too widely circulated, especially among a Roman-catholic population. A subordinate purpose to which it may be applied is, the assistance it may render to persons desirous of learning to read the French language.

Theodoxa. A Treatise on Divine Praise; or the Exercise of Devout Gratitude to God. By Nathaniel Rowton. London: Snow. 1842. pp. 223.

This small volume is remarkable for its clear style, evangelical sentiment, and useful tendency, and well deserves our warm commendation.

Moral Agency; and Man as a Moral Agent. By William M'Combie, Author of 'Hours of Thought.' London: Seeley and Burnside.

This is the production of a man who thinks for himself; who knows how to think, so as thoroughly to master the subject on which he employs his intellect, and to convey his knowledge and views in the clearest manner to the minds of his readers. Mental and moral science he has set in its true light, and by that means has removed many of the causes which produce some of the most destructive evils and errors which affect the character and conduct of mankind. He is of opinion, and we cordially agree with him, that the greatest misconceptions and errors in theology and morals spring from an ill-constructed or false philosophy of mind and responsible action. Romanism, Anglican 'church principles,' hypercalvinism, and socialism, have a paternity in this; that they arise out of, and subsist by, misconceptions or unsound positions regarding the capacities and powers of man, the economy under which moral agency finds scope and is developed, and the principles which in the divine government regulate the treatment of moral agents.' Those who have read Mr. M'Combie's 'Hours of Thought,' will certainly place his 'Moral Agency' in their library, having first pondered it well, and laid up its principles and reasonings in their intellectual storehouse, to come at their bidding, and thus be ever ready to do good service to the cause of truth and virtue.

Natural History of Enthusiasm. Eighth Edition, revised. London: Henry G. Bohn.

Had we not already recorded our judgment on this work, we might well be excused from doing so now that it has reached the eighth edition. We shall therefore content ourselves with reporting that this edition, which yields to none in neatness, is printed in a smaller and cheaper form than its predecessors, and is brought within the means of a larger class of purchasers.

Divine and Human Knowledge. By the Rev. F. Close, A.M., Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham. 1841.

It is really melancholy to see such a production as this from the pen of an evangelical and popular clergyman. Whether regarded as a composition or as a philosophical or theological work, it is, to say the least of it, a sorry matter. Indeed, it would be impossible, in our view, to compress within the same limits a greater quantity of misrepresentation of the human mind and the word of God. Mr. Close has need to study the very first principles of mental science, and would be greatly improved by a very considerable modification of some of his religious ideas. We do not like to write thus. We have known him for many years, and though he has not escaped the influence of the great ecclesiastical movements of the day, but, like most of his brethren, is not, to us at least, so good a man as he used to be, still we feel too much respect for his character and labours not to grieve that the necessity exists for describing him as no metaphysician and no divine. We give some brief specimens. 'As there are two kinds, or great branches of knowledge—viz., *divine and human*, so are there two kinds of mental powers by which they must be acquired.' 'These two powers are, in their very nature, totally distinct. First, the powers of the human mind, or *intellect;* and second, the faculty by which the renewed man comprehends spiritual truths, and which may be termed *the spiritual perception*, and is the gift of God's grace to the soul.' 'We are prepared to contend that *that* very reason, and all his intellectual faculties, are, in themselves, tainted and corrupted by the fall; not only so—that it is the nobler powers of man that enslave his baser ones, and that he is the victim of his passions, only because he is an *intellectual sinner;* that his *mind is fallen*, and his senses and passions are therefore under the guidance of a corrupt principle within; that it is the corrupted, degraded intellect of man which is the very fountain of all the miseries of the human race; and that to speak of the purity of man's intellect in his present fallen state, is to speak against that only book, to which I, as a Christian, or as a minister of God, will consent to bow even on a metaphysical subject.' 'Thus ignorance and wisdom stand in the same position; either of them, or both, are equally God's enemies if unsanctified by grace!' 'If that mind be essential enmity to God, if its rational and reflective powers have received an evil bias by the fall, then it follows of necessity that no degree of cultivation will alter their moral quality, although it may increase their power of mischief.' 'The *mind* of man, comprising all his intellectual faculties, independent of the will and the passions, is *corrupt;*' (!) 'he is an intellectual sinner;' 'the very fountains of ratiocination within him are, by the fall, stamped with the image of Satan!' 'What, then, is this SPIRITUAL PERCEPTION OR DISCERNMENT? *It is that faculty in man which enables him to comprehend the mysteries of God's truth*—to study the Scriptures with an enlightened mind—to receive from them divine impressions on his intellectual powers, and on his heart, so

as to remodel his whole character. This power of spiritual perception differs as much from the natural intellect of man as reason does from instinct.' Our readers will see from these extracts whereabouts Mr. Close is. The italics are his own, and, if possible, make the case worse. His principles, fairly carried out, make the efforts of the present day to promote education the greatest curse which a country could have inflicted on it—make it wrong and dangerous to teach anything to any but the regenerate, and abundantly justify sinners in their sinfulness, by ascribing it to the want of a faculty. What a prospect is before us, when such lectures as these are delivered by such men as Mr. Close, before Church-of-England Associations!

The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphrey Repton, Esq., being his entire works on these subjects. A new Edition, with an Historical and Scientific Introduction. By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S., &c. London: Longman and Co. 1840.

Mr. Loudon is deservedly well known to all who are interested in Botany and Horticulture, by his numerous and beautifully illustrated works on these and kindred subjects; and his name as editor of this work will be esteemed a sufficient guarantee of its value. Its author, Mr. Repton, devoted himself to a profession to which if he did not give being, he gave at least its name, *Landscape Gardening*. To his taste many of the houses of the nobility owed, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, not a little of their picturesque and, as Mr. Loudon would say, *gardenesque* beauty. We do not suppose that many of our readers have extensive grounds to lay out either for themselves or others. We may therefore be excused entering into an analysis of the work, and content ourselves with recommending it to the notice of those who are engaged in such matters. The fragmentary style of Mr. Repton's writings renders them somewhat wearisome to the general reader. It is, however, not an uninteresting book to take up for a leisure half hour. Mr. Repton viewed his subject with the eye of a painter and an architect, and therefore with some touch of poetic feeling; and it is always interesting to listen to a man whose heart is in his subject. The wood-cuts with which the work is largely embellished, and which are copies from Mr. Repton's drawings, though not in the first style of the art, nor equal to the embellishments in some of Mr. Loudon's other works, will be very useful to the practical reader, and entertaining to the lounger.

Crossley's Comprehensive Class Book. History—Physics—Natural History—Geography—and Miscellanies. Simpkin and Marshall.

This is the fourth and last volume of a progressive series of school reading books. We noticed the other volumes some time since, and are glad now to see the series completed. This fourth volume, *The*

Comprehensive Class Book, is indeed an admirable work, well fitted to impart varied and solid information on a great variety of subjects. The teacher will also find hints for the analysis of the lessons, which will materially assist him in the business of class questioning, which, well considered, is perhaps the very soul of school teaching. Teaching children without drilling them is a phantom. But it is a very great help to have the drill-exercises plain and ready. We have no hesitation in saying that the teacher will here find this realized, and the teaching in fact half done for him. This is no slight praise when one remembers the time, and especially the attention, required for the mere police, so to say, of a large class. It should be added that the volume contains appendices of terms in various sciences (Botany, Astronomy, Geometry, &c.) fully explained; a list of roots of the principal compounds in the book, and a specimen of etymological questioning. The reading lessons embrace History, English, General, and European; the various sciences, Natural History, the Arts, &c., &c. We need hardly add that we strongly recommend the work as a very useful reading-book and class-book of general information. It is well got up, and is exceedingly cheap.

A History of British Forest Trees, indigenous and introduced. By Prideaux John Selby, F.L.S., M.W.S., &c. *Illustrated by a Woodcut of each species, and numerous Vignettes.* London: John Van Voorst. 1841. Parts I.—VI.

We need say nothing more, in order to recommend this work to those of our readers who unite with a love of natural history a taste for the fine arts, than that it is uniform, in style of getting up and beauty of embellishment, with the volumes on British Natural History, by Professor Bell, Mr. Yarrell, and others, already published, or in the course of publication by Mr. Van Voorst. It is to be completed in about ten monthly parts. We hope to give our readers a more extended account of it when we have the whole work before us.

A German Grammar. By William Wittich, Teacher of German in University College. Taylor and Walton. 1842.

This book is essentially a practical one. It is the result of thirty years' experience in teaching German, and as such, cannot fail of being very useful. Many parts of the subject are treated with great ability and skill; and we can confidently recommend this grammar to learners of the German language. Becher's is much too philosophical, in form and phraseology at least, for learners. Mr. Wittich's will be found very easy and intelligible.

Literary Intelligence.

It is proposed to publish by Subscription, price not to exceed 5s., A Memoir of the late Rev. Christmas Evans, commonly designated 'The Great Christmas, or Modern Apostle of the Welsh.' Compiled chiefly from his Diary, and other select remains in his own hand-writing, with Specimens of his Sermons, Allegories, &c. Translated from the original Welsh, by Edward Lewis.

Just Published.

The two dangerous Diseases of England, Consumption and Apoplexy; their Nature, Causes, and Cure. By Rowland East, Surgeon, &c.

Forest Life. By the author of 'A New Home.' 2 Vols. 12mo.

The Greatness of God's Mercy in Christ; or, Salvation possible to the Vilest Sinners. By Joseph Herrick, of Colchester.

English; or, the Art of Composition explained in a Series of Instructions and Examples. By G. F. Graham.

Memorials of the Life, Ministry, and Correspondence of the Rev. Theophilus Lessey. By John Hannah, D.D.

Popular Objections to the Premillennial Advent, and to the Study of the Prophetic Scriptures, considered. By George Ogilvy, Esq., of Cove.

Christian Patriotism: a Sermon on Home Missions. By John Harris, D.D.

Apostolic Christianity; or, the People's Antidote against Romanism and Puseyism. By Rev. James Godkin.

Lives of the Queens of England. By Agnes Strickland. Vol. V.

Holy Scripture, the ultimate Rule of Faith to a Christian Man. By Rev. W. Fitzgerald, B.A., T.C.D.

Principalities and Powers in Heavenly Places. By Charlotte Elizabeth.

Britain: a Poem. By James Green.

The Modern Pulpit, viewed in Relation to the State of Society. By Robert Vaughan, D.D.

Family Essays on the Creation, Preservation, and Government of the Universe, intended for the Evening of every Sunday throughout the Year; each Essay followed by an appropriate Prayer.

Statistics of Dissent in England and Wales, from Dissenting Authorities, proving the inefficiency of the Voluntary Principle to meet the Spiritual Wants of the Nation.

Phonography; or, the Writing of Sounds; in Two Parts—viz., Logography, or universal writing of Speech; and Musicography, or symbolical writing of Music; with a Short-hand for both. By V. D. De Stains. Second Ed.

The Synagogue and the Church; being an attempt to show that the Government, Ministers, and Services of the Church were derived from those of the Synagogue. Condensed from the original Latin work of Vitringa, by Joshua L. Bernard, A.M.

Practical Introduction to the Study of the German Language, according to the views of Dr. Becker. By Heinrich Apel.

Puseyism; or, the Errors of the Times. By the Rev. Robert Ferguson, Stratford.

The Christian Pastorate in Relation to the Times. A Discourse, by Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.B., T.C.D.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere—William Shakspere. A Biography. No. II.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Part VIII., Lancashire.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Part XV.

The Duty of the Free States. Second Part. By Wm. E. Channing, D.D.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part XIV.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part XXIV.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For OCTOBER, 1842.

Art. I. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice; or, A Defence of the Catholic Doctrine that Holy Scripture has been since the times of the Apostles the sole divine rule of faith and practice to the Church, against the dangerous errors of the Authors of the Tracts for the Times, and the Romanists, as, particularly, that the Rule of Faith is 'made up of Scripture and Tradition together,' &c.; in which also the doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, &c., are fully discussed.* By William Goode, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Rector of St. Antholin, London. 2 vols. London: J. Hatchard and Son.

Here we have Protestant Cambridge against Popish Oxford, not, indeed, for the first time, and certainly, not out of due season; for this work affords a consoling proof that, while dissenters are defending the much abused Reformation, the sounder part of the establishment has not left us to sustain the battle alone. We are not aware of any defence of the great principles of protestantism from the quarter most interested in the present contest, that can equal the volumes before us; for Baptist Noel, Dr. Shuttleworth, and others, have but sent up rockets or squibs compared with the heavy ordnance of Mr. Goode. We fear, indeed, that he will scarcely be rewarded by all the attention to which he has a legitimate claim; for, though he has erred on the right side, by adducing against an obstinate party a redundance of proofs and of reasons, the tracts of his opponents will, in a superficial age, have a decided advantage over two thick octavoes, which are in danger, like Mr. Scott's defence of Calvinism against Bishop Tomlin, of being crushed by their own weight. Both these works, with all their merits, have, by defending a particular church, secured a momentary

victory at the expense of permanent utility. Mr. Goode, however, defends a position of lasting importance, the authority and sufficiency of inspired Scripture; while the instances in which he departs from his own argument to espouse what we think an opposite cause, are but rare.

He dedicates his work to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, whether, because he thought they needed it, we will not say; but if the laws of dedication require that they should read it, we are glad of his decision. That one who displays so much love for scriptural truth and pure religion should have undertaken this task was natural; and that he has entered into it *con amore*, is manifest; for he has unmasked the tractators with a vengeance. They proceeded at first with so much caution, that none but those who were practised theologians could foresee their course. The publication of Froude's remains, however, opened the eyes of even the less discerning part of the public. The new sect seems, indeed, to have been learning, even while it was teaching, and, emboldened by the mysterious silence of the prelates, it has gone, like another hero, farther than it intended. Its members have at length avowed that the articles of their own church are not necessarily to be interpreted by the known intentions of the framers; but may be taken in the *Catholic* sense,—that is to say, as they interpret the epithet, consistently with the decrees of the council of Trent. See Tract, No. 90:—'To call the earlier reformers martyrs, is, according to this school, begging the question, which no one pretending to the name of catholic can, for a moment, think of conceding to them; and protestantism in its essence and all its bearings, is characteristically the religion of corrupt human nature.'

To 'unprotestantize the national church, at any cost, is the object of their high ambition,'—that is to say (creating a verb as good as theirs), to poperize it; so that, 'as we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English reformation.'

This is, therefore, a new sect of dissenters, who, preferring to eat other men's bread within a church which they condemn, leave to the elder sects the costly honesty of retiring to 'eat their own bread.'

The reformers contended that they revived the ancient religion; but these new lights affirm that catholicism, not protestantism, was the ancient faith and practice. They mourn 'their long and fatal separation,' not from the foreign protestant churches which the reformers acknowledged as true, but 'from the sister churches in other lands,' meaning popish countries; and therefore think all methods lawful to make out an agreement

with them in the thirty-nine articles, known to be framed in opposition to them. If this attempt can succeed so far as to produce a reconciliation with Rome, the tone of the new sect will be altered, and, after a time, the articles too; for though the present aim is to show that they may be *endured*, we shall at length be told that this is a different thing from being approved or continued. For, even now, they tell us that 'very vital truths are concerned in the change they wish to effect in our church, many matters of life or death.'

To colour their continuance in the national communion, they profess to appeal to her divines, but are compelled to confine themselves to a small coterie of non-jurors, who became dissenters, but, destitute of the spirit of confessors, died away for want of state patronage and support.

In fact, the Puseyian appeals to witnesses from every quarter are most disingenuous, for they claim the fathers, just as Rome claims the Scriptures, in a mode that will satisfy none but those who are ignorant of what the Scriptures contain, or are so credulous as to take the bearings of each passage upon the credit of the quotation. A host of divines of the church of England, Mr. Goode has triumphantly defended against the deceptive Catenas of the tractators.

The early success of the *conspirators*, to use Mr. Froude's own phrase, is ascribed by Mr. Goode to the alarm created within the church by the attacks of the voluntaries on the principle of all national churches, which, if correct, is a proof of the wisdom and virtue of a bold movement in the cause of truth. For, as Mr. Goode will hardly suppose we have actually converted the tractators from protestants to papists, we must have merely made them honest; and if truth must have foes, let them be at least stripped of their masks. If Mr. Goode has been called to write two volumes against his clerical brethren, and to say of his own church, as the ancient Israelite of his dwelling, 'it seems to me there is as it were a plague in the house,' the sooner the plague spots are discovered the better, that we may apply the remedy ere it be too late. He cannot be surprised, if *we* first saw this popish tendency, and if we still see it where he as yet does not. Could we, then, think it less than a duty to attempt to rescue souls from the deadly influence which a state church enables false teachers to diffuse with tremendous force? And now that the secret has come out, so that Mr. Goode has published two volumes of confessions, must it not aggravate our sense of injustice, when commanded to contribute to the support of men who are labouring to destroy the truths most dear, not only to our hearts, but also to that of the man who blames our zeal?

In our author's hopes that 'the triumphing of the wicked will

be short,' we sympathize; but in what way the new error will be defeated and rendered subservient to the triumphs of truth, we pretend not to foresee. We have formerly hoped that state churches would expire by force of truth and grace; their members and ministers becoming so sensible of the spirituality of Christ's kingdom, and so powerfully diffusing their convictions downwards among the people, and upwards among the high places of government, that all would consent to render to Cæsar only those things that belong unto Cæsar, and leave to God what belongs exclusively to God. But late events have led us to suspect that the nuisance will be abated, in consequence of becoming intolerable; that the fruits of national churches will convince the world that the tree must be bad, and all will join to say, 'cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' The Puritan objection to our semi-reformation, that we had not gone far enough from Rome to prevent us from going back, has been proved true; and whether the Oxford party will lead the nation back, or whether they will themselves become a new body of dissenters, or like their favourite non-jurors, sink down and die in a lethargy, who can pretend to say?

Mr. Goode's refutation very properly seizes the following passage as containing the virus of the tracts:—

'They [i. e. popular Protestants] must either give up their maxim about the Bible, and the Bible only, or they must give up the Nicene formulary. *The Bible does not carry with it its own interpretation.* When pressed to say why they maintained fundamentals of faith, they will have no good reason to give, supposing they do not receive *the creed also as* A FIRST PRINCIPLE. Why, it is asked them, should those who equally with themselves believe in the Bible be denied the name of Christians, because they do not happen to discern the doctrine of the Trinity therein? If they answer that Scripture itself singles out certain doctrines as necessary to salvation, and that the Trinity is one of them, this, indeed, is *most true*, but *avails not* to persons committed to so untrue a theory. It is urged against them, that though the texts referred to *may imply the catholic doctrine, yet they need not;* that they ARE CONSISTENT WITH ANY ONE OUT OF SEVERAL THEORIES; *or at any rate that other persons think so;* that these others have as much right to their opinion as the party called orthodox to theirs; that human interpreters have no warrant to force upon them one view in particular; that private judgment must be left unmolested; that man must not close what God has left open; that Unitarians (as they are called) believe in a Trinity, only not in the catholic sense of it; and that, where men are willing to take and profess what is written, it is not for us to be 'wise above what is written,' especially when by such a course we break the bonds of peace and charity. THIS REASONING, GRANTING THE FIRST STEP, IS RESISTLESS.'—Vol. i., pp. 26, 27.

Now it is obvious, that whatever is said of the uncertainty of

Scripture and the necessity for some authorized interpreter, must lie equally against this boasted catholic tradition, so that we must have some other oracle to decide what is the meaning of the patristic response; and when we have obtained this second, we shall want a third to interpret the former, and thus we may go on ad infinitum. That we actually do need an interpreter of Mr. Newman's words will be clear to every man that examines them. The false positions of the members of his sentences might provoke one to say, 'Davus sum, non Œdipus.' Who can unriddle them? They have often awakened our suspicion that he did not intend to be understood. Did the apostles 'walk in craftiness, and handle the word of God deceitfully?' The Oxford tracts and the whole present controversy tend to this point, that the articles of the church of England so much need an interpreter, that their true meaning is but just beginning to be discovered. And might not similar ingenuity, employed upon the decrees of the council of Trent, make an equal display of their amphibologies?

That, however, some speak out plainly enough, the following sentence proves:—'Religious truths are partly the interpretation, and partly the supplement of Scripture.' May we not, then, expect, some day, from the Oxford press, a splendid edition of the *Supplement to the Scriptures?* But though this appears to us even more than clear enough, we question whether the silly sheep fed by these shepherds ever notice this portentous supplement. Alas! they need another oracle, to explain to them the responses of this new one; and when the defects of divine revelation have been thus supplied, they will need a supplement to the supplement.

They plead, that 'it is only by tradition that we have any safe and clear rule for changing the weekly feast from the seventh to the first day.' Now, in this very sentence there is nothing safe, nothing clear, though we must confess that we again suspect it was not intended to be clear. A weekly feast! Do they mean one of those village feasts which run round the year in the northern parts of the country? Perhaps not; for they are more likely to mean what they call the feast of Easter, or Epiphany. But who shall decide what they do mean? Every one will interpret according to his own idea of a feast. A coterie of London citizens will think of a turtle feast in their company's hall. But this mystification was intended to convey the anti-puritan idea of the day, and to sanction the popish practice of turning the Lord's day into the day for festive pleasures. It is a feast day, and therefore the book of sports was a good directory for its use.

Now, against all this clear and safe rule of the traditionist, we

will match the single phrase of Scripture, 'the Lord's day.' They will ask us, perhaps, how we know what that day was: we answer, 'just as we know what any other day means.' If they will tell us how they know the signification of θεὸς, or Ἰησοῦ, we will tell them the meaning of κυριακὴ. The apostle evidently supposes that the seven churches to which he was commanded to write, knew the meaning of the word, and we know what day it designated, just as we know what is understood by Sunday in our vulgar heathenish dialect. This day, then, was to the disciples of Christ, while under the guidance of inspired apostles, their Lord's day. 'Well, and what of that,' say they who love to talk like deists against Scripture, and like monks about Candlemas day. We answer, with the apostle, 'much every way.' The ancient church knew that one day, being set apart for sacred rest and divine worship, was called by Jehovah, '*my holy day*;' and now the apostle calls the day of the Lord's resurrection the Lord's day, sacred to the Lord's service, as the Lord's supper is appropriated solely to the Lord's worship and honour. This is all 'clear to him that understandeth, and right to him that findeth knowledge,' for whom the Scriptures were especially intended; while to those who love to cavil, it is 'a snare and a trap.' Their own tradition will confute them at the last day, when it will be seen that their supplement was less clear than the book whose defects it was intended to supply.

Mr. Newman, affecting to differ from the Romanists, admits their rule of traditions, necessary to be added to Scripture, to supply its defects, but denies that the Romanist are the Catholic traditions. Now here are the great advocates of tradition at Rome, where, they say, is its authorized depository, contending that certain things are a part of that tradition, while another advocate for tradition (a private individual be it observed) admits the rule, and denies that those things are contained in it. Can this rule be clear? Can it be more clear than the Scriptures? If the question were, 'Are these things contained in the Scripture?' we could at once appeal to the book, and if the things were there, point to the chapter and verse. But as it is a question of tradition, whither shall we go? To Rome, says the Romanist. No, says Mr. Newman. Who shall decide between them? Mr. Newman assumes the right; but the Romanist exclaims, 'What! after denouncing private judgment, set up your own decision against that of Catholic tradition?' But it is no Catholic tradition, says Mr. Newman. It is, say they who claim to be catholic, *par eminence*. It taxes all our candour or charity, to suppose that one who astounds others by his astute discoveries of hidden meanings in articles and confessions, does not see the false position in which he is placed, and if the party

are not aiming to bring in universal scepticism, we can scarcely avoid suspecting they are under judicial infatuation.

They pretend that nothing but tradition, in their sense of it, informed even the earliest Christians that the Scriptures came from the apostles. But St. Paul declares that the salutations of his epistles were written with his own hand, that it might be known, 'so I write.' The first churches knew the apostle's letters, just as we know those of our friend. The Oxford party has even ventured to affirm that we know the inspiration of Scriptures, only by tradition; a plain proof that they have never read them with discerning and enlightened eyes.

Mr. Goode introduces one of the tractarians, affirming that tradition reveals to us truths not contained in Scripture, such as 'the paramount authority of the successors of the apostles,—Church government,—the threefold order established from the beginning,—the virtue of the blessed eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice,—infant baptism, and, above all, the doctrine of the blessed trinity as contained in the Nicene creed.'

We give him thanks for this admission, that the pretended apostolical succession is not contained in Scripture, nor the threefold order of ministers; and baptists will thank him for saying the same of infant baptism; but we entreat our readers to observe the grand reason for introducing tradition: it enables men to give authority to the great articles of Puseyism, confessedly not contained in Scripture. Men's practice makes their creed. 'Every plant that our heavenly Father hath not planted, shall, however, be rooted up, but the word of the Lord shall endure for ever.'

An infamous passage against the Scriptures, containing all the virus of popery, closes with the assertion, that 'you would have to work your way through heterogeneous materials, and after your best attempts, there would be much hopelessly obscure. Such, I conceive, with such limitations afterwards to be noticed, is the construction of the Bible.' But he who wrote this had subscribed an article, which says, 'The Scriptures contain all that is necessary to salvation;' and even as much as this could not have been known had they been hopelessly obscure.

Dr. Pusey is also quoted as saying, 'We reject the Romanist tradition, only on historical grounds; that, not being primitive, universal, and historical, but repugnant to Scripture, it is not to be received. Here private judgment is set up against a church far more extensive and ancient than that to which Dr. Pusey belongs, and traditions are rejected as contrary to Scripture, which is dissenting doctrine. Some traditions, however, are said to be *almost* infallible. Pray, good reader, what is that but fallible?

'In the English church,' says Mr. Newman, 'we shall hardly

find ten or twenty neighbour clergymen who agree together; and that, not in the non-essentials of religion, but as to what are its elementary and necessary doctrines; or as to the fact, whether there are any necessary doctrines at all, any distinct and definite faith required for salvation.' Yet Dr. Hook would have us hear this church! We must hear then, as at Babel; where he that asked for bricks was supposed to mean mortar. This is exactly the description which the same party gives of dissenting differences, though we can go from the Land's End to Caithness, and preach in thousands of pulpits without exciting the least suspicion of differences; whilst Mr. Newman would not be admitted into many a pulpit in his own church, and 'scarcely a score of clergymen can be found who agree in any doctrine.'

But the Jesuitry of the following passage is intolerable. 'The protestantism of the day considers it a hardship to have anything clearly and distinctly told it, in elucidation of Scripture doctrine, an infringement of its right of doubting, of mistaking, and of labouring in vain.' Could the writer have dictated this in good faith? Did he not know that elucidations of Scripture are the staple of the most thoroughly protestant preaching; and that, instead of being rejected as hardships, they are welcomed as useful aids. Is there any advantage in such a perversion of an oponent's sentiments, except to abuse the vulgar, where those who can see through the fallacy have not the opportunity to disabuse them?

A piece of scepticism on the borders of Atheism is quoted by Mr. Goode.

> ''According to English [!] principles, faith has *all it needs* in knowing that God is our Creator and Preserver, and that he MAY, IF IT SO HAPPEN, have spoken. . . . *Doubt may even be said to be implied in a Christian's faith.*' (p. 103.) Nay, saith Mr. Keble, '*evidence complete in all its parts leaves no room for faith.*' (p. 82.) And to put an end to all doubt as to the doctrine they hold on this subject, Mr. Newman openly tells us, that '*to accept revelation at all*' '*we have but probability to show* AT MOST, NAY, TO BELIEVE IN THE EXISTENCE OF AN INTELLIGENT CREATOR.' (p. 69.)'—Ib., p. 78.

Mr. Newman openly tells us that to accept revelation at all, we have but probability to show at most, nay, to believe in the existence of an intelligent Creator. The apostle declared, however, that this is so clearly seen, that they are without excuse who do not glorify him as God. But Rome has long been charged with cherishing in her bosom many speculative atheists.

Against the apostolicity of what is called the apostles' creed, Mr. Goode is triumphant, chap. iv. He gives us also a passage which is as useful as surprising:—

'The confession of the Benedictine Editors of Ambrose on this subject is so remarkable and instructive, that I here subjoin it. 'It is not, indeed, surprising,' they say, 'that Ambrose should have written in this way concerning the state of souls; but it may appear almost incredible *how uncertain and inconsistent the holy Fathers, from the very times of the Apostles to the Pontificate of Gregory XI. and the Council of Florence*, that is, for almost the whole of fourteen centuries, were on this point. For not only does one differ from another, *as generally happens in questions of this kind before they are decided by the church;* but they are not even consistent with themselves; for in some places of their writings they seem to concede the clear vision of the Divine nature to the same souls to which in other places they deny it. But it is not to our purpose here to collect together those opposing testimonies of the ancient Fathers. Any one who wishes to know more on this matter may consult Alph. a Castro, (lib. 3, adv. hær.), Sixtus Senensis, (Bibl. l. 6. Annot. 345.), Bellarmine, (lib. 1. De Beat. c. 1, et seq.), Petavius (Theolog. dogm. de Deo, c. 13 and 14), and others. We here only observe, that all that contrariety sprung from the different ideas (principiis) which *the reading of the Holy Scriptures supplied to those holy men.*'—Ib., p. 298.

Laud is here introduced in a connexion that makes us exclaim, 'is Saul also among the prophets!'

'For, as their favourite Archishop Laud will tell them, it is 'God's Spirit who *alone* works faith and belief of the Scriptures and their divine authority, as well as other articles;' our assent to this truth is 'by the operation of God's Spirit.' 'The credit of Scripture to be divine, resolves, finally, into that faith which we have touching God himself, and in the same order. For as that, so this hath three main grounds, to which all other are reducible. The first is, the tradition of the church; and this leads us to a reverend persuasion of it. The second is, the light of nature. . . . The third is, *the light of the text itself, in conversing wherewith we meet with the Spirit of God, inwardly inclining our hearts, and sealing the full assurance of the sufficiency* of all three unto us. *And then, and not before*, we are *certain*, that the Scripture is the Word of God, both by *divine*, and by infallible proof;' from which latter passage (and many similar and stronger occur in the context) we may see how far the Archbishop was from the sentiments of our opponents on the point which forms the subject of this chapter.'—Ib., p. 463.

For this we could almost forgive him anything but cutting off men's ears, and slitting their noses; though we own that he who did so, seems to utter, like Balaam, what he neither understood nor loved, but was compelled to deliver, by force of circumstances; for there was so much knowledge of theology in his time as to make such confessions necessary.

Mr. Goode, in his second volume, demonstrates the sufficiency

of Scripture to determine all those points for which the tractarians would introduce tradition. Here, however, we cannot say that we are satisfied; for, instead of keeping strictly to Scripture, he introduces the fathers to help them out, for which his opponents will treat him as Leviathan the darts of steel that he laughs at as mere straws.

We must say the same of his defence of the threefold order, bishops, priests, and deacons.

'The threefold order of the priesthood; another point for which, according to our opponents, we are indebted to tradition.

'To see the labours of our great divines who have pointed out the clear and plain authority we have in Scripture for the threefold order of our ministry thus dismissed as unavailing, for the mere purpose of bolstering up the cause of 'tradition,' is indeed melancholy. The very ground upon which our greatest theologians have rested the strength of their cause in this matter is thus abandoned, and the constitution of our ministry placed upon a foundation of sand.'—Vol. ii., p. 60.

Now the very priesthood itself is not merely extra-Scriptural, but anti-Scriptural. Almost half a hundred times are the words for priest and priesthood employed in the New Testament, and not once applied to Christian ministers, but always either to Pagan priests, or to the Jewish priests, or to Christ as the antitype of the latter; or, what is still worse for Mr. Goode, if these terms are applied to Christians at all, it is to the whole body of the faithful, who are told 'ye are a royal priesthood.' The only instance in which the word κλῆρος is introduced, applies it to the people in distinction from the ministers, who are charged 'not to lord it over God's clergy.'

The manner in which Mr. Goode has evaded the question of deacons is not creditable to him; for, in fact, the party which he opposes has here surpassed him in perspicuity, or honesty; for the Puseyite Christian Remembrancer, in its review of Dr. Bennett's Theology of the Early Christian Church, has virtually conceded the point for which he contends,—that neither the Scriptures, nor the primitive fathers, view deacons as ministers of the word.

Mr. Goode first finds his three distinct orders, in the apostles, and elders, (presbyters) and deacons; but, as we have now no apostles, there remain but two orders; and, as deacons are not ministers of the word, there is but one. It is really pitiable to see a well-meaning man reduced, by his position, to such shifts as he employs. He admits that the pastors are called indifferently presbyters, or bishops, but contends that the name is nothing, the thing is what we must inquire for; and then, to make bishops, apostles, he pleads the application of the latter name

beyond the twelve, though it is manifest that here the name is even of less force than in the former case, where he declared it signified nothing; for all acknowledge that of apostles there were, properly speaking, but twelve.

'We may observe, therefore, that in this Epistle to the Philippians, we have another remarkable testimony to the position that the clergy then consisted of three orders, corresponding to those which have been received in all episcopal churches. For this epistle is addressed by the apostle to the saints at Philippi, '*with the bishops and deacons*,' (Phil. i. 1) which shows that these were the only orders of ministers then present at Philippi; to whom, however, we are to add Epaphroditus, *their apostle*, who was then with St. Paul, having been sent to him by the church at Philippi (Phil. iv. 18), and who returned to Philippi with St. Paul's letter, (ii. 25, et seq. &c.) In the Book of Revelation we find them spoken of (as we shall see presently) under the name of the *angel* of the church over which they presided, a name very similar in meaning to that of apostle; and in the writings immediately succeeding the apostolical times, we find such persons known by the name of *bishops* of the churches.'—Ib., p. 64.

Was there ever a more gross failure than this attempt to prove three orders of ecclesiastics? For if this introduction of the passage concerning Epaphroditus can prove anything, it must be that there was an apostle in the church of Philippi, besides the bishops and deacons, and then we shall have four orders; apostles, bishops, presbyters, deacons. That the Scriptural doctrine is also the catholic, may be proved by the fathers, and has been admitted by divines of all communions:—that the deacons were not ministers of the word, but administrators of the church's possessions; and that presbyters and bishops are the same; for, if any difference is made, it is by appropriating the latter name to that one presbyter, who, among many, presided as the senior or president. This we could fearlessly maintain against all the world.

It gives us more pleasure to notice Mr. Goode's truly catholic plea for other ordination than that which prevails in his own church; for he says, 'I would advise our opponents to take heed how they make the observance of such ecclesiastical ordinances essential; for they will thus leave no succession in existence in the present day.' These are testimonies which seem to show, not merely that it was not absolutely essential, but that it was not universally practised.

'For instance, the testimony of Eutychius of Alexandria is plain that such was not the case originally at Alexandria. His words are these. After mentioning that Mark the Evangelist went and preached at Alexandria, and appointed Hananias the first patriarch there, he adds, 'Moreover, he appointed twelve presbyters with Hananias, who

were to remain with the patriarch, so that when the patriarchate was vacant, they might elect one of the twelve presbyters, upon whose head the other eleven might place their hands and bless him [or, invoke a blessing upon him], and create him patriarch, and then choose some excellent man and appoint him presbyter with themselves in the place of him who was thus made patriarch, that thus there might always be twelve. Nor did this custom respecting the presbyters,—namely, that they should create their patriarchs from the twelve presbyters, cease at Alexandria until the times of Alexander, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was of the number of the 318, [bishops at Nice.] But he forbade the presbyters to create the patriarch for the future, and decreed that when the patriarch was dead, the bishops should meet together and ordain the patriarch. Moreover, he decreed that on a vacancy of the patriarchate, they should elect, either from any part of the country, or from those twelve presbyters, or others, as circumstances might prescribe, some excellent man and create him patriarch. And thus that ancient custom by which the patriarch used to be created by the presbyters disappeared, and in its place succeeded the ordinance for the creation of the patriarch by the bishops.' '—Ib., pp. 80, 81.

Here the presbyters laid their hands on a man and created him a bishop. Mr. Goode, charitably wishing to allow the validity of ordination by presbyters, proves that this was done in the very earliest times, and we ask no more. For though he ventures not to plead for any but the foreign reformed churches, we think that what is good theology at Geneva, or Amsterdam, is not heresy in London or Oxford. As to all he says about creating schisms in *our* church, a national church is not *our* church, and we should do something like creating a schism in what *is* our church, by quitting that in which we have found Christ.

'For the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in his History of Scotland, tells us, 'that when the Scots bishops were to be consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath, here at London house, anno 1609, a question was moved by Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish bishops, who, as he said, must first be ordained presbyters as having received no ordination from a bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained 'that thereof there was no necessity, seeing *where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful*, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches.' This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely acquiesced.' And this testimony is the more remarkable from Dr. Bancroft, as in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross, he was considered to have taken rather high ground as to the claims of episcopacy.'—Ib., p. 96.

Of Mr. Goode's tenth and eleventh chapters we shall say nothing; for, though they are excellent, they merely prove what all protes-

tants admit, that the Scriptures are sufficient to teach mankind the Christian religion. The testimony of the fathers to the same point, which Dr. Bennett has traced to the end of the third century, Mr. Goode brings down to the age of Gregory, in 590. Our theological readers might naturally ask, why stop there? What is there in the sixth century to exalt it above the seventh? Were there no fathers later than Gregory? Most will say, 'yes, as late as Bernard.' But, again it is asked, why stop there? We may as well fix our ultima thule in the sixth, as the eleventh century; and as well go on beyond the latter as the former. No rule can be framed for the definition of a father, except that of Augustin, that 'the apostles were the only fathers, and all others are but sons;' and, alas, some of them rebellious apostates, 'children that are corruptors.'

To one quotation, however, we should have been glad, if our space would have allowed us, to refer our readers, for it affects councils as well as fathers. Mr. Goode triumphantly shows that Oxford has abjured the doctrine of the church of England, and thus he closes:—

'Am I, then, speaking too strongly when I say that the tractators, instead of boasting any longer of the support to be found for their system in the works of our most learned and able divines, are bound to explain how it is that they have been so far misled as ever to make such a claim? I am far from asserting that there has been any *intentional* misrepresentation of the views of those quoted; much allowance is to be made for a prejudiced eye and imperfect information; but that they have been misrepresented is, I suppose, placed beyond contradiction, by the extracts which have just been given. In whatever way, then, we may be enabled to account for it, certain it is that *truth has been sacrificed*, and the authority of great names pleaded in behalf of a system in no respect entitled to such protection. Nor is it possible to acquit those who had *the means of information* open to them, of culpable neglect in not ascertaining the real state of the case, in a matter of such importance, before they made use of the names of our most learned and esteemed divines as supporters of doctrines which they have expressly repudiated.'—Ib., pp. 801, 802.

He has clearly proved his point for the moderate protestant section of the church of England, and thus, for the dissenters also. For we would put it to any lawyer accustomed to sift evidence, and bring out satisfactory conclusions that may be trusted to the verdict of an honest jury, whether these comprehensive volumes do not demonstrate that the dissenters have the Scriptures and the fathers in their favour. The question of a national church is not touched; and neither the Scriptures nor the earliest fathers will be adduced in support of this novelty of the fourth century.

We wish we could predict for Mr. Goode the reward that

he deserves for labours which must have been immense; but this would be what he himself would decline, that is, to learn from us 'a more excellent way.' For as truly as Puseyism ends in popery, thorough anti-Puseyism must terminate in dissent. There are but these two classes of church principles, and Erastianism, which pretends to no principles at all, but leaves everything to expedience. Mr. Sibthorp has honestly followed out one set of principles, and gone to Rome; and an archbishop has defended Erastianism, with all the force of his logical mind. Whether the Church of England is more popish or more Erastian, is not easily determined; for two parties have struggled in her for the victory, while the kings who were her real creators, have cared for nothing but their own interests. The Erastianism of Hooker is shown by Mr. Goode in p. 69; but other communions have too much of the same evil leaven. The tractarians say, 'it is the religion of corrupt human nature, which loves to make a religion for itself, rather than take that which God has made for us.' But here lies the difference, that voluntary churches keep themselves at liberty to take whatever they may find that God has given, and state churches must take what the state has given. Our Scotch brethren are learning this to their sorrow. But, as extremes meet, Puseyism has its Erastianism. Why does it shun the church of the first three centuries? Because the church was then voluntary, and could take what God has given. Why are later and more corrupt ages its favourites? Because the church was then 'in bondage to the elements of the world,' dictated to by the gods below, and, like other slaves, degraded enough to hug its chains.

The pure apostolic rule, to be found nowhere but in the New Testament, was thought not to work well; and, to improve upon God's plans, corrupt nature, which likes a religion of its own making, introduced a 'Diotrephes who loveth to have the pre-eminence.' But alas, the change has been found to work infinitely worse; and there is no remedy, but to go back to the religion of God's making. Where shall we find it, but in his own word? Readily confessing that this system, constructed for religious men, will never work well in the hands of those who are of an opposite character; we leave those who wish, to make the most of that confession. To accommodate the religion of Jesus to the world, is to suit logic to idiots, or music to the deaf. In fact, the church of the world has virtually conceded this point to the church of Christ, that a real church must be a society of regenerated persons. '*We* will regenerate them, then,' the tractarians say. 'It is true, we cannot effect it by the word, as some profess to do, upon the ancient Scriptural plan; but then, we can pronounce this *antiquated*, and say that 'the sacraments, not

preaching, are the sources of divine grace.' It is equally true, that our regenerate persons are not discernable from their unregenerate; but, then, among ourselves, this is not known, or if known, not regarded.'

The new party that is striving for pre-eminence confesses, however, its Erastianism, when it avows that its episcopacy cannot be maintained on the principles of Chillingworth,—The Bible alone is the religion of protestants. What these persons call church principles, therefore, are nothing but Erastian tenets, without their honesty. They confess their church principles are not to be proved from Scripture, and Erastus says, no others are. But in cashiering the honesty, they lose the charm of his system; for, honestly carried out, it would bring us back to the Scriptures; since we shall never find any practices more expedient than those which are enjoined.

We are not without our hopes, that even the dishonest Puseyite-Erastianism, may be overruled to restore the Scriptural system which the party would undermine; for we have observed in one of their periodicals for January, a proposal for immensely multiplying the number of bishops, diminishing, of course, the extent of dioceses, and carrying visitations to such lengths that it would be difficult to discern the difference between this system and the Scriptural order of a bishop for every church. So extremes meet; and so little do men see whither their courses lead; while God 'worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.'

We have been so occupied with the great question as to be little inclined to minute criticism; but we were surprised to see the Greek quotations here without accents; and to find so many proofs of carelessness of style. Yet we thank Mr. Goode for what is better than correct composition and classical minutiæ; a well intentioned and laboriously executed defence of Scriptural truth and catholic charity, which he has carried to the utmost lengths that his position could admit. Happy should we be if we could promise him a candid hearing from the men of his own church, or any hearing at all from the party against which he contends. But, if this is hopeless, Mr. Goode may comfort himself with the thought that he is but sharing with Whately in the haughty or crafty neglect with which that party treats all those who write against them what is best worth reading. Here, as in most other points, the Oxford men resemble those of Rome, ever crying, 'Hear the church,' but deeming it beneath the church to hear any one else. This is, indeed, quite in harmony with a claim to infallibility; but Rome concludes that her claim is established, while at Oxford this is yet to be done.

Hæ nugæ seria ducunt, and we look with sad anticipations to our country, which is identifying herself with the Beast, and

putting in her claim to share in its plagues. The elements of strife and confusion are at work; the many, sacrificed to the few, are in motion, under rash guides, indeed, we confess; but the more portentous are the signs of the times, and the more certainly we may predict that the Lord's controversy with the land will end in paying a long arrear of vengeance for sacrificing things sacred to secular designs, immortal souls to pampered bodies; and in driving out the buyers and sellers from the temple with a whip *not* of *small* cords.

Meanwhile, we wait and work, with the Bible and its inspiring spirit; assured, that to abide by these, in the worst times, is to win the noblest conquest, and secure the richest reward. The witnesses may be slain, but they will rise again; their dead bodies may lie unburied in the streets of the great city, but they will ascend up into heaven in the sight of all men; while the beast and the false prophet that deceived the nations, will be taken alive and cast into the lake of fire.

Art. II. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By Dr. Augustus Neander, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Counsellor, &c. Translated from the Third Edition of the Original German, by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark. 1842.

We entirely agree with the remarks put forth in the translator's preface to these volumes, that 'the author's great and long established reputation as an ecclesiastical historian, would render it unnecessary, even if not somewhat unseemly, to usher in the work with a lengthened descant on its merits. The impartial and earnest inquirer after truth will not fail to be delighted with the marks it everywhere presents of unwearied research, extended views, and profound piety. No one would regret more than the excellent author, if the freedom of his inquiries should give pain to any of his Christian brethren.' These statements are true: the object of the present notice, therefore, will be, not to bespeak the public interest in its favour as a work, excellent in design and execution, yet likely from some cause or other to be overlooked, but rather to describe its character; to point out to whom it may be useful; and, if among the inquiries into which Dr. Neander has entered, there be any so free as to be likely to give pain to Christian minds, (or, what is of far greater consequence, to lead them astray, for pain is not necessarily injurious) then, and especially, to discuss those questions, or at least to in-

dicate, as our limits may allow, where, and in what respect, a more active caution appears necessary in perusing it.

The chief value of the work, which, on some accounts, might be regarded as the most important which its distinguished author has written, lies in its constituting an historico-critical introduction to the latter half of the New Testament. It is not enough to say, that the materials of it are almost exclusively derived from the book of Acts, and the inspired epistles; these are hardly more its sources than its subject. And the great distinction of these volumes, from the multitude of others which embrace the same subject, consists partly in the direction which the author's mind has taken in illustrating it; partly in the mass of literary information which he has brought to bear upon it; partly in the masterly experience with which the illustration is conducted; and partly in the Christian spirit which informs the whole.

We have characterized the work as historico-critical. It is such, not merely because it narrates the principal facts of primitive Christian history, and follows up this narrative with an elaborate analysis of apostolic doctrine, but because, being throughout historical in its subject, it is throughout critical in its manner. The doctrinal analysis is given to show historically, what, and how the apostles taught, not apologetically to justify their teaching; and the narrative of facts is everywhere invested with that light which criticism concentrates from a comprehensive knowledge of antiquity, and a successful perusal of human nature.

In six books the author exhibits—

'I. The Christian church in Palestine, previous to its spread among heathen nations;' (vol. i., pp. 1—65.)

'II. The first spread of Christianity from the church at Jerusalem to other parts, and especially among heathen nations;' (pp. 66—88.)

'III. The spread of Christianity and founding of the Christian church among the Gentiles by the instrumentality of the Apostle Paul;' (pp. 89—408.)

'IV. A review of the labours of James and Peter during this period;' (vol. ii., pp. 1—41.)

'V. The apostle John and his ministry as the closing point of the apostolic age;' (pp. 42—76.)

'VI. The apostolic doctrine;' (pp. 77—272.)

The general relation of the different parts of the work to each other, and their mutual proportions, may be sufficiently conceived from the preceding extract. Not so, however, the peculiar character of the analysis in the sixth book, in which the author submits successively to separate discussion:—1st, The Pauline doc-

trine (vol. ii., pp. 79—211); 2ndly, The doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews (pp. 212—228); 3rdly, The doctrine of James (pp. 229—239); and 4thly, The doctrine of John (pp. 239—271.) This separate analysis is very useful, as furnishing, in the only unexceptionable manner, the materials for a correct judgment respecting the harmony of New Testament doctrines as a whole. We shall presently take a cursory view of it in that respect. An adequate consideration of the doctrinal portion of the work would indeed very much exceed the limits to which we must confine ourselves, but some account of it is absolutely necessary to enable the general reader, or even the student by profession, duly to appreciate and use the materials here furnished to him. The reader will have observed, that the doctrine of Paul, and that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are here distinguished from each other. This is a result of the opinion so prevalent in Germany, that Paul was not the author of that epistle, an opinion which we shall here pass by, as we have reserved it for more particular consideration at an early period.

It may surprise our readers, after what we have already said in general commendation of this work, to be told that there is perhaps hardly one representation of connected facts in it, with which we should circumstantially agree. We do not, however, say that this lessens its value to the class of readers for whom it was written, and to whose use it is exclusively adapted. It is a work expressly intended to aid the diligent, well instructed, earnest student of Christianity and of the word of God, in entering into the very spirit of the Christian life and doctrine. To such persons the excellent Neander has ever been a friend. To their benefit he may be truly said to have devoted his distinguished abilities, his precious time, and his warmest affections. But he would not be their master. What he teaches, he teaches with a deep consciousness of human liability to error; and if his works were studied with the spirit in which they are written, we should not fear the result. We do fear that there are in this country many careless readers, whose consciences have too little to do with their studies to make them diligent, and who are liable to be carried away, by ignorantly adopting views which have the sanction of Neander's illustrious name, to moral habits and conclusions very different from his; and still more that there are numerous enemies to Christianity who will use that name as a shield for speculative infidelity. But the blame in such cases is not his. He is no infidel, but on the contrary, a serious, warm-hearted, practical believer in Christ Jesus and the Christian revelation, who in the spirit of a living faith communicates the deep results of study and reflection, as a material for study and reflection to men of kindred mind. Writing in a land where

infidelity has by turns assumed every garb, and having his mind constantly exercised with systems of philosophy of the most contradictory and uncertain character, it is neither surprising that his phraseology should, even on biblical subjects, have sometimes a very unbiblical tincture, nor even that the results to which he has come should at times betray the power of principles very different to his own. These will, of course, with the *prestige* of his reputation, be deeply mischievous to the thoughtless sciolist, and still more so to the student, whose heart and conscience are not right with God. But to those in whom Christian humility is found in combination with soundness of judgment, the love of truth, and prayerful diligence and constancy in the pursuit of it, we do not hesitate, notwithstanding the blemishes which abound in the work, for these in our apprehension are certainly *very* numerous, to recommend it as a study adapted at once to test, to strengthen, and to inform their minds.

Having thus freely expressed our judgment on the work, it is imperative that we should justify it. It will interest our readers, and be grateful to our own feelings to present, in the first instance, some extracts of a favourable character. The extract which immediately follows exhibits that peculiar acquaintance with the interior of the Christian life by which all the historical writings of Dr. Neander are so remarkably distinguished. It relates to the youth of the Apostle Paul, and the object of it is to show how admirably he was prepared, both by temperament and education, for the great work which he was appointed to do.

'In this manner Christianity, independently of Judaism, began to be propagated among the Gentiles: the appointment of the gospel as a distinct means of forming *all nations* for the kingdom of God, was now acknowledged by the apostles; and consequently, on their part, no opposition could be made to employing it for this purpose. While by the arrangements of the divine wisdom, the principal obstacle to the conversion of the heathen was taken out of the way, and the first impulse was given to that work; by the same wisdom, that great champion of the faith who was to carry it on, and lay the foundation for the salvation of the heathen through all ages, was called forth, to take the position assigned him in the development of the kingdom of God. This was no other than the apostle Paul; a man distinguished, not only for the wide extent of his apostolic labours, but for his development of the fundamental truths of the gospel in their living organic connexion, and their formation into a compact system. The essence of the gospel in relation to human nature, on one side especially—the relation, namely, to its need of redemption—was set by him in the clearest light; so that when the sense of that need has been long repressed or perverted, and a revival of Christian consciousness has followed a state of spiritual death, the newly awakened Christian life,

whether in the church at large or in individuals, has always drawn its nourishment from *his* writings. As he has presented Christianity under this aspect especially, and has so impressively shewn the immediate relation of religious knowledge and experience to the Lord Jesus, in opposition to all dependence on any human mediation whatever—thus drawing the line of demarcation most clearly between the Christian and Jewish standing point—he may be considered as the representative among the apostles of the protestant principle.* And history, though it furnishes only a few hints respecting the early life of Paul before his call to the apostleship, has recorded enough to make it evident, that by the whole course of his previous development, he was formed for what he was to become, and for what he was to effect.

'Saul or Paul, the former the original Hebrew, the latter the Hellenistic form of his name, was a native of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia. . . . . As we do not know how long he remained under the paternal roof it is impossible to determine what influence his education in the metropolis of Cilicia, which, as a seat of literature, vied with Athens and Alexandria, had on the formation of his character. Certainly his early acquaintance with the language and national peculiarities of the Greeks was of some advantage in preparing him to be a teacher of Christianity among nations of Grecian origin. Yet the few passages from the Greek poets which we meet with in his discourse at Athens, and in his epistles, do not prove that his education had made him familiar with Grecian literature; nor is it probable that such would be the case. As his parents designed him to be a teacher of the law, or Jewish theologian, his studies must have been confined in his early years to the Old Testament, and about the age of twelve or thirteen he must have entered the school of Gamaliel. It is possible, though, considering Paul's pharisaic zeal, not probable, that the more liberal views of his tolerant-minded teacher, Gamaliel, might induce him to turn his attention to Grecian literature. A man of his mental energy, whose zeal overcame all difficulties in his career, and whose love prompted him to make himself familiar with all the mental habitudes of the men among whom he laboured, that he might sympathize more completely with their wants and infirmities, might be induced, while among people of Grecian culture, to acquire some knowledge of their principal writers. But in the style of his representations, the Jewish element evidently predominates. His peculiar mode of argumentation was not formed in the Grecian, but the Jewish school. The name Saul, שָׁאוּל, the desired one, the one prayed for, perhaps indicates that he was the first-born of his parents, granted in answer to their earnest prayers; and hence it may be inferred that he was devoted by his father, a Pharisee, to the service of religion, and sent in early youth to Jerusalem, that he might be trained

* This language is not unfairly open to the inference that 'among the apostles' there might also be a 'representative' of the popish principle. This, however, as a succeeding extract will show, is foreign to the author's meaning. We must at the same time admit that he is too unguarded in his language here, and that, in this character of Paul, he writes too much like one forgetful that the apostle was, after all, an instrument, rather than an agent, in the development of Christian doctrine.

to become a learned expounder of the law and of tradition; not to add that it was usual for the youth of Tarsus to complete their education at some foreign school. Most advantageously for him, he acquired, in the pharisaic schools at Jerusalem, that systematic form of intellect which afterwards rendered him such good service in developing the contents of the Christian doctrine; so that, like Luther, he became thoroughly conversant with the theological system, which afterwards, by the power of the gospel, he uprooted and destroyed. A youth so ardent and energetic as Paul, would throw his own soul into whatever he undertook; his natural temperament would dispose him to an overflowing impetuous zeal, and for such a propensity Pharisaism supplied abundant aliment. We may also infer from his peculiar disposition, as well as from various hints he gives of himself, that in legal piety, according to the notions of the strictest Pharisaism, he strove to go beyond all his companions. But in proportion to the earnestness of his striving after holiness, the more he combated the refractory impulses of an ardent and powerful nature, which refused to be held in by the reins of the law, so much more ample were his opportunities for understanding, from his own experience, the woeful discord in human nature, which arises when the moral consciousness asserts its claims as a controlling law, while the man feels himself constantly carried away in defiance of his better longing and willing, by the force of ungodly inclination. Paul could not have depicted this condition so strikingly and to the life, in the seventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans, if he had not gained the knowledge of it from personal experience. It was advantageous for him that he passed over to Christianity, from a position where, by various artificial restraints and prohibitions, he had attempted to guard against the incursions of unlawful desires and passions, and to compel himself to goodness; for thus he was enabled to testify from his own experience, in which he appears as the representative of all men of deep moral feeling, how deeply the sense of the need of redemption is grounded in the moral constitution of man; and thus likewise, from personal experience, he could describe the relation of that inward freedom which results from faith in redemption to the servitude of the legal standing point. In his conflict with himself, while a pharisee, Paul's experience resembles Luther's in the cloisters of Erfurt.'—Vol. i. pp. 89—94.

Dr. Neander afterwards enters into a full discussion of the circumstances attending the apostle's conversion, in the course of which, he takes occasion to refute the perverse construction put by Dr. Frederick Strauss, in his '*Leben Jesu*,' on the statement of his first edition, to the effect that he denied the reality of our Lord's appearance to Paul; but this would be too long for our pages. We will, however, select from another part of the work a passage, which if not much shorter, will have at least the recommendation of interesting the reader more, while it illustrates the author's general manner when he is not compelled to enter into minute and extended discussion.

'. . . Accompanied by some believers from Berœa, he then directed his course to Athens.

'Though the consequences which resulted from the apostle's labours at Athens were at first inconsiderable, yet his appearance in this city (which, in a different sense from Rome, might be called the metropolis of the world) was, in real importance, unquestionably one of the most memorable signs of the new spiritual creation. A herald of that divine doctrine, which, fraught with divine power, was destined to change the principles and practices of the ancient world, Paul came to Athens, the parent of Grecian culture and philosophy; the city to which, as the Grecian element had imbued the culture of the west, the whole Roman world was indebted for its mental advancement, which also was the central point of the Grecian religion, where an enthusiastic attachment to all that belonged to ancient Hellas, not excepting its idolatry, retained a firm hold till the fourth century. Zeal for the honours of the gods, each one of whom had here his temple and his altars, and were celebrated by the master-pieces of art, rendered Athens famous throughout the civilized world. It was at first Paul's intention to wait for the arrival of Silas and Timothy before he entered on the publication of the gospel, as by his companions who had returned to Berœa, he had sent word for them to follow him as soon as possible. But when he saw himself surrounded by the statues and altars, and temples of the gods, and works of art, by which the honour due to the living God alone was transferred to creatures of the imagination, he could not withstand the impulse of holy zeal, to testify of Him who called erring men to repentance, and offered them salvation. He spoke in the synagogue to the Jews and Proselytes, but did not wait, as in other cities, till a way was opened by their means of publishing the gospel to the heathen. From ancient times it was customary at Athens for people to meet together under covered porticoes in public places, to converse with one another on matters of all kinds, trifling or important; and then, as in the times of Demosthenes, groups of persons might be met with in the market collected together merely to hear of something new. Accordingly Paul made it his business to enter into conversation with the passers by, in hopes of turning their attention to the most important concerns of man. The sentiments with which he was inspired had nothing in common with the enthusiasm of the fanatic, who is unable to transport himself from his own peculiar state of feeling to the standing point of others, in order to make himself acquainted with the obstacles that oppose their reception of what he holds as truth with absolute certainty. Paul knew, indeed, as he himself says, that the preaching of the crucified Saviour must appear to the wise men of the world as foolishness, until they became fools, that is, until they were convinced of the insufficiency of their wisdom, in reference to the knowledge of divine things, and for the satisfaction of their religious wants, 1 Cor. i. 23, iii. 18. But he was not ashamed, as he also affirms, to testify to the wise and to the unwise, to the Greeks and to the barbarians, of what he knew from his own experience to be the power of God to save those that believe; Rom. i. 16.

The market to which he resorted was near a portico of the philosophers. Here he met with philosophers of the Epicurean and Stoic schools. If we reflect upon the relative position of the Stoics to the Epicureans, that the *former* acknowledged something divine as the animating principle in the universe and in human nature, that they were inspired with an ideal model founded in the moral nature of man, and that they recognised man's religious wants and the traditions which bore testimony to it; while on the other hand, the *latter*, though they did not absolutely do away with the belief in the gods, reduced it to something inert, unessential and superfluous; that they represented pleasure as the highest aim of human pursuit, and that they were accustomed to ridicule the existing religions as the offspring of human weakness and the spectral creations of fear; we might, from such a contrast, infer that the Stoics made a much nearer approach to Christianity than the Epicureans. But it does not follow that the former would give a more favourable reception to the gospel than the latter, for their vain notion of moral self-sufficiency was diametrically opposed to a doctrine which inculcated repentance, forgiveness of sins, grace, and justification by faith. This supreme God—the impersonal, eternal reason pervading the universe—was something very different from the living God, the heavenly Father, full of love, whom the gospel reveals, and who must have appeared to the Stoics as far too human a being; and both parties agreed in the Grecian pride of philosophy, which would look down on a doctrine appearing in a Jewish garb, and not developed in a philosophic form, as a mere outlandish superstition. Yet many among those who gathered round the apostle during his conversations, were at least pleased to hear something new; and their curiosity was excited to hear of the strange divinity whom he wished to introduce, and to be informed respecting his new doctrine. They took him to the hill, where the first tribunal at Athens, the Areopagus, was accustomed to hold its sittings, and where he could easily find a spot suited to a large audience. The discourse of Paul, on this occasion, is an admirable specimen of his apostolic wisdom and eloquence. We here perceive how the apostle (to use his own language) to the heathens became a heathen, that he might gain the heathens to Christianity.

'Inspired by feelings that were implanted from his youth in the mind of a pious Jew, and glowing with zeal for the honour of his God, Paul must have been horror-struck at the spectacle of idolatry that met him wherever he turned his eyes. He might easily have been betrayed by his feelings into intemperate language. And it evinced no ordinary self-denial and self-command that, instead of beginning with expressions of detestation, instead of representing the whole religious system of the Greeks as a Satanic delusion, he appealed to the truth which lay at its basis, while he sought to awaken in his hearers the consciousness of God, which was oppressed by the power of sin, and thus aimed at leading them to the knowledge of that Saviour whom he came to announce. As among the Jews, in whom the knowledge of God, formed by divine revelation, led to a clear and full development of the idea of the Messiah, he would appeal to the national history, the

law and the prophets, as witnesses of Christ; so here he appealed to the undeniable anxiety of natural religion after an unknown God. He began with acknowledging, in the religious zeal of the Athenians, a true religious feeling, though erroneously directed; an undeniable tending of the mind towards something divine. He begins with acknowledging, in a laudatory manner, the strength of the religious sentiment among the Athenians, and adducing, as a proof of it, that while walking amongst their sacred edifices, he lighted on an altar dedicated to an unknown God.'—Ib., pp. 217—222.

It is a disadvantage that the length to which most of the discussions in this work extend, prevents our giving any specimens of them; for though it is in them that the chief blemishes of the work appear, they furnish many very profound and valuable results, especially those of them which relate to New Testament chronology. The attention paid to every particular which can by possibility throw light upon the date of the inspired epistles, is in the highest degree satisfactory; neither is any usage, fact, or circumstance disregarded, by which the obscurest allusion found in any of them may be explained. The knowledge of other men's studies which this work evinces, and the diligence with which that knowledge is turned to account, are truly German. If saying this be saying what, in relation to Dr. Neander, no one needs to be informed of, we must be allowed to observe that we could not, after the cautionary language we have been compelled to use, pass by these transcendent merits of the work in absolute silence.

But we are bound to characterize those features of the work, which are liable to mislead persons who rely too much on Dr. Neander's great authority. The chief of these are the love of paradox, under the guise of originality; the habit of supplementing the inspired history with *facts* and circumstances, resting upon the most meagre, or most uncertain basis, or both; and that of lowering, by unauthorized philosophizing explanations, the impressions of divine supernatural agency which the unfettered reading of the sacred books produces. We have sufficiently declared our assurance that these faults are not with Dr. Neander the offspring of an infidel spirit; but *they are* the effect of the infidel *malaria* with which the atmosphere he breathes is so strongly impregnated, and by which not one in a hundred of Germany's great theologians is altogether unaffected. We indicate them, therefore, not to detract from his acknowledged excellence, or diminish the impression of the important services which he has rendered to the student of Scripture and of Christian history (services for which we have ourselves deep reason to be grateful), but to defend, from what we consider an abuse, the great protestant principle of scrutinizing for ourselves the word

of God; to preserve our youth, and especially the students in our theological seminaries, the future pastors of our churches, from that *ultraism* in interpretation, (the effect, not of reason, but of rationalism,) which has so debased the theology of Germany; and to save, for so at least we regard it, the labours of a man, entitled on more accounts than we can here specify, to admiration and affection, from becoming, when reproduced on a new scene, the means of lowering the power and impression of that truth wherein God has caused him to hope.

The first instance we shall notice relates to the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost. From the expression in Acts ii. 4, they 'began to speak with other tongues' (ἑτέραις γλώσσαις), and the declaration, v. 11, 'we do hear them speak in our tongues,' &c., as made by foreign Jews from all countries, it has for centuries been generally understood that this gift was that of speaking by inspiration in foreign languages. But Dr. Neander regards it merely as the power of speaking with a new spirit and energy on new themes.* In support of this view, he alleges Acts, x. 46, and xix. 6, which he contends cannot be explained of the faculty of speaking in foreign languages, and asks, on v. 13, 'How could a number of carnally minded men be led to explain the speaking of the disciples in foreign languages as the effect of intoxication?' His main consideration, besides these, seems to be the non-necessity, as he views it, of this gift, in order to communicate the gospel to the nations.† But perhaps the most singular part of his reasoning is that by which he attempts to dispose of the argument in favour of what we must call the natural view of the event described, derived from the astonishment of so many distinct classes of foreign Jews as are spoken of in v. 9 and 10.

'But we cannot possibly think that all these nations spoke different languages, for it is certain that in the cities of Cappadocia, Pontus, Lesser Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cyrene, and in the parts of Lybia and Egypt inhabited by Grecian and Jewish colonies, the Greek would

* 'Such exhibitions [i. e., as speaking in foreign languages] would be peculiarly adapted to draw away the mind from that which is the essence of conversion, and only to furnish aliment for an unchristian vanity. On the other hand, there seems a propriety in referring those passages to the utterance of the new things with which the mind would be filled, in the new language of a heart glowing with Christian sentiment.'—Vol. i., p. 14.

† 'But, indeed, the utility of such a gift of tongues for the spread of divine truth in the apostolic times will appear not so great, if we consider that the gospel had its first and chief sphere of action among the nations belonging to the Roman empire, where the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages sufficed for this purpose, and that the one or the other of these languages, as it was employed in the intercourse of daily life, could not be altogether strange to the Jews.'—Vol. i., pp. 11, 12.

at that time be in general better understood than the ancient language of the country; and as this must have been known to the writer of the Acts, he could not have intended to specify so many different languages. There will remain, out of the whole catalogue of languages, only the Persian, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. It also deserves notice, that the inhabitants of Judea are mentioned, who spoke the same language as the Galileans, only with a slight difference of pronunciation. Since then to retain the ancient view of the gift of tongues creates difficulties in this passage [!], which is the only one that can serve to support it [!!], while several parts of the narrative oppose it [!!!], and everything that is said elsewhere of this gift (χάρισμα) leads to a very different interpretation [?], the more ancient view becomes very uncertain, though we cannot arrive at a perfectly clear and certain conclusion respecting the facts which form the groundwork of the narrative. Perhaps the difficulty in the passage may be obviated in this way:—It was not unusual to designate all the disciples of the Lord, Galileans, and it might be inferred from this common appellation that they were all Galileans by birth; but it by no means follows that this was actually the case. Among the so-called Galileans some might be found whose mother-tongue was not the Galilean dialect, and who now felt themselves impelled to express the fulness of their hearts in their own provincial dialect, which, through Christianity, had become a sacred language to them, though hitherto they had been accustomed to consider the Hebrew only in that light; and it might also happen that some who lived on the confines of Galilee had learned the language of the adjacent tribes, which they now made use of, in order to be better understood by foreigners [!]. Thus, the speaking in foreign languages would be only something accidental, and not the essential of the new language of the spirit.'—Vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

It thus appears, that after every effort which ingenuity could suggest to controvert the usual interpretation, the main support of that interpretation must, in substance, be conceded. There *was* a speaking in different languages; but then these were not foreign languages, *i. e.* foreign to the speakers; in other words, among these Galileans, who were probably not all Galileans by birth, only called such as being disciples of Christ, (how strange that the Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, who had just come up to keep the feast, should so immediately recognise the men who had kept company with Christ; and how very strange that Dr. Neander should construct his argument upon a derived and peculiar signification of the term Galilean, when the whole context necessarily requires the original and proper one), there were some who knew the neighbouring dialects, and used them on this occasion. What then? Were the parts of Lybia neighbouring districts? or were there, as Dr. Neander's theory requires, Parthians, Medes, Persians, natives of Mesopotamia, and those to whom the Roman was their

native language, among the disciples? Admitting, for the sake of argument, that there remain, out of the whole catalogue of languages, *only* the Persian, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, is there a single person, unpossessed by a particular theory which must be supported, who will believe that the disciples of our Lord spoke all these languages as natives, according to the explanation of Dr. Neander, and without the special intervention of the divine Spirit? The usual interpretation is the natural one. The miracle is described in verse 4. They spoke ἑτέραις γλώσσαις, in other, *i. e.* foreign tongues; and it is explained in verse 11, by ἡμετέραις; they were heard in the languages of all the foreign Jews described as being present at the time. This was the great wonder to those strangers; but, according to Dr. Neander's explanation, the real wonder excited no surprise, while that which was no wonder at all is the prominent idea in the narrative.

The πρῶτον ψεῦδος of Dr. Neander's misinterpretation seems to us to be the supposition, that the object of the gift of tongues was to qualify the first disciples of our Lord for preaching the gospel to the heathen. We believe it had a different object. Tongues, as the Apostle Paul has told us (1 Cor. xiv. 22), were for a sign; and this, we have no doubt, was their object in the present instance. Dr. Neander has in one place described this gift in a manner so completely in harmony with our view, that we are astonished he should have so described it, only to adopt another, and, as it seems to us, unworthier hypothesis respecting it. He says, in language which has our fullest approbation, 'A phenomenon of this kind might have taken place, with a symbolic prophetic meaning, indicating that the new divine life would reveal itself in all the languages of mankind, as Christianity is destined to bring under its sway all the various national peculiarities. A worthy symbol of this great event!' We could scarcely make use of language more appropriate to our idea of this great Pentecostal sign. The gift was in entire harmony with the great commission given to the apostles, to 'go forth into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.'

A second error in the hypothesis we are refuting is this:— Dr. Neander supposes that the tongues were used to instruct the congregating multitude. We believe that the instruction, of which specimens are given in the following part of the chapter, commenced when the sign was ended. This sign consisted in their speaking under inspiration, in various languages which they had never learned, the 'wonderful works of God.' Let this statement be compared with Acts x. 46, and xix. 6, the very same passages which Dr. Neander alleged in support of his views, and it will appear that the effect of this spiritual influence was the utterance of praise to God; for this is frequently the import

of προφετεύειν, which occurs in the latter passage. How different this view of the scene described in Acts ii. from that taken by Dr. Neander, we need hardly say. He supposes a number speaking at once in one room, in a state of great excitement, with a view to impart instruction. Confusion, not instruction, must have been the result of such a scene as this; but let us suppose them, under inspiration, giving utterance, in different languages, to hymns of praise, perhaps repeating Old Testament psalms, familiar to the bystanders (as *e. g.* Psalms ii. xlv. cx.), in the vernacular languages of the countries whence these Jewish strangers had come, and the scene is wholly different. We have excitement indeed, and no wonder, for the divine Spirit is *sensibly* present; but every inspired person is so rapt in praise, as to be unconscious of interruption from others; and the work of the Spirit, as a sign, thus produces its due effect. With this view, also, the effect upon the assembly agrees. While men of every nation recognise the miracle in this marvellous utterance of praise, and inquire with earnestness into its meaning, others, who are either too distant to hear what was uttered, or too careless to interest themselves in the phenomenon, regard it as a disorderly and drunken assembly. Then Peter—the peculiar influence we have described, and which we have assumed to be only a sign for the occasion, having ceased to move the disciples—steps forward, and justifies this work of the Spirit to the assembled multitude, who now experience its influence in another manner.

We have deemed it respectful to the illustrious name of Neander thus to detail at length the grounds of our dissent from him, in the first instance we were compelled to give of his dealing rationalistically with scripture; and the same reason induced us to offer our own explanation of the subject; but it will be impossible to do the same with the other instances. In reference to the second which we think it right to notice, we shall, therefore, to avoid discussion, content ourselves with placing in the margin* the expressions to which we object; while we gratify

* 'In reference to the manner in which Cornelius was prompted to seek out Peter, his own narrative is the only immediate source of information; but we are not justified to assume that Cornelius, who certainly could best testify of the facts relating to his own state of mind, of what he had himself experienced, was equally capable of clearly distinguishing the objective, the external matter of fact, from the subjective of his own mental state, in what presented itself to him as an object of his own experience and perception. It was natural, also, for him not to think of tracing out the connexion of the higher revelations made to him, with the preparative natural circumstances; but that the divine in the affair, which wholly occupied his thoughts, should remain alone in his remembrance, and be brought forward in his narrative; while the preparatives, in the natural connexion of causes and effects, retired into the back-ground.' (Vol. i. p. 79.)—'The appearance of the angel may be considered as an objective event. . . . We need not sup-

our personal feelings by recording in the text a passage, taken from the narrative of the same event, which proves with what integrity of faith our author is willing to be a disciple of the divine word. The note belonging to this paragraph, and the ensuing extract, are both taken from Dr. Neander's account of Cornelius, vol. i. pp. 76—88.

'We are also permitted and justified to supply many circumstances, which, though not expressly mentioned, are yet to be supposed; *not in order to obscure what was divine in the event*, but to glorify the manifold wisdom of God, as shewn in the way men are led to a participation of redemption, in the connexion of the divine and natural, and in the harmony which subsists between nature and grace.'—Vol. i. p. 79.

This passage fully justifies what we stated above, that what there was that might *have the effect* of lowering the impression of a divine supernatural agency, was not, in Dr. Neander, the result of an infidel spirit. Passages of the character to which we object, and of which, let it not be forgotten, there are very many in the work before us, may, we are satisfied, all be accounted for by considering that Dr. Neander, having constantly upon his heart the recovery of his countrymen from error, throws himself into their point of view, the better to refute their objections; and, by so doing, has in some respects realized in himself unconsciously the cast of sentiment most opposite to his own spirit. He is not the only distinguished instance we could point out of a great mind unconsciously influenced in this way by his opponents in controversy. We trust, however, that we have said

pose any sensible appearance, for we know not whether a higher spirit cannot communicate itself to men living in a world of sense, by an operation on the inward sense; so that this communication should appear under the form of a sensuous perception. Meanwhile, Cornelius himself is the only witness for the objective reality of the angelic appearance, and he can only be taken as a credible witness of what he *believed* that he had perceived. . . . From the whole turn of this narrative it may be inferred, that Cornelius considered the pointing out of Peter's place of residence, not as something that came to his knowledge in a natural way, but by a supernatural communication. It is indeed possible that he had heard it mentioned by others casually in conversation, but as he had not thought further about it, it had completely escaped his recollection; and now, in this elevated state of mind, what had been forgotten was brought back again to his consciousness, without his thinking of the natural connexion.' (pp. 81, 82.)—The reader will remember that these expressions may have some injustice done them by being separated from the rest of the narrative. Dr. Neander admits the reality of a supernatural communication. He thinks it probable that this was made, not to the outward senses, but by vision to the inward sense. This, we admit, would not in any way impair the supernatural fact; but then he supposes a mixture of natural and supernatural, of which the narrative in Acts has not even a trace; and this we consider a very dangerous expedient, though with him habitual, in an exposition of the sacred scriptures.

enough to prove the great necessity of caution in the use of his work, and that the other instances which we had noted down for specific mention will be excused by the courteous reader. It is anything but a gratification to us, however necessary, to dwell upon the blemishes of a work like this.

We stated, in an early part of this paper, that we should take a cursory view of the sixth book, which treats of the apostolic doctrine. Our remarks will necessarily be brief, but sufficient, we hope, to characterize—and we can pretend to no more—what our learned author has written on the subject. It is gratifying to see that while Dr. Neander enters into a separate investigation of the theological contents of each inspired doctrinal writer's authorship, he has not, like most of his countrymen, overlooked the essential harmony which pervades them all, or sought for inconsistencies and contradictions in their various applications of the same doctrinal truth. 'The doctrine of Christ,' he well observes,

'was not given as a rigid dead letter, in one determinate form of human character, but it was announced as the word of spirit and of life, with a living flexibility and variety, *by men enlightened by the Divine Spirit*, who received and appropriated it in a living manner, in accordance with their various constitutional qualities, and the difference of their course of life and education. This difference served to manifest the living unity, the riches, and the depth of the Christian spirit, in the manifoldness of the forms of conception, which unintentionally illustrated each other, and supplied their mutual deficiencies. Christianity, indeed, was designed and adapted to appropriate and elevate the various tendencies of human character, to blend them by means of a higher unity, and, agreeably to the design of the peculiar fundamental tendencies of human nature, to operate through them for the realization of the ideal of man, and the exhibition of the kingdom of God in the human race through all ages.'—Vol. ii. p. 77.

In the development of this inspired Christian doctrine, our author then distinguishes 'three leading tendencies; the Pauline, the Jacobean (between which the Petrine forms an intermediate link), and the Johannean.' Every attentive reader of the New Testament must have noticed what we may call the constitutional difference apparent in the authorship of these three disciples; but this no more implies diversity of sentiment between them, than the different bearings of doctrinal and practical argument in Paul's epistles, occasioned by the diversity of circumstances and disposition in those to whom he wrote, betrayed any looseness of theological principle in him. Peter has, in his second epistle, referred to the special character of Paul's instruction, while he spoke according to the wisdom which was given him; and Paul, while distinguishing the diversities of ministration in

the church, presses the consideration, that it was the same spirit which ministered in all. We therefore approve of the remark of Dr. Nitzsch, which Neander has appended as a note to the passage last cited, that 'to disown them [*i. e.* these distinct leading tendencies] in favour of a one-sided dogmatism, is to abandon that completeness and solidity which these modes of contemplating the Christian faith impart, while they reciprocally complete one another. It is to slight that by which scripture truth maintains its elevation above all conflicting systems.'

Although the analysis of the theology of Paul is, of course, more elaborate than that of either of the other apostles, we shall not select an extract from that chapter, but pass on to where our author describes, in the following chapter, the diverse phases of the one true doctrine respecting justification, as presented by Paul and James. The extract is long, but the subject is a controverted one, and our readers will be gratified to see Neander's opinion upon it. Besides what follows, there are some very discriminating observations on James's doctrine of justification in the first chapter of Book IV. We have put in italics a few lines particularly deserving of attention.

'Paul was obliged to point out to those who placed their dependence on the justifying power of the works of the law, the futility of such works in reference to justification, and to demonstrate that justification and sanctification could proceed only from the faith of the gospel. James, on the other hand, found it necessary to declare to those who imagined that they could be justified in God's sight by faith in the Jewish sense, as we have before explained, that this was completely valueless, if their course of life was not conformed to it.

'This apostle affirms, that as sympathy towards the distressed, which shews itself in mere verbal professions, is worthless, so faith without works is utterly vain. He compares a faith that does not manifest itself by works to a pretended love which is not verified by active kindness. From this comparison it is evident, that as what he here describes as a vain love, is, in his judgment, undeserving of the name of love, the same may be said of a vain faith; *but as by what he says against the value of a love that only shews itself in words, he did not intend to depreciate the worth of love itself, just as little could he design to cast a slight on the worth of faith, by what he says against the value of a faith that exhibits itself only in outward profession.* He considers such a faith, which is unaccompanied by works, as dead; it is a faith which is destitute of the divine life that spontaneously produces good works. In reference to this necessary intimate connexion between faith and works, James says, addressing a man who depends on this inoperative faith (ii. 18), 'Shew me how thy faith can exist without thy works, and I will prove to thee my faith by my works.' As the body without the soul is dead, so, he says (ii. 26), faith without works is dead. The comparison must be here general, without de-

scending to particulars. *It is evident that James could not mean to say that works (the outward act) bear the same relation to faith as the soul to the body, but only (which agrees with the whole train of his thinking) that the absence of works is a proof that the faith is destitute of what corresponds to the soul, as the animating principle of the body,* Works, therefore, are signs of the vitality of faith.

'We shall be assisted in forming correct ideas of his doctrine respecting faith, if we examine the examples which he adduces of genuine and spurious faith; on the one hand, the faith of evil spirits in one God, which only fills them with terror; and, on the other, the faith of Abraham. It is evident, that, speaking from the standing point of those whose opinions he is combating, he here applies the same term to two distinct affections of the soul. In the first case, where the reference is to the case of evil spirits, the feeling of dependence in an Almighty Supreme Being shews itself as something unavoidable, as an overpowering force; but it is only a passive state (a παθος), with which the spontaneity, the free receptivity, and self-activity of the mind by no means corresponds: the whole internal constitution of a rational being is opposed to it. In the second case, faith is not merely something passive, existing independently of the self-determination of man, but a voluntary recognition of this dependence takes place by an act of the will, and thereby becomes a regulating principle of the whole life. Hence, in the former instance, works, as well as the whole tendency of the life, must stand in contradiction to what, from this standing point, is called faith; in the latter, the inward tendency of the life, proceeding from faith, necessarily manifests itself by works. That work of Abraham which the apostle adduces, was indeed no other than an expression of that unconditional and trustful surrender to the divine will, which is likewise by Paul considered as a mark of Abraham's genuine and divinely approved δικαιοσυνη.

'Paul adduces this example with a special reference to its internal principle in opposition to a vain righteousness of works. James makes use of it in its outward manifestation against an *opus operatum* of faith; and in this point of view he could say that by his εργα, Abraham proved that he was a δικαιος. Faith co-operated with his works, by works his πιστις proved itself to be τελεια. When the Holy Scriptures tell us that Abraham's faith was imputed to him by God for righteousness, this can only be understood of a faith which was accompanied with good works as marks of its genuineness. Certainly James, who believed in the divine omniscience, could not suppose that the outward act was requisite to make Abraham's disposition manifest to God; but he meant to say that Abraham's faith could not have justified him before God, if it had not been such as would manifest its inward quality by such works. But Paul would not have applied the same term πιστις to two religious standing points that differed so widely from one another; he would hardly have designated by this name what James asserts of evil spirits.

'A contradiction, indeed, may appear to exist between the two apostles in this respect, that while one gives as a mark of the standing

point of leg righteousness, 'do this and thou shalt live;' the other, expressing his own views, says, 'a doer of the work shall be blessed by (or in) his deed.' But this contradiction vanishes, if we are careful to distinguish the different references of these two statements. Paul speaks of the νομος as of the sum of certain imperative prescriptions, and of man under the legal standing-point antecedent to Christianity. James intends the new law of life revealed by the Messiah, which he designates the νομος τελειος, in allusion to its forming the consummation of Judaism, as Christ in his sermon on the Mount represents the gospel to be the fulfilling of the law. Viewing it under this aspect, he calls it (i. 25) the law of liberty, no doubt from the fact, that those who truly received it rendered a free obedience, which proceeded from an inward vital principle. He considers this law as equivalent to the λογος, the published doctrine of Christ. This doctrine is called a law, as exhibiting a rule of life, at the same time it is distinguished by such epithets as the *perfect* law and the law *of liberty*, that Paul would not have scrupled to term the gospel a law, if thus designated. And it is all along implied, that through Christ the perfection and freedom of religion are established, compared with the defectiveness of the former dispensation, which was one of bondage. Referring to the doctrine of Christ as being such a law, he says, what Paul must have said of Christianity as the νομος πνευματος, that mere knowledge would be of no avail, but that the essential point was, not to make this doctrine an object of indolent contemplation, but to feel its power as a law determining the life. Whosoever practically received this doctrine would be blessed in his deed. Only he who allowed his life to be regulated by Christianity, could experience its blessed effects. He alone would feel himself truly blessed in the influence proceeding from Christianity.

'In relation to moral requirements, James was very unlike the advocates of a legal righteousness, who insisted more on a multiplicity of individual good works than in the regulation of the whole life by one leading principle: for it is one of the characteristics of this epistle, with which his argument respecting faith is closely connected, that he traces back, believing, knowing, and acting, to the unity of a whole life proceeding from a godlike disposition, and opposes the isolation of acts, which can maintain their true significance only in this connexion.' —Vol. ii., pp. 228—232.

The closing paragraph of the preceding extract is worthy of particular attention, not only for its truth, but on account of the great stress laid upon the principle stated in it, in the moral systems of Neander, Tholuck, and the writers belonging to their school. It is unnecessary to give any further specimens of the *doctrinal* investigations in this work, as all that we have said upon, and quoted from it, goes to show that it must be regarded, even more than most books, merely as the material of thought and reflection to well-disciplined serious minds. The peculiar phraseology of the volumes will not have escaped the notice of the reader. This has its origin in a style of thinking and idea

with which the English mind is not familiar, and must be allowed to be a disadvantage; but pains and patience will obtain the mastery over it.

What now remains to be said, must regard the work as a translation. As we have stated that in proper hands it may be very useful, its enterprising publisher is entitled to the thanks of British readers for undertaking to publish it in English. He has also done well in committing the task of translation to Mr. Ryland; for though that gentleman lacks, we believe, one not unimportant qualification for translating so difficult a work as this—*i. e.*, a familiarity (obtained by residing in German society) with the peculiarities of the various theological schools of modern Germany,—yet this is in great measure compensated by his extensive reading in that language, and his great ability, which this translation abundantly proves, in apprehending clearly and forcibly the diversified phases of thought which pass before him. In every respect he may be said to have well discharged his office; but the full meaning of that judgment can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with the original. The work is, indeed, so difficult, that in advising with friends, as we have done more than once, respecting a translation of it, we always suggested the importance of a preliminary dissertation, to be written with the special object of putting the mere English reader, as nearly as possible, on a par with those for whom the work was originally prepared. But what is done is well done, and we are truly glad that the translation was made by so competent a hand. The meaning has not only been accurately seized, but well expressed. The style of the translation is as good as that of such an original well can be. We must own that, in many parts, the translation is the more readable book of the two.

But we must here repeat the recommendation which in a recent number of this journal was urged upon the publisher of this valuable series—greater attention to typographical accuracy. Where the blame falls we do not know, principally perhaps upon the public, who, we think, have not patronized the series in any fair proportion to its merits, and the very extensive outlay which it must have occasioned the publisher. We believe that if the risk and cost of publication were better remunerated, there would be less reason to complain of the typography. But the fact is, the typography is truly German—in other words, so incorrect, that the work before us ought, like most German books, to have its half sheet at least of *corrigenda*. 'Bauer' for 'Baur' occurs more than once. 'Tubingen' for 'Tübingen,' vol. i. p. 123; Denkwirdigkerten' for 'Denkwürdigkeiten,' vol. i. p. x.; 'Bible' for Bibel;' 'Schneckenburgh' for 'Schneckenburger;' 'Wur-

tumburg' for 'Würtemberg.' These are a few specimens of errata in German. In vol. i. p. 222, we have 'Isodorus' (of Pelusium) for 'Isidorus.' The iota subscript of the Greek dative is several times omitted. And in Hebrew words, not only are the proper points occasionally omitted or transposed, but one letter is often substituted for another. The translator intimates in his preface that there was a necessity that as little delay as possible should occur in the preparation of the work, and this necessity, whatever it was, may as fairly be pleaded in extenuation of typographical errors, as of any literary inadvertencies of the translator; but yet such inaccuracies should not be, and we must express our hope that greater care, on his own part, and a more adequate remuneration for his outlay, risk, and trouble, on the part of the public, will enable Mr. Clark, in future volumes, to meet every reasonable expectation of their purchasers.

Art. III. *Lehrbuch der Mechanischen Technologie.* (*Compendium of Mechanical Technology.*) By C. W. Rüst. Berlin. 1839.

Technological Literature. Its origin and progress in Germany.

The literature of industry and the useful arts, the new offspring of our utilitarian age, has within the last few years assumed an important rank among her elder sisters. Before the middle of the last century, treatises on the useful arts were not only of rare appearance, but also of a purely abstract and speculative character, so that few took any interest in their perusal, and fewer still derived any practical benefit from them. This apparent neglect of technological literature was owing partly to the contempt in which the various branches of industry were held by the better educated portion of society, and partly to the spirit of exclusiveness so peculiar to the former times, when free competition was numbered among things inimical to national welfare, and the useful arts bore the same character of mystery as the occult sciences did in the middle ages, the members of the fraternity doing their utmost to keep the principles of their trade a secret from the public. Moreover, the guarantees of success in the mechanical trades were more sought in individual skill and manual dexterity than in the application of general principles, and their better development by means of mutual and public communication. Neither was the absolute influence which mathematics and the physical sciences now-a-days exercise on the mechanical arts, at all felt in the previous periods, when the artisan confined himself exclusively to mechanical and manual proficiency. Nor was the circumscribed activity of the press in those times more calculated

to promote the rapid development of the principles of the arts, by diligently giving publicity to any new phenomenon that resulted from the experiments made by some adept in a distant part of the civilized globe.

It was in the year 1761 that the French academy of Paris first began to publish a collection of minute descriptions of the various ways and processes peculiar to the useful arts, accompanied with numerous and well-executed illustrations, under the title, ' Description des Arts et des Métiers faites ou approuvées par MM. de l'Academie.' An enterprise of such a novel character could not fail to attract the attention of the civilized world, and more especially of the thinking Germans, whose industrious pens soon occupied the press with works of a similar nature, which were, however, all left unfinished for want of pecuniary means, as no literary society was at that time in existence in Germany, whose exchequer might have advanced the requisite outlay.

An imperfect translation of the French work began to appear in 1762, and was continued after many interruptions, and under several publishers, until 1805, when it stopped altogether, after having reached the twenty-fifth volume, from want of public patronage, most of the articles being more suited for French than German industry. A few attempts, however, from that period, to remodel the French work for the use of the German artisan, deserve particular notice, and more especially when we consider the many difficulties the authors had to surmount. Foremost in merit stands the work of Sprengel (continued by Hartwig), which appeared in Berlin from 1768—1795, in seventeen parts, under the title, ' Handwerke und Künste in Tabellen,' (trades and arts in tables.) The merit of the work is enhanced by the circumstance that all the minute descriptions therein are the result of personal inquiry, contemplation, and study, without in the least having relied on mere hearsay. It embraces a great number of mechanical trades then practised in the Prussian dominions, which are analyzed with precision and clearness.

Aware at last of the utter impossibility of furnishing Germany with complete and detailed monographies of the various trades and arts by mere individual exertion, the thought of concentrating and abridging such a work in the form of a compendium, soon suggested itself to some literati, and the first attempt of the kind was made by Beckmann in Göttingen, in 1777, by his work, ' Aulcitüng zur Technologie' (Guide to Technology), who was also the first who introduced that word (technology) in modern literature. The merits of the work, in an historical point of view, are invaluable, though its defects in practical knowledge nearly overbalance them, since it not only confines itself

to but a very limited number of mechanical trades (mostly of a chemical nature), but it describes them also so very loosely as to be of no practical use without the assistance of a teacher. Nor is there anything like a scientific survey of the whole sphere of industry, or even a critical analysis of some detached branches, the work being of a purely historical character. Nevertheless, the first impulse was thereby given to a literary survey of the arts, while the work itself so far met the demands of the times, that it went through five editions in less than twenty-five years, not to mention numerous piratical reprints in the various states in Germany. The novelty of the undertaking diverted attention from its defects, or rendered them at least less glaring, while the author himself (Beckmann) aimed afterwards at a more critical survey of the mechanical arts, by his work, 'Entwurf zur allgemeinen Technologie' (Sketch of General Technology), which he published at Göttingen, in 1806—a work which may truly be said to have formed the stepping-stone to the eminent station which the useful arts now occupy.

It led, above all, to the strong line of demarcation that was henceforth drawn between *special* and *general* technology, as two distinct branches of literature. In *special* technology a description is given of the whole series of processes raw material undergoes before it assumes the form and character of a finished article; while in *general* technology the various modes of operation are described, which various materials undergo to obtain analogously one and the same end. Thus, under the head '*division* or *diminution*,' are found various methods practised on different materials to reduce them to that state, such as cleaving, cutting, tearing, breaking, rubbing, pressing, beating, scraping, &c. Again, under the head 'Combination or Augmentation,' are specified various ways to accomplish that end, according to the nature of the material, and the purpose of its use, such as binding, twisting, knitting, weaving, sowing, cementing, gluing, nailing, screwing, rivetting, soldering, &c.; while under the head 'Formation or Shaping,' are given the various mechanical expedients to form a material into a desired object, such as hewing, planing, turning, carving, casting, melting, &c. It is obvious that a detailed account of the various operations in the mechanical trades, after such a plan, must open even to the common artisan a mine of knowledge, and suggest to him the possibility of effecting improvements in his profession by the application of new principles, the source of all inventions.

No sooner, however, had Beckmann suggested this new field of practical knowledge, than a host of writers attempted its cultivation, all of whom, however, entirely failed in their new enterprise, from deficiency in practical knowledge, having

taken as their guide throughout, either the work of the French Academy or that of Sprengel-Hartwig, without considering that time in its progress carries with it also that of things, and that matters have greatly changed even in the workshop of the common mechanic since the year 1760. An honourable exception must, however, be made of two writers whose profundity in system, and close and clear analysis in the practical treatment of their subjects, place them in relievo among the vast group of writers of that period. We mean *Hermbstädt* and *Poppe*.

Hermbstädt of Berlin (now deceased), a man deeply versed in practical chemistry, cultivated more particularly the chemical part of technology, and his observations are mostly founded on the results of his own experiments. His works on brandy distilling, beer-brewing, leather fabrication, and dying, have acquired universal celebrity. He was, however, less successful in his subsequent work on General Technology, which he published in 1814, owing to his want of practical knowledge on various subjects he undertakes to treat of. As late as 1830, though then at a very advanced age, he published another edition of that work, making, however, but little improvement in it.

Poppe (a pupil of Beckmann, now in Tübingen), commenced authorship with a work which gave promise of a glorious literary career. His maiden work on the 'History of Technology' (Göttingen, 1807—1811), contains a valuable mass of facts and dates in the history of inventions, and is undeniably the result of deep study and personal observation. Dazzled, however, by the success attending that first work, he subsequently undertook to treat of subjects with which he was less familiar, thus deteriorating instead of increasing his literary reputation. We allude to his works 'Manual of General Technology' (Frankfort, 1807), 'Compendium of General Technology' (1809), and 'Complete Guide to General Technology, (Stutgart, 1821.) In the latter work the author endeavours to follow out the hint given him by his master, Beckmann, but lack of practical information renders the work more a theoretical and historical treatise than one of substantial use for the mechanic. Nor are his other publications, 'Technological Lexicon' (1816—1820), 'Compendium of Special Technology' (1819—1838), and 'Complete Theory of National Industry' (1833—1834, and still unfinished), more distinguished in a practical point of view.

By far more profound and original are the works of Chr. Bernoulli, of Basle, of which we will only mention his 'Manual of Technology' (Basle, 1833, 1834), and his writings on 'Cotton Manufactory,' 'Steam Engines,' which are alike distinguished both for their practical profundity and scientific analysis.

The branch of 'Economical Technology' has recently been treated in an eminent and masterly way by v. Otto, of Brunswick, in his 'Compendium of rational Practice of the Agricultural Professions.'

A mine of practical information, founded on scientific principles, is open to the mechanical enquirer, in the valuable 'Technological Encyclopædia' published by Cotta, and edited by Prechtl, of Vienna, who, together with Altmütter and Karmarsch, are the most distinguished contributors to that work, as regards original articles. From 1830 to 1837, eight large volumes have appeared, enriched with upwards of two hundred copper plates. The said Altmütter is besides known by his important work, 'Collection of the Instruments in the Polytechnic Institution at Vienna;' while Karmarsch (pupil of the former) is well-known in the literary world by his works 'Introduction to the Mechanical Principles of Technology,' and 'Compendium of Technology.'

Of the vast number of existing periodicals on the useful arts in Germany, we shall be content with mentioning the most conspicuous. The first place must be assigned to the 'Polytechnic Journal,' published by Cotta, and edited by Dr. Dingler, a most valuable repository of all the remarkable phases in the inventions of the arts that occur throughout Europe. Next in rank stands the 'Polytechnic Central Journal' (Leipsic), containing profound views on select subjects in the arts. The 'Magazine of the most recent Inventions' (Leipsic), is in extent and importance much inferior to the two former, and has of late limited its labours almost exclusively to translations from the 'London Mechanics' Magazine.'

The 'Annals of the Polytechnic Institution of Vienna,' have not appeared regularly within the last few years, but the essays in it are always remarkable for depth of knowledge and originality of conception. The numerous societies which have of late been formed throughout Germany for the promotion and encouragement of the mechanical arts, have given rise to many magazines which are conducted with more or less skill, according to the abilities of the editors. The most distinguished are—'Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Industry in Prussia,' 'Communications for Commerce and Trade,' published by a similar society in Bohemia, and other magazines under the same title, by the Societies of Saxony, Bavaria, &c. Nor ought we to omit the important periodicals 'Archive for Mineralogy, Geognosy, and Mining,' edited by Karsten (Berlin), the 'Journal of the Art of Printing,' by Meyer (Brunswick), and the 'Journal for Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers,' by Kimbel (Mentz), all replete with ample and profound practical information.

The beneficial effects arising from the promotion of technological

literature in general, are of a twofold nature. It not only tends t initiate the unprofessional into the principles of the various trades but to render also the mechanic himself more proficient in his art Knowledge of the useful arts seems now to be included in com mon education, chiefly owing to the rising state of the middl classes, who, coming in daily contact with professional men an artisans, are neither too proud to be conversant with the principl of the useful arts, nor so devoid of common sense as not to b aware of the pecuniary advantages accruing from such informa tion, as it enables them to estimate at their due value the me chanical works done for them. Nor has the prevalent spirit o inquiry, so peculiar to our age, contributed less to extend ou research from nature and her materials, to the objects man form out of them. The tendency, moreover, of our day, to establis manufactories on an extensive scale has naturally created a ne class in society, as an intermediate link between purely scientifi and reflecting men on the one hand, and the labouring masses o the other—a class that partakes at once of the pursuits of both thus uniting, as it were, body and soul together.

As to the advantages accruing to the mechanic himself fro the promotion of technological literature, they are too obvious t require explanation, as most inventions in the arts are the off spring of the application of a new principle, or a princip hitherto alien to a certain art, but which the inventor make practical use of, having become familiar with it by studying th elements of other arts.

Art. IV. *The United Irishmen, their Lives and Times.* By R. R Madden, M.D., Author of 'Travels in the East,' &c. &c. 2 vol London: J. Madden and Co., Leadenhall-street. 1842.

THE Irish rebellion of 1798 is but little understood in thi country. The causes in which it originated, the agents by whom it was planned, the ends it was designed to subserve, and th means by which it was suppressed, are alike misapprehended, o but very partially known. Ignorance of the more importan facts of the case, with strong prejudices against the religio whose secular interests are supposed to have prompted the out break, have in general characterized the judgments of ou countrymen on this subject. The excitement, both political an religious, which prevailed at the time, greatly favoured the polic of those who were interested in misleading the national judg ment; and the succession of stirring events since that day, aide by the strong religious antipathies of our people, has prevente

a calm review of the opinions then formed. False and pernicious views have in consequence continued to influence our theories and policy respecting Irish affairs. Prejudice has retained its supremacy, and the evil passions which follow in its wake have flourished beneath its auspices and protection. It is time that a better state of things should be introduced. A sufficient interval has elapsed since 1798 for the judgment to recover its self-possession and coolness; whilst the evidence accumulated during that period places us in a position as favourable as can be desired for a dispassionate and enlarged view of the whole matter.

Mr. Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was of great service to the cause of historical truth, and other works which have recently appeared have in like manner contributed to clear away the mists of prejudice, and the false representations of unprincipled and interested witnesses. Such publications have usually been met with a furious outcry from writers of the Tory school. Judging from the language which they adopt on such occasions, we might be led to imagine that the party for which they write had always been the warmest friends of Ireland, the most solicitous to allay her feuds, to heal her divisions, to bind up her wounds. They are so anxious to avoid all recurrence to topics which can irritate a proverbially excitable people,—are so desirous that past insults and injuries should be forgotten, in order that future friendship and good offices may be cultivated,—they deem the bare mention of former animosities, the mere historical detail of English misgovernment and English deception in Ireland as so heinous an offence, that judging from their words and apparent earnestness, we might readily conclude that Ireland was the pet child of toryism, the object of its fondest, most forbearing, and most disinterested love. We need not say how far this is from the truth. If there be one thing which Ireland curses more heartily than any other, it is English toryism, transplanted to, and rendered still more rank in, Irish soil. The fruit it has borne has been bitter in the extreme, and the hatred engendered is in consequence identified with the deepest and most cherished feelings of the Irish heart.

The history of toryism in Ireland exhibits in a disgusting light the hypocrisy of these professions of moderation and good-will. Its advocates know that its deeds have been evil—that it has reigned by terror, not by affection—has consulted the interests of the few by the sacrifice of the many—and therefore it is that they deprecate the faithful record of its deeds. They are well aware that the verdict of impartial history must be against it, and they would therefore have that history remain unwritten. It is safer for them to trust, and they well know it, to the industriously propagated statements of their own partisans, than to commit their

cause to the decision of a judge whom neither their bribes nor their threats can influence. Dr. Madden has no doubt made up his mind to the sort of abuse with which his work will meet from this quarter, and will treat it as it deserves. For our own part we thank him most heartily for the labour he has undertaken, and proceed, without further comment, to acquaint our readers with the general character of his volumes. His object, as stated by himself, is 'to do justice to the United Irishmen, to point out the wrongs by which they were goaded to resistance, the nature of the political evils they desired to remove from their suffering country, the good at which they aimed, and the errors into which they were betrayed.'

The elucidation of this portion of our history has been steadily kept in view, and no pains have been spared to effect it. 'Setting out with the determination 'to extenuate nought, and to set down nought in malice,' he has devoted some labour and expense to collecting documents which, in the ordinary course of events, must soon have been lost irrecoverably, from whence any reasonable readers, unprejudiced by party, may be able to form a correct estimate of the motives and actions of men, who have hitherto been praised and blamed with little or no reference to the real circumstances of their conduct or their principles.' The following brief extract from our author's preface will probably startle some of our readers, while it may serve to prepare them for the subsequent disclosures of his work:—

'Little do the people of England know of the class of persons who were driven into rebellion. Englishmen may probably have heard that a number of obscure, ill-disposed, and reckless men, had engaged in an unnatural and unprovoked rebellion, and were executed; that the leaders of it were poor, discontented, embarrassed wretches, persons of no standing in society, of no character in private life, contaminated by revolutionary doctrines and popish principles. If such persons read this work, they will find that a great portion of these unfortunate persons were gentlemen by birth, education, and profession;—many of them celebrated for their talents, respected for their private worth; several of them scholars who had distinguished themselves in the University of Dublin; the majority of them members of the Established Church; some of them Presbyterian ministers; few, if any, of them who did not exert more or less influence over their countrymen.' —Vol. i., p. xi.

It becomes us at the outset to remark, that we see little to admire in the character and policy of the principal agents of the Irish rebellion. With few exceptions, their patriotism was far from being of the highest and least questionable order. A goading sense of the wrongs inflicted on their country was their ruling passion, and, together with the sufferings which they en-

dured, constituted their only claim on the sympathy of mankind. Of political forethought and practical wisdom they were wholly destitute, and their plans were consequently distinguished by rashness and irresolution, a blindness to the dangers which they hazarded, and a self-exaggeration which betokened minds of an inferior order. The power of public sentiment was not then known in Ireland, and the physical was in consequence preferred to the moral, in utter disregard of the dictates of prudence, and the terrible calamities to which their country was thereby exposed. The mania of French republicanism and infidelity had spread over the nation like a torrent, and swept away all the precautionary landmarks which the experience of former ages had erected.

Dr. Madden's work, necessarily of a desultory character, is preceded by *An Historical Introduction*, furnished by a literary friend, which traces with considerable ability, and in a luminous style, the history of our relations with Ireland. It is a melancholy, and, to England, a disgraceful tale which this chapter tells. We would that it were otherwise; but the truth must be known, in order that the existing state of feeling should be understood, and the errors and crimes of a former system be avoided. Referring to the rebellion which spread such terror through England in the time of Charles the First, and to Cromwell's campaign which followed, the writer of this *Introduction* remarks:—

'This dreadful war, in which both sides manifested an equal degree of exterminating fury, is one of the most perplexing recorded in the annals of any country, from the great variety of the parties engaged, and from their rancorous hostility towards each other. The English were divided into the friends of the parliament and the friends of the king; the latter again were subdivided into a party disposed to grant reasonable terms to the catholic lords, and a party which agreed with the puritans that popery should not be tolerated; all were, however, united in a desire that advantage should be taken of the commotions to reap a new harvest of confiscations and grants. On the other side were the Lords of the Pale, Catholics, indeed, by religion, but English by descent, inclination, and prejudice, zealous royalists, and the more so as the king's enemies upbraided him with a secret inclination in favour of popery;—the Irish of the north, whose chief anxiety was to recover their ancient lands and expel the intrusive settlers;—the men of Connaught and Leinster, whose great objects were to attain security for their property, and toleration for their religion,—a large body, chiefly among the southern Irish, aiming at establishing the independence of their country under a Catholic Sovereign appointed by the pope;—there were other subdivisions of party, each obstinately bent on its own object, without any regard for the general interest of the country, or any very fixed principle of action. Had it been possible for the Catholic royalists to trust the Protestant friends of the king,

and the native Irish to coalesce with the Lords of the Pale, Ireland would have been tranquillized and secured for the king in a week, for the Puritans were a miserable minority; but during the whole duration of the civil war in England, the several divisions of the royal party in Ireland spent their time in despicable squabbles, which served no purpose but to increase their mutual animosities.

'In the midst of the almost incredible blunders and follies of the royalists and the Irish, Cromwell landed, and by the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, diffused terror over the land. But even these fearful warnings failed to produce an union of parties; the friends of the Papal Nuncio thwarted the plans of the king's lieutenant; the Protestant royalists openly expressed dislike of their allies; the native Irish could not be brought to coalesce with men of English descent. Whichever party prevailed in the council, the minority took vengeance for defeat by betraying the common cause to the common enemy; and it seemed as if Cromwell had only to look on tranquilly until his adversaries had torn each other to pieces. But he was too hurried to wait; he marched onward, marking his track by fire and desolation. Some places, particularly Clonmel, made a resistance which would have afforded an opportunity for changing the whole course of the war, but the Commissioners of Trust, appointed by the council of confederate parties, countermanded the orders of the lord-lieutenant, and he thwarted every one of their projects; the garrisons were abandoned to their fate, and a handful of Puritans became masters of Ireland. The confederates had nothing more to do than to dispute which party had the greatest share in producing such a calamity.'—Ib., p. 13—15.

The association of United Irishmen grew out of the Irish volunteers, when the latter organization departed from its original principles by refusing to advocate the emancipation of the Catholics. By this suicidal act it lost the confidence of the people, and soon fell before the suspicions and fears of the English government. The period of its existence, as an organized military association, was from 1777 to 1793, two years prior to the latter of which dates the first society of United Irishmen was formed at Belfast, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of considerable promise. Amongst the resolutions adopted by the Belfast Society at its first general meeting, it is declared that the sole constitutional mode by which the undue influence of the English government over the affairs of Ireland can be opposed, 'is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament,' and 'that no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious profession.' The two great principles of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation were thus explicitly announced as the main objects of the association, and for some time continued, notwithstanding the republicanism of individual members, to be its distinctive badge. The organization spread rapidly through the country. In Novem-

ber, 1791, a society was formed at Dublin, when the following test, to be taken by every member on admission, was adopted:—

'"I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.'"—Ib., pp. 137, 138.

The language held at the different meetings of the Society during this and the following year, was bold and imprudent, so as to afford reasonable ground to apprehend the change which speedily came over its counsels. Several state prosecutions in consequence took place, in one of which, as advocate for the accused, A. H. Rowan, Mr. Curran delivered that celebrated speech, which has probably obtained a wider circulation than any other specimen of Irish oratory of any age. In 1794, the violent language employed, and the daring publicity with which the proceedings of the Society were carried on, brought on its members the vengeance of government. On the 4th of May in that year, their ordinary place of meeting was visited by the police, and their papers were seized. An important change in the construction and recognised object of the Society speedily afterwards took place,—one which the slightest foresight might have predicted, and which was obviously the natural growth of events. The more timid and prudent part of the members retired, whilst the more enthusiastic and determined remained, and gave a thoroughly republican complexion to the association. This happened in 1795. 'The original test of the Society was changed into an oath of secrecy and fidelity: its original objects, reform and emancipation, were now merged in aims amounting to revolution and the establishment of a republican government.' The organization of the Society was completed, and its branches were spread systematically over the whole country. It was imagined by the leaders of the United Irishmen that they might reckon with confidence on the fidelity of all their confederates. In this, however, they were egregiously mistaken, as the event proved. Several of the most active and noisy of their associates were in the pay of government, and contributed at once to fan the mistaken patriotism of their countrymen, and to reveal their counsels to the English ministry.

'In this catalogue of treachery, the names of persons are to be found, who were at the same time the prominent partisans—nay, the professional advocates—of the party committed in this unfortunate struggle, and the secret agents and paid servants of the government, employed as spies on their own accomplices and companions. The treason of these men to their comrades, no doubt was serviceable to government—nay more, beneficial to the country itself; but the traitors were despicable, even then, in the sight of their employers, and cannot be otherwise now, in the eyes of their successors. Every important proceeding of the United Irishmen was known to government. Lord Clare acknowledged, in a debate in the English House of Lords in 1801, that 'the United Irishmen who negotiated with the Irish government in 1798, had disclosed nothing which the king's ministers were not acquainted with before.'

'The betrayers of their society were not the poor or inferior members of it; some of them were high in the confidence of the directory; others not sworn in, but trusted in its concerns, learned in the law, social in their habits, liberal in their politics, prodigal in their expenses, needy in their circumstances, and therefore covetous of money; loose in their public and private principles, therefore open to temptation.'—Ib., pp. 147—149.

A regular system of espionage was adopted in 1795. In the following year few secrets of the Society were unknown to the executive. Even their legal advisers, so thorough was the corruption of the times, were in many cases in the service of government, and received as the reward of their infamy, large donations from the public purse.

Amongst the list of informers whom the government retained, Mr. Thomas Reynolds held an infamous pre-eminence. He was a silk manufacturer in Dublin, of indifferent private character, who had been admitted to the councils, and was well acquainted with the leaders, of the Association. Dr. Madden tells us—

'The person whose disclosures of the designs of the Leinster societies of United Irishmen, government ultimately availed themselves of, was Mr. Thomas Reynolds, a silk manufacturer in the liberty, whose business had been carried on at No. 9, Park-street, the house in which he was born, on the 12th of March, 1771. On the anniversary of that day, twenty-seven years subsequently,—namely, on the 12th of March, 1798, the first striking incident in the drama of his public life took place, at the house of his friend, Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, where the latter and fourteen others of his associates, delegates from various societies of United Irishmen, holding a provincial meeting, were arrested on his information.'—Ib., pp. 212, 213.

No words can express the infamy of such a man, nor is our abhorrence diminished by any benefits to the commonwealth which may have been incidental to his treachery. His motives

were base in the last degree, and his memory is in consequence loathed by all classes of Irishmen. His pecuniary remuneration, however, was most ample. He had his reward, though even that, liberal as it was, failed to satisfy his selfish mind. The following extract shows how liberal Tory governments have been in remunerating their base and unscrupulous agents:—

'Documents, whose authenticity cannot be called in question, are in existence, and furnish irrefragable proof of Mr. T. Reynolds having received for his disclosures, not 500*l.* only, but the sum of 5000*l.*, in four payments, at the following dates, and in the following amounts:—

'1798, Sept. 29,	Mr. T. Reynolds received	-	£1000
— Nov. 16,	Ditto	ditto - -	2000
1799, Jan. 19,	Ditto	ditto - -	1000
— March 4,	Ditto	ditto - -	1000'

'to complete 5000*l.*'—And, moreover, on the 14th of June, 1799, Mr. Reynolds received his annuity of 1000*l.*, 'in full to the 25th of March, 1799,' from which period till his death, the 18th of August, 1836, his pension continued to be paid to him.

'The amount of that pension was 1000*l.* Irish, or 920*l.* British: he received it for a term of thirty-seven years.

'The gross amount for the above period, at 920*l.* per annum, is - - - - - - - - -	£34,040
Gratuity before the trials of Bond, M'Cann, and Byrne	500
Gratuities between Sept. 1798, and March 4, 1799 -	5000
Consulship at Lisbon, four years at 1400*l.* per annum	5600
Consulship at Iceland, two years at 300*l.* per annum -	600
	£45,740

'In 1810 he was appointed to the consulate at Lisbon, where he remained nearly four years, the salary and emoluments of which office averaged 1400*l.* per annum.

'In 1817 he was appointed to the consulate at Iceland, where he remained about one year, on a salary of 300*l.* per annum; he returned to England, and in 1819 went back to Copenhagen, where he continued a few months, and then, on leave of absence, repaired to France, leaving his son to act in his stead as vice-consul, in which office he continued till 1822; another son obtained a lucrative appointment under the stamp office department at Hull.

'This enormous sum of 45,740*l.*, the 'disinterested friend of his country' received, and as the pension on the Irish civil list reverts to his widow and to his two sons, who are now in the prime of life, it is by no means improbable that one of the parties may survive the person to whom it was originally granted some five-and-twenty or thirty years; and if so, the people of Great Britain will have the further gratification of paying another sum of twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds more, for the credit of Lord Castlereagh's government in Ireland (nominally of Lord Camden's), and as a tribute of

'Such were the well-timed measures adopted by the Irish government to cause the insurrection, in Lord Castlereagh's words, 'to explode,' when the mischievous designs of the United Irishmen Society had been long known to that government,—and so fully, that one of its leading members declared in parliament, 'that the state prisoners had confessed nothing which had not been known to them before.' Why, then, did they not arrest the leaders of the Leinster societies long before, and prevent the insurrection which at length broke out?

'This policy of allowing a people to go into rebellion, when the leaders of it might have been previously seized, and their plans consequently obstructed and deranged, is one which, in the recent commotion in Upper Canada, has been stigmatized in the British parliament as a proceeding which could not be defended on any grounds. The policy (worthy of Machiavelli) had been acted on, however, by Mr. Pitt so early as 1794, in the case of Jackson, the emissary of the French government, who had been denounced to him by his companion, Cockayne. On Jackson's arrival in England, Mr. Pitt was informed of his treasonable designs by Cockayne, and yet he suffered the traitor to proceed to Ireland on his mischievous enterprise, accompanied by the informer, to open his mission to the leaders of the United Irishmen Society in that country, and to inveigle the imprudent and unwary persons with whom he was put in communication, into acts of treason.

'The policy which dictated such a proceeding, truly deserves the worst name that can be given to it. The duty of an enlightened minister in similar circumstances, in these days, would be considered by all parties, to prevent, at the onset, the accomplishment of such designs; and where the violence of political excitement was tending towards sedition, before the heated partizan had precipitated his followers and himself into the guilt of treason, to check his course, instead of accelerating his steps. The process, however, through which the unfortunate country had to pass before a legislative Union could be carried, was not to be interrupted. Two years later, Mr. Harvey M. Morres, a gentleman of rank and a magistrate of the county Tipperary, and then of acknowledged loyalty, wrote to Mr. Secretary Cooke, informing him that the Orange and other factious societies had recently spread into that county, and were productive of mischievous results, which would involve the country in insurrection if they were not suppressed. Mr. Morres expressed his readiness to act in concert with the government in preventing such disorders, and discouraging those societies, which then were exasperating the people. Mr. Secretary Cooke addressed a reply to this gentleman, which could leave no doubt on his mind that the Orange societies were under the especial protection of the government, and the result would be putting the people out of the king's peace. Mr. Morres was thanked for 'this proof of his zeal and loyalty,' but was informed the government saw no reason for acting on his suggestions, or availing itself, in this matter, of his services.'—Ib., 210—212.

It is intimated by Dr. Madden, though we can scarcely give credit to the statement, that treachery was not confined to the

mediate day, I was as fully convinced of his derangement as I was of my own existence; and under this impression, not only prayed with him, and for him, in his seemingly composed moments, but was quite delighted with the *wonderful* comfort which *devotional exercises* seemed to give him. Some of our party, however, suspected him of imposture from the first; and their suspicion was soon confirmed, by his being removed, for some time every day, to a distant apartment, and detained in secret conference. His total removal from us, a few days afterwards, and his *symptoms of insanity* suddenly disappearing, certainty succeeded suspicion, and his name was consigned to infamy, together with those of his employers.' '—Ib., pp. 321—323.

Efforts were made to involve the more moderate and constitutional reformers in the treasonable designs of the United Irishmen. Mr. Grattan was tampered with in the hope of his committing some indiscretion which might afford a plea for his arrest, but as his recent biographer remarks, he 'was by far too experienced a person to place himself in that distressing situation where he would be privy to proceedings which would have been disagreeable to him to know, and dangerous not to reveal.' Mr. Grattan was obnoxious to the ruling powers as a reformer, and still more so as one who had denounced their treachery, and acknowledged his own too easy faith in the matter of an independent legislature. In 1785 he discovered that the conceded independence of the Irish parliament, the great object of his past life, was but nominal and deceptive, and he immediately expressed his disappointment and indignation in terms which became his talents and his patriotism. This was the crowning sin of Grattan's political life, for which Lord Castlereagh and others would gladly have inflicted a merciless penalty.

Whatever may be thought of the rebellion itself, or of its prime movers, but one opinion can be entertained of the unspeakable baseness of the men who abused the confidence of their too credulous companions, in order to serve their own selfish interests. The character of a spy has been universally held to be hateful throughout the civilized world; nor is there anything in the spirit and services of those employed on this occasion in Ireland, to redeem them from the general infamy attaching to their class.

A judgment scarcely less condemnatory must be passed on the Irish government, which, on a full knowledge of the designs of the United Irishmen, permitted them to continue their organizations, and ultimately hastened the explosion of their treason. Lord Castlereagh had now abandoned the liberal professions which in other days had won him the confidence of his countrymen, and there was nothing too tortuous or base for his apostate mind.

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United Irishmen, but that 'in the closets of the most influential friends and agents of government, there existed channels of communication with the leaders of the United Irishmen, by means of which the most important measures of the administration were made known to the Directory, and to others in the confidence of its members, which frequently baffled the designs of government, and disconcerted the plans of the law officers of the crown in the course of the proceedings instituted against the members of this society.' We much doubt whether a more searching inquiry into the facts which are alleged to bear out this representation, would not lead to the conclusion that, in this, as in other well-known cases, the Irish leaders were duped by the plausible professions of government emissaries.

According to the new organization of the society which was completed May 10, 1795, separation from England and a republican government became the fixed, though not at once the avowed object of its leaders. Foreign assistance was deemed needful for the accomplishment of these ends, and France was naturally looked to as the quarter whence it was to be obtained. After the Indemnity and Insurrection Acts were proposed for the adoption of the legislature, and the system of coercion and extermination in the North had received a legal sanction, a meeting of the executive of the association took place in May 1796, when it was determined that as no constitutional means of opposing oppression were available, assistance should be sought from a foreign power. In pursuance of this resolution, Lord Edward Fitzgerald proceeded to the French frontier, and had an interview with General Hoche, with whom he entered into arrangements for the descent of French troops on the Irish coast. To this fearful pass were affairs brought by the unscrupulous tyranny and grinding oppression of the government on the one hand, and the unreflecting and passionate enthusiasm of the Irish leaders on the other. Alive only to the wrongs which had been inflicted by England, they blindly solicited the presence of a French auxiliary, and hazarded all the terrific evils of a civil war. The presence of foreign troops was at first thought indispensable to the success of a popular movement, but when disappointed in this direction, it was madly resolved to rouse an unarmed but infuriated populace against the disciplined troops and steady counsels of England. The sufferings of the Irish had indeed been terrible. No words can paint too darkly the atrocities practised on them. The injustice and oppression to which they had been subjected on the part of several administrations from 1792 to 1798, are set forth in a petition known to be drawn up by Mr. Grattan, and presented to the crown by the Irish Whig Club, as one of its last acts.

'In this admirable document, the recent rebellion is clearly and irrefragably shown to be the result of their measures; the dishonour brought on both Houses so early as 1792, by the scandalously open, and shamefully avowed sale of the Peerage, to procure seats in the Commons; the people's confidence in parliament destroyed; the unconstitutional nature of the act 33 George the Third, to prevent what was called unlawful assemblies of the people, under pretence of preparing petitions, or other addresses to the crown or the parliament; the rigour of the gunpowder and convention bills in 1793; the persecutions of the people, on the part of the Orangemen in the north, sanctioned and protected in 1790, by a Bill of Indemnity; the partiality exhibited in the resolutions brought forward in the House of Commons by the attorney-general in that year, as a kind of supplement to his insurrection act, wherein all the disturbances of the four preceding years are ascribed to the Defenders, and not one syllable is mentioned of the atrocities of the Peep-of-day Boys, committed on the people, who, having no protection to look to from the law, were compelled, in self-defence, to resist their exterminators. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill in 1797, the extreme severity of military government, Lord Carhampton's wholesale transportation of the people without trial or legal proof of guilt, General Lake's death-denouncing proclamation, the free quarters in the country, the proscription of the catholics, the burning of their dwellings and their chapels; and lastly, in a country where female chastity was held in the highest respect, the licentiousness of a military rabble, who, in the words of their commander-in-chief, at a later period, were 'terrible to all except the enemy,' are likewise referred to.'—Ib., pp. 117, 118.

These atrocities might have made out a justifiable reason for revolt, if there had been any rational ground to hope that such revolt could be carried to a successful issue; but they form no vindication of the rashness of men who plunged their country into the horrors of a civil war, without the slightest possibility of success. The utter hopelessness of the movement is strikingly shown in a conversation reported by Dr. Madden, as having taken place between Lord Fitzgerald and a gentleman whose name is not given, but whose remarks indicate his sound judgment and upright purpose.

'He informed Lord Edward, though he had taken no part for some time in the affairs of the Union, he did not cease to give his opinion when consulted, and especially by Lord Edward—though he was well aware, when once his lordship had made up his mind on a point, he was little influenced by the counsel of any man. When Lord Edward had spoken of his deserting the cause, the latter felt hurt by the observation, and replied in strong terms that he had not deserted the people, nor betrayed their cause, but those people had done so, who had precipitated measures, prematurely taken, which did not afford the least promise of success. 'My lord,' said he, 'I am not a person to desert

a cause in which I have embarked. I knew the dangers of it when I joined it; were those dangers only for myself, or the friends about me, I am not the man to be deterred by the consideration of what may happen to myself or them—we might fail, but the cause might not fail; and, so long as the country was served, it would matter little; but when I know the step that you are taking will involve that cause in the greatest difficulties, my fears are great—I tremble for the result. My lord, all the services that you or your noble house have ever rendered to the country, or ever can render to it, will never make amends to the people for the misery and wretchedness the failure of your present plans will cause them.' 'I tell you,' replied Lord Edward impetuously, 'the chances of success are greatly in favour of our attempt; examine these returns—here are returns which shew that one hundred thousand armed men may be counted on to take the field.' 'My lord,' replied his friend, 'it is one thing to have a hundred thousand men on paper, and another in the field. A hundred thousand men on paper will not furnish fifty thousand in array. I, for one, am enrolled amongst the number; but I candidly tell you, you will not find me in your ranks. You know for what objects we joined this Union, and what means we reckoned on for carrying them into effect. Fifteen thousand Frenchmen were considered essential to our undertaking. If they were so at that time, still more so are they now, when our warlike aspect has caused the government to pour troops into the country.' 'What!' said Lord Edward, 'would you attempt nothing without these fifteen thousand men—would you not be satisfied with ten thousand!' 'I would, my lord,' replied his friend, 'if the aid of the fifteen could not be procured.'

''But,' continued Lord Edward, 'if even the ten could not be got, what would you do then?'

''I would then accept of five, my lord,' was the reply.

''But,' said Lord Edward, fixing his eyes with great earnestness on him, 'we cannot get five thousand, and with respect to the larger force we originally wished for, had we succeeded, with so large a body of French troops, we might have found it difficult enough to get rid of our allies.' To this it was replied, 'My lord, if we found it possible to get rid of our enemies, ten times as numerous as our allies, we could have little difficulty in getting rid of the latter when necessity required it.'

''But, I tell you we cannot,' said Lord Edward, 'get even the five thousand you speak of, and when you know that we cannot, will you desert our cause? The eyes of the delegates were turned on the person thus addressed. He felt that Lord Edward had put the matter in such a light before those present, that he would have been branded as a traitor if he abandoned the cause, while there was a ray of hope for its success.

'My lord,' said he, 'if five thousand men could not be obtained, I would seek the assistance of a sufficient number of French officers to head our people, and with three hundred of these, perhaps we might be justified in making an effort for independence, but not without them.

What military men have we of our own, to lead our unfortunate people into action against a disciplined army?'

'Lord Edward ridiculed the idea of there being anything like discipline at that time in the English army. 'Besides, the numbers,' he said, 'of the United Irishmen, would more than counterbalance any superiority in the discipline of their enemies.'

''My lord,' said his friend, 'we must not be deceived; they are disciplined, and our people are not; if the latter are repulsed and broken, who is to reform their lines? Once thrown into disorder, the greater their numbers the greater will be the havoc made amongst them.'

'Lord Edward said, 'without risking a general engagement, he would be able to get possession of Dublin.'

''Suppose you did, my lord,' was the reply; 'the possession of the capital would not insure success; and even when you had taken the city, if the citizens asked to see the army of their brave deliverers, which might be encamped in the Phœnix Park, the citizens would naturally expect to see some military evolutions performed, some sort of military array, exhibited on such an occasion. Who would be there, my lord, to put the people through these evolutions? What officers have you to teach them one military manœuvre? and if they were suddenly attacked by an army in the rear, what leader accustomed to the field have you to bring them with any advantage to the attack? You, my lord, are the only military man amongst us, but you cannot be everywhere you are required; and the misfortune is, you delegate your authority to those whom you think are like yourself; but they are not like you, we have no such persons amongst us.'"—Ib., pp. 173—176.

Lord Edward himself was soon doomed to experience the soundness of the reasonings urged by his friend. The air of romance which has been thrown around him, has concealed from view the essential defects of his character, considered as a popular leader. He was generous, high-minded, and brave, but was utterly destitute of the cool judgment, political forethought and practical sagacity which his position required. The story of his arrest is well known, but Dr. Madden has furnished an account written by Nicholas Murphy, in whose house the arrest took place, from which we must make an extract.

The misguided patriot came to Murphy's house on the eighteenth of May, 1798, a reward of 1000*l.* having been offered a few days previously for his apprehension. He looked at this time, Murphy tells us, 'very bad and altered from what he appeared when I saw him before.' The writer continues,—

'In the course of the day (Saturday 19th) there was a guard of soldiers, and I believe Major Swan, Major Sirr, a Mr. Medlicot, and another, making a search at Mr. Moore's house, the Yellow Lion, in Thomas-street. A friend came and mentioned the circumstance to me. I immediately mentioned it to Lord Edward, and had him conveyed out of the house and concealed in a valley, on the roof of one of

the warehouses. While I was doing this, Sam. Neilson came and enquired of the girl if I was at home? I believe she said not. 'Bid him be cautious,' I think was what she told me he said. I considered that conduct of his very ill-timed; however, I am led to believe it was well intended. On Saturday morning, the day of the arrest, there came a single rap at the door; I opened it myself, and a woman with a bundle appeared, and enquired if that was Mr. Murphy's? I said it was. She informed me that she came from Mrs. Moore, and was directed to leave that bundle there. I knew not what it contained; but, to my surprise, when I opened it, I found it to be an uniform, of a very beautiful green colour, gimpt or braided down the front, with crimson or rose-colour cuffs and cape; there were two dresses—one a long-skirted coat, vest and pantaloons; the other a short jacket, that came round quite close, and was braided in front; there was also a pair of overalls, that buttoned from the hip to the ankle, with, I think, black Spanish leather on the sides. I suppose they were intended for riding. The bundle contained a cap of a very fanciful description, extremely attractive, formed exactly like a sugar-loaf—that part that went round the forehead green, the upper part crimson, with a large tassel, which inclined on one side or other occasionally when on the head.

'After placing Lord Edward in the valley, on the roof of the warehouse, I came down in a little time and stood at the gate, the soldiers still at Mr. Moore's. I perceived four persons walking in the middle of the street, some of them in uniform; I believe yeomen. I think Major Swan and Captain Medlicot was of the party. Towards four o'clock, Lord Edward came down to dinner; everything was supposed to be still. Now at this time Sam. Neilson came in to see us. Dinner was nearly ready, I asked him to stay and dine, which he accepted. Nothing particular occurred, except speaking on a variety of subjects, when Mr. Neilson, as if something struck him, immediately went away, leaving us together; there was very little wine taken. Lord Edward was very abstemious. In a short time I went out; and now the tragedy commenced. I wished to leave Lord Edward to himself. I was absent I suppose about an hour. I came into the room where we dined, being the back drawing-room, he was not there; I went to the sleeping-room, he was in bed. It was at this time about seven o'clock. I asked him to come down to tea. I was not in the room three minutes, when in came Major Swan, and a person following him in a soldier's jacket, and a sword in his hand; he wore a round hat. When I saw Major Swan, I was thunderstruck. I put myself before him, and asked his business. He looked over me, and saw Lord Edward in the bed. He pushed by me quickly, and Lord Edward seeing him, sprung up instantly like a tiger, and drew a dagger which he carried about him, and wounded Major Swan slightly I believe. Major Swan had a pistol in his waistcoat pocket, which he fired without effect; he immediately turned to me, and gave me a severe thrust of the pistol under the eye, at the same time desiring the person that came in with him, to take me into custody. I was immediately taken

away to the yard, there I saw Major Sirr and about six soldiers of the Dumbarton Fencibles.

'Major Swan had thought proper to run, as fast as he could, to the street, and I think he never looked behind him till he got out of danger, and he was then parading up and down the flags, exhibiting his linen, which was stained with blood. Mr. Ryan supplied Major Swan's place; he came in contact with Lord Edward, and was wounded seriously. Major Sirr at that time came up stairs, and keeping at a respectful distance, fired a pistol at Lord Edward in a very deliberate manner, and wounded him in the upper part of the shoulder. Reinforcements coming in, Lord Edward surrendered, after a very hard struggle.'—Ib., pp. 257—260.

Four days afterwards Sheares was apprehended, and the society in which he and Lord Edward had acted so prominent a part may be considered as having received its death blow in their arrest. 'From the date of its origin, October, 1791,' remarks Dr. Madden, 'having existed seven years, whether viewed in its results, the character of its members, or the nature of its proceedings, it may certainly be regarded as a confederacy, which no political or revolutionary society that has gone before it has surpassed in importance, boldness of design, and devotion to its principles, however mistaken they may have been.' Such was the general course of the society whose annals have been so diligently explored by our author; and we trust that its history will serve as a warning to the friends of Irish liberty in all future times. Though deprived of their leaders, without combination, and to a great extent unarmed, the people broke out into open rebellion, and terrible was the retribution which an infuriated and tyrannical government inflicted. The total loss on both sides, is estimated by Plowden, Moore, Curran, and Barrington, at about 70,000; whilst the deaths which happened from torture, or massacre when no resistance was offered, were more numerous that those which occurred in battle. 'No quarter,' remarks the Rev. Mr. Gordon, 'was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, with or without arms.' The use of torture was by no means uncommon, though Lord Castlereagh, with that reckless disregard of truth which constituted one of the features of his character, affirmed that 'torture was never inflicted in Ireland with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of government.' The fact was openly avowed and defended by members of the Irish government, by parties engaged in inflicting it, and by their advocates in the Irish parliament. Mr. John Claudius Beresford, the most competent of all men to speak on this subject, declared that 'it was unmanly to deny torture, as it was notoriously practised;' whilst Lord Clare, in his place in the upper house, avowed the practice, and defended it on the ground of its

necessity. Such was English justice at the close of the last century; such the circumstances which drove an indignant and sensitive people into rebellion. It was distinctly affirmed by Mr. Emmett, in his examination before a committee of the House of Lords, in reply to the enquiry, What caused the late insurrection? 'The free quarters, house burnings, tortures, and the military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow,' and it would be difficult to disprove his words. What renders the conduct of the government still more reprehensible is, the ground we have to believe, that the severe measures adopted were designed to drive the people to acts of violence, and thereby to forward Mr. Pitt's scheme of a Union. His policy was understood by the more sagacious and reflecting of the Irish, but their influence did not avail to restrain the rashness of their more impetuous associates. The English minister accomplished his purpose, but the means employed have rendered his memory loathsome to the nation.

In closing our notice of these volumes—the early perusal of which we strongly recommend—we cannot but congratulate our countrymen on the altered state of Ireland since the days to which we have been adverting. Much undoubtedly remains to be effected before the leaven of Orangeism will be wholly extracted from her government; but the Irish people have learnt the great secret of success, and if they steadily persevere in the exclusive use of moral and constitutional means, there is no one of their wrongs which can remain unredressed, no vestige of political oppression or of ecclesiastical assumption and bigotry which can continue to wound their pride, or to damage their interests. Let them be but faithful to themselves, and to the spirit of their age, eschewing all violence, and confining their efforts within limits strictly constitutional, and no change of administration, no bitterness of spirit or party strife, can long exclude them from a perfect equality with ourselves; much less enact again such scenes of rapine and murder as were formerly perpetrated under the auspices of Pitt and Castlereagh.

Art. V. *The Philosophy of Necessity; or, the Law of Consequences, as applicable to Mental, Moral, and Social Science.* By Charles Bray. 2 vols. 8vo. Longman. 1841.

We frankly confess that the work of which we have given the title, considered by itself, has but slender claims on the attention of our readers, and that we should have left it undisturbed in the obscurity which is its fitting element, but for a desire to give our deliberate protest against the class of shallow and presumptuous publications to which it so manifestly belongs. In utter igno-

rance of the writer, we will venture to surmise that he may be the amiable and clever oracle of some coterie of half-educated readers of pamphlets, and auditors of itinerant lecturers on Phrenology and Socialism, who has gleaned his anatomy from Dr. Southwood Smith; his mental philosophy from Mr. George Combe; his social science from Mr. Robert Owen; and his metaphysics from no very deep perusal of Jonathan Edwards, and of Jeremy Bentham.

The object of the work is sufficiently ambitious; it is to reduce all the grave questions of psychology, ethics, and human happiness, to the absolute dominion of physical necessity. It would be ridiculous to imagine that this writer has bestowed anything like adequate attention on any one of these questions, since the entire structure of his work betrays the absence of nearly all those qualities, attainments, and habits, which are indispensable to success in such studies. By all who have pursued these deeply interesting inquiries in the humble and searching spirit of philosophy, these volumes will be seen, at the first glance, to have been got up without understanding great principles which have been established for ages, and with the vulgar fancy that whatever is dressed in unwonted phraseology is a new and great discovery.

We should have gladly hailed a discussion of the points embraced in these volumes, in which we could have traced the vitality of an original mind in the delicate analysis of theories, or in the impressive statement of facts, even though there might be principles which we must reject as unsound, or results which we could prove to be inconclusive or false. We are friends of free inquiry on all subjects. Our aim is not to serve parties, but to promote knowledge. We are not prone to condemn a writer because we do not approve of all he writes. We have no interest in keeping up an aristocracy in literature. We are tempted rather to foster than to restrain the developments of active intellect, and the intrepidity of honest conviction, in every sphere of life, and under all disadvantages of training. But when we have waded through nearly seven hundred pages of such ill-digested, incongruous, and superficial fallacies as those which abound in these volumes, we cannot conceal our regret that the industry of the writer had not been spent on an undertaking more within his grasp, and more likely to improve the minds and to advance the interests of the few who will have the patience to go through the work. If, as the writer assures us, the views which he has attempted to set forth in these pages have afforded much consolation and satisfaction to his own mind, we can only say, that his need of consolation must have been very slight, and his capacity of satisfaction unenviably small; for one element of those views

is—Materialism, and the other—Fate. Truly sorry are we to find that any man can console himself with such mischievous absurdities, and can fancy, that by their propagation, he may offer grounds of hope and trust to any of his fellow creatures.

To justify the terms which we have employed, it will be requisite merely to examine the writer's views as given by himself, on mind, morals, and social science. In his definitions of mind, there is a mixture of timidity, inconsistency, and rashness, which makes it sufficiently apparent that whilst he knows little of the rudiments of mental science, he cherishes an opinion on the subject, which a reader of moderate intelligence can see, through the changes of language by which he strives to mystify it. At one time, mind is a portion of life, at another time, the abstract sign of the sum of all our sensations; at one time it is the function of the brain, at another, it *is* the brain, for anything the writer knows; and these feeble triflings are uttered with a formality of scientific precision, and a pomp of philosophical language, which, to some readers, may be mistaken for acquaintance with the subject. But the very fact that such varied and even contradictory definitions are given, is itself a proof that the writer has a notion on the nature of mind, which he hesitates to express in plain terms, and which notion is irreconcileable with truth. The whole of what he says, most tediously, on the relation of mind to the bodily organs, may be correct or otherwise, so far as it goes; but the obvious drift of it is to produce the impression that this is all we can know of mind or of its operations.

Now this is thoroughly refuted by every man's consciousness and experience. Every man knows that he thinks, feels, reasons, imagines, chooses, approves, or disapproves of particular actions or habits; and every man knows that all these states of mind are totally different from all the known states of all material bodies. In thus contemplating the order of nature, as her servants and interpreters, it is in our power to collect facts, to arrange and classify them, and by philosophical induction to reach the great principles which pervade these facts and are evolved by them. Thus employed, we are pursuing genuine mental science, and the result of our logical inquiry in this direction is, the philosophy of mind.

On what is now styled phrenology we avail ourselves of this occasion to deliver our judgment — a judgment formed, we can conscientiously aver, by patient, impartial, and often revised examination of its principles and its history. It has been known, in all ages, that the brain and other portions of the bodily fabric are acted on by our thoughts and feelings, and that by some law of reciprocation, these thoughts and feelings are likewise acted on by the brain, and other

portions of the body. It has been equally well known, in nearly all ages of which we have any record, that the healthy state of the brain, especially, and of the bodily functions, generally, is closely connected with the freedom, power, and happiness of the mind. Nor has it escaped the observation of enlightened men, at any time, that mental energy, generally considered, is greatly dependent for its development on a given amount and defined position of certain portions of the brain. In the training of youth, in the treatment of disease, in the arts of painting and sculpture, in the universal impressions of mankind, in the descriptions of poetry, and even in the glittering dreams of fancy, physical developments have ever been associated with intellectual eminence; and even some of the divisions of Gall and Spurzheim it is well known to many of our readers, have been anticipated by medical and other writers long ago. This general fact of the dependence of the mind on the bodily organs has, moreover, given rise to controversies in which some of the subtlest and strongest reasoners of all times and countries have been engaged. By one class this acknowledged fact has been professedly explained by saying, that what are vulgarly called the actings of the mind, are nothing more than the properties of the material substance; and that to speak of the Mind, the Intellect, or the Soul, is a mere conformity to popular usage, which the philosopher knows to be delusive. From such an explanation it was no very forced inference, that as all the laws of matter are fixed, it is a perfect absurdity to regard these particular phenomena as differing from the others; and consequently, that the received notions of morals, religion, immortality, and happiness, must disappear before the light of science.

On the other hand, the same acknowledged fact has been explained by saying that phenomena differing so entirely from those of external nature, must be attributed to a separate order of laws; and that the attempt to simplify the complex natural history of man by ascribing everything to material organization, is not more philosophical than to deny, on logical grounds, the actual existence of material organs. In point of strict reasoning from what we assuredly know, it is confessed by all whose minds have been much disciplined in such studies, that there is immeasurably less proof of the existence of the brain, than there is of the existence of the conscious and active mind.—There is no grosser error, of the kind, than that which is perpetually obtruded on us by the advocates of phrenology, in treating their predecessors in the department of mental philosophy as metaphysicians, reasoning from abstract principles, instead of drawing their philosophy from facts. This error arises partly from ignorance of the great writers in France, Germany, England, and

Scotland, who have poured such beautiful and steady light into this alluring region of inquiry. We cannot resist this conclusion, recollecting as we do, how rapidly the inductive philosophy displaced the fancies of antiquity by the discoveries of psychological truth, long before it unveiled the majesty of nature in the triumphant experiments of physical science. It is true that the term metaphysics has been employed to designate all studies relating to mind as their subject, in contradistinction from those which relate to the conditions and laws of the world around us. But it is very far from being true, that the metaphysical writers of the last two hundred years have treated questions relating to mind, by methods at all differing, in their principle, from those which have conducted the natural philosopher to the magnificent systems of physical astronomy, optics, and chemistry. Although there have been differences of judgment in matters of arrangement or classification, and, as in other sciences, different modes of exhibiting the relation of one fact in mental history to another, there are certain general truths which may be regarded as expressing the collective experience of mankind in the higher functions of their nature. These truths constitute real PHRENOLOGY, or the doctrine of mind. But the modern system for which this title has been claimed, is, in fact, no system of mind at all, *in that respect in which its method of inquiry differs from those which its advocates repudiate.* We think we can make this plain in a few simple sentences. But before doing so, we must briefly set forth the pretensions of this modern phrenology, that we may have before us, within a convenient compass, its points both of agreement and of difference with the philosophy of mind, which it is designed to supersede. Modern phrenology is based on the doctrine of external indications of cerebral development; on the separate functions of distinct portions of the brain, as the specific organs of so many distinct propensities and faculties; and on the presumed existence of original and independent powers. This system professes to ascertain character by manipulation and inspection of the head; and its advocates claim for it the merit of being strictly scientific, in opposition to the previously received mental philosophy,—because it is founded entirely on tangible facts. The agreement of this system with that which it professes to reject, is seen in several particulars.—There is in both the acknowledgment of organs of mind. There is in both a large amount of facts belonging to the history of mind, from which, irrespectively of any attention paid to organization, theories of intellectual capacities and propensities may be framed. And there is in both a running appeal continually made to personal consciousness, and to the remembered or registered experience of the past.—The points of difference between the new and the old

philosophies may be stated as follows:—The old philosophy regards the mind as one; the new regards it as a congeries of separate impulses and forces. The old philosophy admits all that can be proved respecting material organization, but confines its researches to the operations of the unseen power by which that material organization is employed; the new phrenology restricts its attention, so long as it is consistent with itself, to the material organization, and even to one department of it. The old philosophy does not necessarily involve any theory as to the nature of mind, though it is compatible with the belief of its spiritual and immortal nature; the new tends to the belief that the nature of man is not spiritual, and therefore that he does not exist in a state of separation from bodily organs. The old philosophy is independent of any metaphysical doctrines of causation, and is free to amalgamate with whatever may be shewn to be the true philosophy of morals; the new appears to bind its advocates down to one law of physical necessity, and to a view of morals which it is difficult to shield from the reproach of fatalism. The intellectual philosophy contains analogies from which we may conceive of higher spheres of existence, and even of the Father of Spirits; the new phrenology knows nothing, and suggests to many minds the impossibility of knowing anything, beyond the limits of our experience in this world. The old philosophy accords with the hopes of the virtuous, the fears of the guilty, and the longings of all human hearts; the new phrenology reduces these passions and anticipations to the fibres and the fluids which are destroyed by death.—Now what we undertake to shew is, that phrenology so called, is *not a science of mind*, in so far as it differs from the old intellectual philosophy. Even were it granted, that *phrenologists* have enlarged our knowledge of mind, have corrected errors, have brought down science from the heights of speculation to the level of practical life, have improved our language by the graphic beauty and rich combinations of its peculiar terms; all this admitted benefit can be proved to have been gathered, not from the study of the brain,—not from the inspection of the skull, but from those very regions of consciousness and experience, in which the intellectual philosopher is described as wasting his time and strength.

As a method of illustrating the mind by the study of the head, we will venture to say that *phrenology has done nothing*. Phrenologists may have illustrated the mind from other sources, and by other methods, but not by *that method* which they claim as their own, and which they set up as the only guide to truth. It may be that the locality, the size, the activity of the many organs of the brain, are correctly pointed out, and appropriately designated by such *elegant* terms as philo-progenitiveness, mar-

ellousness, inhabitiveness; but the propensities and powers to which these organs are assigned, were known from the beginning by millions, who never dreamed of cerebral developments; and they are now ascertained by inquiries as independent of such developments as if they had no existence but in dreams.—In these observations, it will be remarked, we have conceded, for the sake of argument, all that is claimed by modern phrenologists in reference to the science of mind; and we have done this without pressing the grand objection, that phrenology *is* materialism, as treated by some of its most distinguished abettors; whilst those who sincerely attempt to defend it from this charge, are under the necessity of having recourse to reasoning and appeals for which this system, *as such*, makes neither provision nor allowance. It would not be difficult, however, to shew that phrenology is, at the best, a retrogression instead of an advance in mental science;—that it cramps instead of enlarging the field of inquiry;—that it degrades rather than ennobles our human nature;—that it increases errors instead of diminishing them;—that it misleads instead of guiding us to practical applications of truth;—and that it substitutes a coarse and clumsy apparatus of words for the free and energetic course of thoughts. What is new in this vaunting pretence to science, may be interesting to the anatomist, and useful to the physician; but it has no bearing whatever on any of the great relations of intellectual life: it never did, and it never can, throw any light on what all men understand by the operations of the human mind. Its catalogue of faculties, its mapping of organs, its translation of treasured knowledge from the language of polite literature into the uncouth phrases of its own diction, are as barbarous in style, as the system itself is empirical in pretension and inconclusive in reasoning. It is not to the disciples of this school that we look, either for original discovery, or for ingenious illustrations of truths already known. And yet it is from the disciples of this school that the writer of the volumes now before us learns to fulfil the high sounding promise, 'to inquire into the nature of the constitution of man; to ascertain his place in creation, the object of his existence, and the boundaries of his mind!'

There is a passage in the first volume of this work on which it may be desirable to offer some criticism, as it affords a favourable specimen of the writer's powers, and contains opinions which will fully justify what we have already said.

'The *soul* (if the term mean anything) is the principle of sensation, which, down to the lowest animal in the scale of creation, is found to depend upon the nervous system; the nervous system depending upon the vital principle, and the vital principle upon organization. The *mind*, as we have previously stated, is only the aggregate of all the sensations of which a being is conscious; individuality and unity

being given to it by a form of our own intelligence. What we term perception, conception, memory, imagination, judgment, are only diversified sensations, different in their degree of intensity, and in their character, to the feelings resulting from the action of the propensities and sentiments, but still mere sensations. We are not justified in considering the mind as the *cause* of sensations; for of cause we know nothing but as the invariable antecedent, and the invariable antecedent of these sensations is, as far as we have yet discovered, the action of the brain. Nor are we justified in saying the mind is material, which would be to make the cause and effect the same. All facts, however, justify us in saying that sensation is caused by that which we call material, in the only sense in which we can use the term cause. The fact that the properties of matter are conceived of differently by different individuals, according to their own particular organization, or internal forms of thought, is a clear proof that the only connexion between the mind and the real constitution of objects is one of mere relation; whence it follows that the question of Materialism is an idle question, and one of mere words; it being impossible for man to separate the qualities really belonging to an object, from such qualities as modified by the forms and modes of his own intelligence.'—pp. 143, 144.

'The soul (if the term mean anything), is the principle of sensation.' Our readers will appreciate the insinuation which the writer has thrown in by way of parenthesis. That the vital principle depends on organization, is indeed a favourite doctrine with some modern French physiologists, and has been repeated again and again by their followers and emulators in this country. But this is nothing more than an assumption. It is no more true, than that organization depends upon the vital principle; because, though we are not acquainted with life apart from organization, neither are we acquainted with organization apart from life. The fact is, both these terms are abstractions, of which the concrete is some being which lives, and which has organs. Whether living depends on being organized, or being organized depends upon living, we have no mode of explaining either the one or the other. Principle is a convenient term enough:—only we should take care to remember that the 'principle of life,' in English phraseology, is not always the same thing with what in the same phraseology is meant by 'the soul.' In the Scriptures, for example, the SOUL is spoken of as distinct from the body, as subsisting after the death of the body, as the subject of those affections, which are, in other connexions, attributed to the mind. If the mind is only the aggregate of all the sensations of which a being is conscious, *what is that conscious being?* If 'we are not justified in designating the mind as the cause of sensations, because the invariable antecedent of these sensations is, as far as we have discovered, the action of the brain,' how come we to know anything of these sensations? Not by observing the

action of the brain; for even if that could be done, the observation would end with the action of the brain, and would tell us nothing of the sensation. Yet, in fact, we are conscious of the sensation; and that which is conscious of the sensation, not the sensation itself, *is* the mind.—We can scarcely conceive of a more flippant and unmeaning observation than that 'all facts justify us in saying that sensation is caused by that which we call material in the only sense in which we can use the term cause;' for—besides the material antecedent,—there is also another *concurring* antecedent, which differs from 'that which we call material' in this essential particular, that it is conscious of the sensation, and it is by that consciousness alone that we can know anything of the sensation, or form any opinion of its cause.—'The question of materialism is an idle question, and one of mere words.'—So! it is an idle question, then, whether the material brain is or is not an organ of mind; whether man has or has not a mind acting on and acted on by the material organ; whether there is any difference between the judgment to be formed of our bodily condition, and the judgment to be formed of our mental character; whether or not we shall be conscious after the material organization is dissolved in dust!

"To show the necessary inconsistency of error, we subjoin a short passage on Consciousness:—

'The phrenological definition of this term would appear, therefore, to be the most correct. 'Consciousness,' says Mr. Combe, 'means the knowledge which the mind has of its own existence and operations? In this sense, consciousness belongs to man alone, for though the brutes possess feelings and ideas; though they are endowed with perception, conception, memory, and a kind of judgment, yet there is not the slightest evidence that they are conscious of such states of mind; they seem to experience new trains of sensations, and to be impelled by them to action, without having any idea of their existence.'—p. 146.

We are not going to discuss the correctness of this phrenological definition of consciousness, nor the speculation respecting brutes. Correct or not, what has this cited definition to do with *phrenology?* What is the organ of consciousness? And, moreover, if the mind be only 'the aggregate of all the sensations of which a being is conscious,' who on earth can attach any meaning to the proposition, that the aggregate of all the sensations is conscious of the sensations? Who is the being that is conscious of these separate sensations?

We are at a loss to conceive in what sense, consistent with modern phrenology, it is possible to enunciate, to say nothing of explaining, the innumerable facts in the experience of human minds, which are usually spoken of as dependent on association or suggestion. Whatever theory may be held as

to the classification of these suggestions, or the laws of these associations, one plain question is, What is that organ, or condition of organs, in the brain, which can be shown to harmonize with any theory, or with any of the facts which constitute the entire sum of our mental history? It is easy to talk of these things in the stiff language of phrenologists; but what possible light can the doctrines, peculiar to their system, throw upon the facts themselves? Yet the law of association is made to account for 'the mode in which religious belief is generally propagated in all countries; and the feelings constitute with each nation, whether Chinese, Hindoo, Mahommedan, *or Christian*, the *internal evidence* for each religion, whether true or false.' So much, it seems, does this dogmatic writer know of the internal evidence of the Christian religion, and so carefully has he compared it with other creeds! The slightest attention to any known treatise on the Christian evidences might have taught him that the 'internal evidence' is found not in human feelings, but in existing *documents;* and that the difference between the true religion and all false religions, as it regards the feelings, does not consist in the fact, that feelings are excited by it, but in the rational, moral, and benignant *character* of the feelings. A religion which, in proportion as it is understood and believed, produces feelings that accord with the relations of man, that elevate and dignify his conduct, that secure his present, and anticipate his future happiness, can never be confounded by an enlightened and impartial thinker, with the absurd, debasing, and wretched creeds of the Chinese, Hindoos, and Mahommedans.

We cannot pass, without grave animadversion, a passage of most mischievous tendency, betraying an unhappy mixture of conceit and ignorance, on the subject of religious conversion. We tell this writer that a knowledge of the mental constitution, far more profound and philosophical than that which is exhibited in his pages, is possessed by many men, who nevertheless believe, on solid and practical grounds, in those divine and spiritual influences of which he speaks so darkly and so scornfully; and that the affectation of scientific superiority with which he offers to rescue such men from superstition and absurdity, excites in them no other emotions than those which are ever awakened by the contemplation of presumptuous impiety.

We pass on to the department of MORAL SCIENCE. And here we shall not linger long; because there is the same defective method of viewing the question, and the same materializing cast of thought, which pervades the previous division.

Let any reader combine Jonathan Edwards' doctrine of motives with the leading principles of Jeremy Bentham's Deontology, and Mr. George Combe's Moral Philosophy, according to the

phrenologists, and he will have in his possession the substance of Mr. Bray's ethical science. It would be unfair to deny to the writer the merit of diligent compilation, of consecutive thinking, and of perspicuous, and occasionally eloquent, expression, in bringing together the portions of these separate systems; and we confess there is something very ingenious, *if it were not excessively stale*, in reducing all morality to the same invariable order of causation which accounts for the growth of plants, the revolution of the seasons, and the force of gunpowder, or of steam! We are further inclined to think, that not a few of our *unfortunate* fellow-creatures will hear with some degree of satisfaction, that 'responsibility, in the sense in which it is generally used, is without meaning;'—that whatever crime they may have been necessitated to commit, 'if the recurrence could be prevented without any suffering at all, we only do an injustice to the individual in subjecting him to it, since he could not have acted otherwise;'—that, 'granting that all actions are necessary, those of the wicked man could not have been other than they were, under the circumstances in which he was placed;—and the natural consequence of vicious action, being loss of enjoyment, he has already suffered from a great deficiency of happiness in the present state; and—such having been the lot assigned him here—ought he still to be among the most unhappy in another world?'

Of a truth, there is somewhat in this mode of teaching *moral* science from which our judgment turns away with the conviction that it is false; against which our conscience testifies as evil; and which comes as a deathly chill over all the affections in which we find our virtue and our happiness; while we are fully persuaded there is *that* in human nature of which this superficial mechanism takes no cognizance, and for which it provides no guidance. Under the veil of religious phraseology, this writer attempts to hide from his readers,—and not improbably from himself,—all the elements of fatalism, of pantheism, of infidelity, of atheism. With him, morality is acting without any reference to God or to futurity. According to his principles, immortality is merely the perpetuation of the species; God is the soul of the universe; religion is acting according to nature; virtue is the calculation of pains and pleasures; faith is 'the belief that effects will be wrought without a cause;' and man is a mere transient atom on the surface of creation, a mere link in an endless chain. Without directly attacking the great truths of natural and revealed theology, he undermines the first principles of the one, and sets at nought the sanction of the other.

Our readers will be prepared to learn that the SOCIAL SCIENCE of this work is nothing more than the carrying out of its phrenological doctrines into a theoretic constitution of society. This is, in

reality, *the* object of the work, to which all the previous discussion has been designed to lead the way. There is a good deal of information, drawn from the well known statistical collections of Macculloch, and Porter, and other writers on kindred topics, respecting the physical and social condition of the masses of the people in this country. Much of this information is of a most humiliating and distressing kind,—all going to show that our present state is charged with great and frightful evils,—preparing the contemplative and benevolent mind for laying eager hold of any means by which the further progress of such evils may be stayed, and which can give a reasonable hope of a better, safer, and happier condition at any time to come. Mr. Bray expresses his dissatisfaction with trade unions and political unions, with chartism, and with the schemes of political reformers for lessening taxation, and for enlarging the freedom of trade; and he leans towards the views lately put forth with great power by Mr. Alison,* on some of the evils engendered by a preponderance of manufacturing population. The advantages of emigration and colonization to those who go out are acknowledged; but the benefit to those who stay at home is shown to be doubtful, because of the easier manner in which the power of machinery gains upon the increase of population.

The hope founded on the spread of education is declared to be fallacious, partly from the physical disqualifications produced by poverty, partly from the absorption of time and energy in labour, and partly from the limited, superficial, and merely intellectual character of the instruction given, which exposes us to the dangers of that ill digested information which may prove to be more terrible than the ignorance of which it has taken the place.

The author's opinions of RELIGION as an element in the improvement of society, are expressed with considerable freedom, and display the results of shrewd, though exceedingly narrow, observation on the state of parties among us. But he has taken no pains, that we can find, to study religion in the authentic and inspired oracles of its truth and authority. He writes with more of the sarcasm of the unbeliever than of the serious and dignified discrimination of the philosopher. He resolves some of the plainest doctrines of Christianity into the jargon of his phrenological speculations. He caricatures the office of the Christian pastor as a 'respectable profession, which is a favourite one on account of its requiring less natural talent, previous study, or mental endowment, than any other (excepting, perhaps, the military); and which, while it ensures a livelihood, and often a

* In his work on Population.

competence, leaves much leisure during six days of the week for other pursuits.' He speaks contemptuously of 'leaving the flock to God's free grace and their own free will.'

He tells us, with calm effrontery, 'that the religious world and its teachings hold that the evils under which we suffer are not remediable, but are a necessary part of man's worldly estate,' a doctrine which acts as an effectual drag upon the progress of improvement, by inducing men to suppose any great forward movement to be impossible, and exalted views of man's future condition here, utopian!' Whilst he would have the temples of the land converted into *schools* for the exposition of the *natural, organic,* and moral laws—laws, observe, which *he* regards as altogether independent of religion—he maintains that 'places for public worship, there can properly be none;' and he prefers the 'philosophical non-belief in any personal deity' to what he derides as the practical atheism of the unreflecting church-goer. He would have all worship to be solitary. In one word,—if we can gather any meaning from a series of paragraphs containing much ambitious composition,—he would have SOCIETY WITHOUT CHRISTIANITY. The tone of this part of the work is as decidedly hostile to the spirit of the gospel as that of Payne, or Voltaire, or Volney, or any of the most contemptible infidel authors of that age. Has the writer, indeed, been so unhappy as to know of no house of prayer 'where duties are taught, and consolation administered, the mind instructed, and the heart made better,' . . . '—where the principle of devotion is suggested to every heart, as well by the discourses of good and wise men, as by nature's teachings under the high arched roof of heaven'?—We join honestly with him, or with any other man, in denouncing the indolence of hireling priests, the pretence of religion, the inconsistencies of worshippers, the substitution of forms and ceremonies for piety and benevolence, the heartlessness of the selfish rich towards the suffering poor, and the debasement of religion by superstition, hypocrisy, and secularity; but we can entertain no favourable opinion of that writer's strength of mind, accuracy of judgment, or soundness of feeling, who does not see that Christianity is the appointed regenerator of society, or who, seeing it, can speak of its recorded triumphs over ignorance, sin, and misery, as a failure.

In treating of the causes of the poverty of the working classes, the author observes, with obvious propriety, that they lie deep in the very constitution of society itself; but he traces that constitution, not very skilfully or philosophically, to the operation of the law of property—by which alone the resources of society, in its entire past history, could have been developed. He who has property, must of necessity have power over him who has

none; and the share of benefit which the labouring poor can derive from the wealth of the capitalist, is determined by the number of claimants for employment; whilst that share, in consequence of the increase of competitors, and the advances of machinery, has always a tendency to the lowest point of subsistence. In newly or thinly inhabited countries, there may be long-continued demand for labourers; but in old countries densely inhabited, and rich in machinery, the demand is for subsistence. The evils of poverty being thus traced to the unequal distribution of property,—which, by the way, is a truism, little more than another form of stating the fact that poverty exists,—the grand remedy which is proposed for most of the present disorders of society is,—the establishment of a system in which property shall be held in trust by society for the production of the largest enjoyment to all.

That such a state of society is beautiful in theory, that it would greatly augment physical happiness, that it is therefore, in some respects, to be desired, it is scarcely possible, we should think, to doubt; and we should be sorry to believe that it is either abstractedly impossible, or never likely to be realized by our children in some golden age of love.

The social reform by which the writer of these volumes contemplates the arrival of that blessed state, has no pretensions to originality, and exhibits no very profound acquaintance with human nature. It is, in fact, that of Mr. Robert Owen,—the establishment of joint stock capitals, from the savings of the industrious, and the contributions of the wisely self-interested and the benevolent, under the control of a governor, or of a board of directors, chosen by the members. Such a system is recommended by Mr. Bray as securing physical comforts, and affording facilities for obedience to the physical, organic, and moral laws; and several objections to it, founded on theories of population and produce,—on the necessity of individual motives to exertion,—on the evils of too uniform a character in communities,—on the certainty of competition and its attendant evils still springing up between rival communities,—and on the practical difficulties of carrying the proposed scheme of operation into effect, are coolly met, and ingeniously (we cannot say always successfully) answered; and a normal school for the purpose of testing the practicability of the scheme is suggested. We know not of any objection to such an institution, strong enough to outweigh the precious benefits which would be secured by it, *if it could be permanently carried on.* But we confess that we have no confidence in any system that shall be based on the substitute for intellectual and moral truth which has been unfolded in these volumes.—The notion of property being held in

common, is almost as old as society itself. It was exhibited in the earlier states of Greece, in North and South America, in India, and in Egypt, and in the monastic institutions of the ancient church; and it is still adopted in harmony with Christian principles, in the Oberlin Institute, and in the various settlements of the Moravians. Several colonies of the same character, so far as social community and co-operation are concerned, have been set up from time to time in England, Ireland, France, Germany, Holland, and in the United States of America, some of them combining, and others not, peculiarities of religious opinion with their habits of seclusion. It was one of the many projects cast forth from the boiling cauldron of the French revolution. It figures conspicuously in the speculations of 'Godwin's Political Justice.' It has recently assumed a startling position in the doctrines and institutions of St. Simon, of Fourier, and of Considerant, in France; where very active means are employed for the diffusion of its principles and plans throughout the world. In our own country, the general system on which Mr. Bray's idea of social reform appears to be based, is familiarly known by the designation of Socialism, and is identified with the writings and movements of Mr. Robert Owen. A brief sketch of this gentleman's history, writings, and schemes, with some reflections suggested by them, will appropriately close our present observations.

Mr. Owen, a native of North Wales, having been employed in trade, both in London and in Manchester, joined himself to a company who purchased the cotton mills of Mr. David Dale at New Lanark. At this manufacturing establishment he instituted the first infant school of which we have any knowledge; and for nearly thirty years he carried forward his experiments on the formation of human character on the principles developed in his writings. In 1825 he purchased the property of Harmony, in Indiana (United States), where he set up a preliminary society as a model for communities based on the same principles. This was a failure. Like failure has attended similar attempts in America, Scotland, Ireland, England, Holland, and France, directly or indirectly suggested by Mr. Robert Owen. We have not time to expose the delusive attempt to substitute labour *notes* for money as the representative of value.

Mr. Owen has visited not only the United States, but Mexico, the West Indies, France, Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and the Netherlands. He enjoyed at one time the patronage of the Duke of Kent and of the Duke of Sussex. He is the acknowledged head of the socialists.

This body is now enrolled by Act of Parliament under the *delusive* title of the Rational Religionists, and is most systemati-

cally organized. There are sixty-five branch societies in England and Scotland, including three thousand members, nearly a third of whom are in the London branches. They employed last year eighteen missionaries and paid lecturers, who are stated to have addressed average weekly auditories of ten or twelve thousand persons; and as many as eighteen thousand tracts have been distributed within the space of three months.

Mr. Owen's chief writings are but varied forms of stating and advocating his theory of individual character, and of rational society. His main principle is, 'that the character of an individual is formed *for* him, and not *by* him,'—a principle which Mr. Bray imagines that he has corrected and improved, by saying, 'The mode of stating it is open to objection; the mental and bodily constitution of an individual constitute himself, and these determine his character to a certain extent. It is true, 'himself' is but a link in the chain of causation, and therefore the effect of foregoing causes; but it is the immediate antecedent or cause of his character; therefore 'himself' causes his character,—his character is caused by *himself*.' We do not see that this is any improvement at all: on the contrary, as it is put by Mr. B., it makes bad worse, by setting at still bolder defiance every dictate of consciousness, and every principle of morals.

There are moods of mind in which we should think it a waste of time to trouble ourselves with such feeble schemes for the melioration of society, or with the exposure of opinions which carry their refutation along with them. But we cannot witness the periodical revival of such schemes, and the temporary popularity of such opinions, without feeling ourselves summoned to arouse the more vigorous and united efforts of the wise and good to impregnate the neglected masses of our people with the seeds of virtue and contentment. We English people owe much, both of our strength and of our weakness, to what our German neighbours call *einseitigheit* (onesidedness), in our views and undertakings. The consequence is, that one man looks for the removal of the ills that threaten the well-being of the community in one direction, another man in another direction; each striving to give prominence, and even exclusiveness, to that which he prefers. On one side we hear of building churches, chapels, colleges, and schools. On another side we are dinned with the call for the ballot and complete suffrage. This man would give large powers to the ecclesiastical establishment; that man would have the establishment dissolved. Now we are told to trust to the omnipotence of education; and presently we are assured that there is nothing for it but cold water. In one quarter our miseries are placed to the account of the corn-laws; in another, to the cupidity of trade. The infidel resolves at all events to

extinguish conscience, and to tear from the heart the fears and hopes that look beyond the grave; while, in too many instances, the Christian forgets that religion is designed to draw within its circle all the forces of society, and to guide all that is wise and energetic in human agency in subordination to the plans of providence, and in dependence on the promises of grace. For our own part, we would ponder with devout seriousness the splendid and comprehensive maxim of inspiration—'Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, where there is any virtue, any praise, *think* on these things.' We would not despair of the ultimate efficiency of any of the elements of good that gleam like the stars of a brighter sky through the gloom and tempest of society. We see enough in history and in Scripture to assure us of the power and foresight of that presiding Goodness by which the world is governed, and which, sooner or later, will bring out order from confusion, and work up the rudiments of transient evil into general and permanent good. Whilst our ultimate reliance is placed on God, we look for the accomplishment of his vast and blessed purposes to the humble, conscientious, united, and persevering activity of believing men. Let us who are Christians take enlarged and practical views of our personal and social responsibility, of our powers and our position, of our duties and of our hopes; let us transmit to the coming generation the precious inheritance of noble principles nobly exemplified; and let us seek to be remembered by those who shall come after us, as men who could not rest, who would not despond, and who died in the calm and bright anticipation of beholding from on high the final triumphs of truth over falsehood, and of virtue over vice, in the widely spread dominion of the Prince of Peace. This is philosophy—patriotism—philanthropy, enlightened by eternal truth, and reposing on the throne of God.

Through what changes and revolutions the great social system of humanity must pass in its slow, but certain progress to that glorious consummation, it is difficult to forecast. If we may reason from what has been to that which will be, seeds are scattered in one generation, which, after lodging in the fissures of the rock that frowns over all that is good and free and happy, gather strength from every dew-drop, and from every sunbeam, till at length they tear it from its seat. So far as we are able to interpret the mystic symbols of prophetic vision, we seem warranted to think, that principles, passions, interests, now in operation, will acquire resistless force in future ages; and hoary systems of belief and of government, which have filled the earth

with tears and lamentations, shall fade as the troubled dreams of night before the cheerful smiles of the morning. And all we know of the inherent energies of Christianity as a scheme uniting truth with love and power, assures us that the day is appointed, and is hastening on with the majesty and certainty of nature's laws, when man shall see in her revelations, and shall feel in her embrace, the destruction of every error that misled him, of every power that oppressed him, of every misery that tortured him; with the fruition of all the good his fancy ever painted, and all the dignity, and security, and joy, for which his heart had ever pined. Such are our hopes when we review the history, and then anticipate the prospects, of our mysterious world. These are hopes which we trust are becoming more and more familiar to the most intelligent and the most active members of the human family; and we would do our best to spread them from mind to mind, and from nation to nation, till, by acquiring the firmness of a conviction that never falters, and the strength of an impulse that never tires, they realize their own fulfilment in the solid and imperishable happiness of socialized and saved humanity.

ART. VI. *History of the Secession Church.* By the Rev. John M'Kerrow, Bridge of Teith. Revised and enlarged edition. Glasgow, 1841.

THE churches of Britain are much less known to one another than an intelligent Christian stranger could readily believe. In all quarters of our island, well informed individuals are to be found, whose tastes have led them to the study of ecclesiastical affairs, modern as well as ancient, or who, by correspondence or travelling, have had much intercourse with Christians of various denominations, and by such means have amassed a stock of knowledge, from which others derive occasional supplies; but, generally speaking, a modern British Christian is quite in the dark about the condition of his neighbours. Smart pupils in our academies and colleges know far more of the institutions of ancient empires, the senate and forum, the consuls and emperors of Rome, the kings of Sparta, and the archons of Athens, and even the Pharaohs and Ptolemys of old Egypt, than of the ecclesiastical affairs of their own land. An exception cannot be made in favour of our ecclesiastical establishments, relatively to each other. By presbyterians, the English church is chiefly known as a great hierarchy, distinguished by an exalted order, living in palaces, worshipping in cathedral fanes, and 'lifting up mitred heads before kings and parliaments;' but the machinery and

operations of the episcopacy, its universities and their affairs, its ordination, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, its bishops' courts, Arches' courts, consistorial courts, advowsons, and the innumerable *et ceteras* of the Anglican mystery, are greatly veiled from presbyterian eyes. We suspect equal ignorance may be predicated of episcopalian minds, relatively to the presbyterian establishment of the north, which has, indeed, succeeded in attracting abundance of attention of late years, yet without diffusing any very palpable or exact information respecting itself among its English neighbours. The homely expression of one of the correspondents of Sir George Sinclair probably indicates, with sufficient fidelity, the measure of satisfaction which many an inquiring episcopalian has arrived at, after attempting to catch a glimpse of presbyteries, synods, assemblies, commissions, anti-patronage, non-intrusion, spiritual independence, veto, and those many other ecclesiastical phantasms which have been flitting, like borealis, before the public eye—Sir George's friend protests, 'it is quite a worry.'

The dissenting churches, we believe, are better known to one another; yet the same remark is, to a considerable extent, applicable to them. Notwithstanding the frequent and advantageous intercommuning which their equality of position, their free usages, their local and general benevolent associations,—above all, their common faith, and, it is to be hoped, their growing charity,—all contribute to produce, it is not a little mortifying to discover how slightly brethren are known to brethren, churches to one another. Distance augments this ignorance. The history and present state of that excellent body of men to whom Wales is so deeply indebted for the piety that has spread among her people, the Welsh Methodists, are little known even in England, and our Welsh brethren know little more of us. We believe that the remark is pre-eminently applicable to the dissenters in the northern and southern divisions of the kingdom. The reading northerns, perhaps, know more of us than we of them; but we are aware that many well-informed Scotch dissenters find themselves in a region of discovery when they visit the churches of the south; while most of us have to own that the department of northern dissent is still to us a *terra incognita.*

This mutual ignorance is, in every view, to be regretted, and it is to be hoped that it will soon be chased away; for we may affirm, that the more the evangelical churches of this country are known to one another (especially the evangelical dissenting churches), the more they will be recognised as children of the same family, having a hearty coincidence of sentiment in the great doctrines of religion, distinguished by common trials,

struggles, and successes, and altogether prepared, by the circumstances of their past experience and their present position, to sympathize with one another, for the promotion of vital godliness among themselves, and diffusing it over the land, and throughout the world; perhaps, also, to sustain one another in perilous times not remote.

The volume before us is the production of a highly gifted minister of the United Secession church, containing an historical account of that body from its rise to the present times. The work reflects much credit on its author, showing us, as it everywhere does, extensive reading, great patience of research, luminous arrangement and diction, candour and gentleness of spirit, and a happy combination of conscientious adherence to principle with Christian forbearance and liberality to those who differ. From the subject of this volume, and its style of execution, we have no doubt that it will form a standard work in the department of local ecclesiastical literature. Although first published only three years ago, it has already passed into a second edition.

To the friends of evangelical dissent, it is very cheering to observe the rapid progress of most of the dissenting churches. It is but lately that the centenary of the Wesleyan body was celebrated; and probably in that body alone the number of communicants is more than double that of the Episcopalian communicants in England, Wales, and Ireland. The Welsh Methodists have probably increased in as great a ratio in that principality. The increase of the Baptist and Independent churches in England has also been very great. The same gratifying fact appears in the history of the United Secession church.

Until the period of the secession, there were few dissenters in Scotland. On the restoration of Charles II., episcopacy became the established religion, and the presbyterians were subject to much harassment, and even to sanguinary persecution. At the Revolution, presbytery was re-established; and such was the undue laxity of the General Assembly immediately after the Revolution settlement, that although the episcopalian clergy had, for the most part, distinguished themselves by their intolerance of spirit, not less than by their errors in creed and conduct, they were received into the communion of the presbyterian church, and allowed to hold their livings '*in hundreds.*' A good many of the episcopalian ministers held out, however,—retained in various places small congregations, under the patronage of non-conforming members of the aristocracy,—and formed the chief class of Scottish dissenters for many years. A very few others, very differently minded from the episcopalians, were offended with the unsatisfactory state of things in the national church, and

kept aloof from its communion; but, prior to the commencement of the secession, there was no other organized separation from the national church.

Many causes prepared the way for the secession, but the proximate cause was the extreme violence of the church in the matter of patronage, in inducting the most obnoxious persons appointed by the patrons, even when their induction was vehemently opposed by the entire body of the parishioners. Those who could accept the sacred office and the cure of souls in such circumstances, were, for the most part, utterly unqualified for their vocation, as far as scriptural piety is concerned; so that the anti-patronage struggle of that period was not only a conflict for Christian liberty, but for a pure, pious, and efficient Christian ministry, and thus for the spiritual and eternal interest of the souls of men. Such was the indecent and reckless tyranny with which the presbyters of those days acted, that the induction of professed ministers of the gospel of peace often resembled the capture of a military post in some hostile country, and, in some instances, was actually effected by military violence. The General Assembly having shewn their determination to uphold patronage in its rigour, to crush the spirit of resistance in the people, to prevent ministers, either in the church courts or in their pulpits, from testifying against this ecclesiastical tyranny, and thus to secure the induction into the parishes of the whole church of a servile and secular priesthood, Ebenezer Erskine, inspired with a holy zeal for Christian truth, purity, and freedom, set church authority at defiance, and, in a sermon at the opening of the synod of Perth and Stirling, in October, 1732, lifted up his voice in favour of the truth; the results of which were, his accusation by the synod, his intrepid, honest, and resistless defences, the carrying of his cause to the Assembly, by whom, through the medium of their commission, after much and protracted litigation, which excited the whole church, Mr. Erskine, and three ministers who adhered to him, were suspended from the functions of the ministry, dismissed from the congregations of which they were pastors, and excluded from the national church. To these sentences the four brethren refused to submit, formed themselves into a presbytery in December, 1733, and thus laid the foundation of the church of the secession.

To what extent has this church, originally so small, now spread? As has just been stated, the number of its ministers was but four at its commencement; they now amount to 357. The increase has been remarkably constant, and, as shewing that a fair proportion of it has been recent, the following facts may be noticed:—About fourteen years after the commencement of the secession, the seceders unhappily divided into two parties, in

consequence of disputes connected with certain oaths imposed in some towns on admission to their municipal privileges; one party regarding these oaths as inconsistent with their profession as seceders, the other party holding that they might be taken by their members with perfect consistency and integrity. At the time of this unwise division, the number of ministers had increased to forty-two, and the congregations were still more numerous. These two parties of seceders, though maintaining each a separate communion, were cordially one in the faith of Christian truth, and in their observance of Christian worship and of ecclesiastical order; their desire for re-union revived, and, after much joint conference and prayer, their union was happily effected in 1820, when the number of their ministers had grown to 262. Since that period, the number has been augmented by nearly one hundred, the largest increase which, in any equal space, the secession church has ever realized. It appears that in 1839 there were 361 congregations, containing 126,070 members in full communion. The Sabbath schools, and classes under ministerial superintendence, were 716, and the number of pupils 37,612.

In estimating the increase of seceders, it is proper to add, that the above statistical statement is exclusive of minor but highly respectable seceding churches, unconnected with the united secession, amounting to about fifty congregations. Beside these, too, there is the reformed presbyterian church, which has from thirty to forty congregations in Scotland; and, above all, the relief church, now in correspondence, with a view to union, with the united secession, and containing nearly 120 congregations, many of which are among the largest of any denomination in the country.

The *doctrine* of the secession church is Calvinistic, and its *worship* similar, in nearly all respects, to that of the English evangelical dissenters; its *government* is presbyterian—that is, vested in the office-bearers, by whom the admission and exclusion of members, and the general superintendence of the church, are exercised. The office-bearers are chosen by the suffrages of all the communicants, male and female. Candidates for the ministry must first attend some one of the Scottish universities for four sessions, for the study of languages, logic, mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy; and during this preparatory course they enjoy the superintendence of some ministers, specially appointed to watch over their studies. Before their formal admission to the study of divinity, they undergo an examination by the presbytery on their literary and philosophical qualifications, and their religious character and habits; and are then placed for five short sessions, in as many successive

years, in the theological seminary, in which there are four professors, who deliver lectures and prescribe exercises to the students on systematic theology, biblical criticism, biblical interpretation, and pastoral theology. This *curriculum* being finished, the students are subjected to fresh examinations before the presbyteries to which they belong, and have various discourses assigned them for trial, and, if found qualified, receive licence to preach the gospel as probationers for the holy ministry. On receiving a call, or invitation, from any church to become its pastor, they are again examined by the presbytery, and have other trial discourses assigned to them; and if these are sustained, they are set apart to the sacred office with prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.

From its commencement, the secession church may be regarded as essentially *missionary*. Necessarily, indeed, it was a home mission, self-supported; the expenses connected with the first introduction of the secession into any place being generally provided for from the joint contributions of the churches; and afterwards, the strong supported the weak. By the blessing of God on such exertions, it has spread itself over a great proportion of the country, very often, as may be supposed, in the face of much and harassing opposition; and even its opponents have long admitted that the spiritual labours of its ministers, and the holy character and influence of many of its members, have been the means of preserving and promoting vital religion, of nursing the great principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and of stirring the long dormant energies of the national church. The Orkney Islands, containing a poor and scattered population, in a most ungenial climate, may be selected as a favourable specimen of a secession home-mission. Although these islands had long been divided into parishes, and had their pastors connected with the established church, they were precisely in such circumstances as many a rural district in England has long been, with similar privileges. They were sitting in darkness, and in the region of the shadow of death. The seceding missionaries first visited Orkney in 1795, and it pleased God to bless their labours to such an extent, that there are now in that small group of islands twelve churches, containing about four thousand persons in full communion. These churches are not only self-sustained, but, considering their means, contribute liberally to the cause of missions, both domestic and foreign, their joint missionary contributions in 1841 exceeding 500*l*. As illustrating the state of piety in these interesting churches, it appears that there are among them weekly meetings for private conference and prayer to the number of two hundred and sixty, attended by from eighteen hundred to two thousand persons. These Orcadian wastes have thus become *Hephzibah and Beulah*.

The missionary efforts of the seceders were not, however, limited to their own country. Ireland first attracted their regards, and the foundations of many churches were speedily laid in that island. And so far back as the middle of the last century, they began to send their missionaries to the United States, and subsequently to Nova Scotia. In the former territory, whole associations of churches owe their origin to seceding missionaries; and the existing synod of Nova Scotia, including twenty ministers and more churches, is an off-shoot from the Scotch secession. They have, besides, not only cordially cooperated with the great missionary, bible, and tract societies of England, but have more recently planted missionary churches in Jamaica, where they have six ordained missionaries, besides catechists—in Trinidad, where they have two missionaries—and in Canada, where they have twenty-one, occupying about fifty churches and stations. In addition to all these, they have one on the continent of Europe, and one in Persia.

The society has been blessed with a succession of laborious, faithful, godly, and in many instances, distinguished men, in the ministry. Among the latter (to overlook altogether the living race) may be named the two Erskines, Fisher, Wilson, and Moncrieff, their early coadjutors, the Browns, Bruce, Paxton, Drs. Jamieson and M'Crie, and the late Dr. Dick. These are sufficient to reflect sacred lustre on any church; and their names are extensively held in affectionate veneration.

The seceders in Scotland were *voluntary* in fact, long before they became voluntary in principle. They seem never to have doubted that it is the duty, and even the privilege of Christians, to make pecuniary provision, by their free-will offerings, for maintaining and propagating the ordinances of Christ; but educated as they were in an established church, holding ecclesiastical documents, in which power over the church of Christ is expressly conceded to the civil magistrate, and being long and intensely occupied with other questions, it was not till towards the close of the last century that 'the magistrate's power,' both *circa sacra*, and *in sacris*, came to be closely examined by the seceders. In consequence of discussions and decisions on this subject, a few good men left the communion of both bodies of the secession, and formed separate churches, among whom was the late Dr. M'Crie. Since that period, a flood of light has been poured on all questions connected with Christian liberty, and the vast evils which spring from the ill-fated union of church and state; and now, with very few exceptions, the Scottish seceders are voluntaries to the core.

These brief notices of the secession church might receive ample illustration from the valuable volume before us. But we must now content ourselves with presenting to our readers some

specimens of the style and manner of the author. The following is Mr. M'Kerrow's description of the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, immediately before the secession:—

'The state of affairs in the national church at this period, even its greatest admirers must admit, was deplorably bad. The people groaned under the yoke of patronage, and in vain did they apply for relief to the ecclesiastical rulers. These, so far from listening to their complaints, or sympathizing with them, seemed resolved to carry matters with a high hand. The violent intrusion of ministers upon reclaiming congregations prevailed in every part of the country. At every meeting of the assembly, for several successive years, no small portion of their business consisted in considering cases of appeal, that were occasioned by the attempt to impose ministers upon parishes in opposition to the wishes of the people. In the journal of the assembly's proceedings for 1730, there are recorded no fewer than *twelve* cases of this description. The mentioning of this fact may serve to give my readers some idea of the agitated state of the country at the time immediately preceding the commencement of the secession. Some of these cases were protracted from one assembly to another; and during the time that they were thus kept in dependence, the minds of the people were kept in a state of the greatest excitement. In certain instances the presbyteries and synods were inclined to support the claims of the people, but when their cause came to be discussed at the bar of the assembly, or when it was referred by the assembly to the commission, their appeal was almost uniformly unsuccessful.

'The policy pursued by those who took the lead in the church courts at this period, obviously tended to establish a species of ecclesiastical despotism, in the exercise of which they might give effect to the law of patronage, and crush the doctrine of popular election, so keenly contended for by the people, and by a considerable portion of the ministers. Complaints were made that the commission, in certain instances, sustained calls which had been attested merely by a notary public, without any moderation having taken place by appointment of presbytery. The powers exercised by the commission were of an arbitrary and odious kind; they reversed the sentences of synods, even though their number might be inferior to that of the synod whose sentence was reversed; and they censured presbyteries and synods for testifying their displeasure against those ministers who accepted of presentations. The assembly occasionally found fault with the commission, for having exceeded the power entrusted to them; but it was remarked, that though they censured them, they seldom, if ever, reversed their objectionable proceedings. In certain cases, where the people proved refractory, and where the presbytery was resolved to grant induction to an unpopular candidate, an armed force was employed to carry into effect the decisions of the church courts; and the unseemly spectacle was now and then exhibited of the ministers of religion being guarded to church upon a sabbath by files of dragoons, amid the noise of drums and the flashing of swords, that they might serve the edict of an hireling, to whose ministry the people were re-

solved not to submit. A writer of that day gives the following account of a scene of this kind which took place at Bathgate, at the serving of the edict of Mr. Thomas Laurie, by appointment of the presbytery of Linlithgow:—'These and such like things were done to terrify the people; and yet, for all that, these gentlemen and the two ministers that were to serve the edict, being conscious to themselves of the badness of their cause, and what an evil part they were acting, thought not fit to do it until they got a troop of dragoons to be a guard to them; and accordingly, November 17, 1717, being the Sabbath-day, they came to Bathgate, and when approaching the town, they caused to beat their drum, and draw their swords, and in this posture came through the town, guarding the ministers into the church, riding, and striking with their naked swords at the women and others standing and gazing upon the way side, which was a melancholy sabbath in Bathgate, the sabbath-day being much profaned, not only by the people of the place, but by many coming from other parishes, to see a new way of propagating the gospel by red-coat booted apostles officiating as elders.

'By such arbitrary proceedings as these, the minds of the people, and of not a few of the ministers, were much irritated; and that a revolt should ere long take place against the misgovernment of rulers, who showed such a total disregard of the feelings of those whose spiritual interests they were bound to promote, was nothing more than might have been expected. In looking back to the transactions of that period, instead of wondering that so many excellent men left the pale of the establishment when the secession commenced, our only surprise is, that they continued so long to abide in her communion. No measures could have been adopted that were better fitted for secularizing the Scottish church, than those which the dominant party, in her ecclesiastical courts, actually pursued. That this was the object which they had in view in adopting these measures, I shall not take upon me to affirm, but that this was the decided tendency of the course which they pursued, is sufficiently obvious. In conducting their administration, they were guided more by the dictates of worldly policy than by the maxims of Scripture; when argument failed in silencing objections, they employed force; and when men could not be induced, by persuasion, to submit to their arbitrary enactments, they had recourse to terror. Armed with the authority of the state, as well as of the church, they aimed at bearing down all opposition, by occasionally calling into their aid the strong arm of the law. That men should tamely submit, for any length of time, to have their feelings outraged, their rights trampled upon, and their complaints disregarded, without making any effort to emancipate themselves from the tyranny which subjects them to such wrongs, is what we have no reason to expect from human nature. Those who are oppressed will take the first opportunity that presents itself of breaking the yoke from their necks, and having burst asunder their fetters, will dash them in the faces of their oppressors. My readers, after perusing the preceding statements, will not be surprised to be told that the minds of a considerable portion

of the people in Scotland were alienated, by the transactions referred to, from their ecclesiastical rulers; and that no sooner was a way of escape opened up to them from the grievous trammels to which they were subjected, than multitudes eagerly availed themselves of it. This way of escape was opened up by the secession which took place from the national church—an event which, though greatly deplored at first, has been productive of essential benefit to the country, and is every day spreading its blessings wider and wider. I cannot but regard it as a merciful interposition of Providence, on behalf of our land, that the secession church sprung into existence at the time it did, seeing that it has been honoured of God as an instrument for maintaining, in an eminent degree, sound doctrine, purity of discipline, and religious liberty, in this northern part of the island; seeing that, from first to last, many thousands of pious Christians have found a quiet retreat in its bosom from the evils of patronage, and from the other grievances complained of in the establishment; and seeing that, by means of the reflex influence which it has exercised upon the national church, it has considerably checked it in its progress of deterioration, and rendered it, in some respects, more efficient.'—p. 33.

The extract we have given is taken from the 'introductory narrative,' which is replete with valuable information, succinctly and gravely related. The next chapter possesses uncommon interest, carrying us into the very midst of the events and the agents by which this era in Scottish ecclesiastical history was signalized; and by the whole character and bearing of Erskine, and his little group of friends, their calmness, their faithfulness, their wisdom, their humility, their steadfast faith, their profound piety, their bold and intrepid decision, which neither the entreaties of timid friends, nor the menaces and fulminations of powerful opponents could for a moment shake,—in a word, their unsought and unostentatious dignity,—we are led back to the reformers and martyrs of other days, and we recognise the gracious agency of Him who qualifies his chosen servants for the duties and conflicts of any emergency to which he calls them, ever mindful of his promise, 'so I am with you alway.'

Patronage produced the secession. By Scottish law it is provided, that when a patron neglects or refuses to *present* (appoint) to a vacant living for six months after it has become vacant, the right of *presenting* (appointing) belongs to the presbytery (*jus devolutum*). The Assembly set themselves to legislate respecting this power of presbyteries. Had they favoured popular election, they would at once have decided that the presbyteries, in such cases, should give to the church members the unfettered right of election. But in place of this, they passed a law, by which the magistrates, town council, and elders, in royal burghs, and protestant heritors (proprietors) and elders, in rural parishes, should elect the minister, who might be either 'approven or disapproven'

by the congregation. If the congregation disapproved, the reasons of their disapprobation were to be laid before the presbytery, 'by whose determination the calling and entry of the minister should be concluded according to the rules of the church.' Against this decision Mr. Erskine, with others, protested; but the Assembly, with sovereign authority, refused to record the protest. The following passage narrates the results:—

'The situation of the faithful ministers of the church of Scotland was, at this time, sufficiently distressing. They had the mortification to behold measures which they considered unscriptural and oppressive carried by triumphant majorities. Against these measures in vain did they remonstrate and petition; their remonstrances were not listened to, and their petitions were disregarded. They were even denied the common privilege of having their dissent or protest marked, in cases when they felt their consciences materially aggrieved; nay, so high did the predominant party stretch their authority, and so imperious was the tone which they assumed, that, in certain instances, the commission were enjoined to summon before them, and to rebuke those persons who should offer a protest, and the presbytery who should receive it. Beyond this, ecclesiastical despotism had but one step further to advance,—and that was to impose restraint upon ministerial faithfulness in the pulpit. Here also it endeavoured to carry its terrors, and it was the foolish attempt to do so, that led directly to the secession.

'Those ministers who belonged to the popular party, considered it their duty to testify from the pulpit against the measures which they deemed injurious to the interests of religion, but which they had not sufficient influence to prevent from being carried in the church courts. This was a privilege which the ministers of Scotland had long claimed and enjoyed; and though, certainly, like every other privilege, it is liable to be abused, and requires much delicacy and judgment to use it aright, yet there can be no doubt that, in some of the past periods of our history, the exercise of it by faithful ministers has been productive of much benefit both to the church and to the country. And if any period can be mentioned in which ministerial freedom, in this respect, was more allowable than at another, that period was the one to which this part of my narrative refers. The ruling party in the church courts thought otherwise; and, as they had previously declared, by an arbitrary enactment, that no protest should be received or recorded against any measure they might be pleased to adopt, however unconstitutional in itself or hurtful in its tendency, so they were resolved to stretch forth the rod of their authority, with the view of preventing their opponents from exposing their unscriptural proceedings in the ministrations of the pulpit. Such a practice as this could not but be galling to them, and it was natural for them to endeavour to suppress it. For this purpose, it was necessary that an example should be made of one of the most influential, as well as most obnoxious, of their opponents; so that, by the censure inflicted, others might be deterred from pursuing a similar course.

'The individual whom they fixed upon for the purpose of making this experiment, was Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, one of the ministers of Stirling. This person ranked high as a faithful, laborious, and successful preacher of the gospel. The talents which he possessed were of the most popular description; his influence was great, and he was not more distinguished for the clear evangelical views which he had of the truth, than for the fearless manner in which he avowed them, and for his intrepidity in defending them. He was beloved and revered by the people, and he was looked up to with respect by an extensive circle of friends in the ministry. In all the questions which had been brought before the Assembly, involving in them the interests of the truth and the scriptural rights of the people, he had, from his first entrance into the ministry, uniformly espoused the popular side, and had ever shown himself a keen opponent of the secularizing and arbitrary measures pursued by the court party. He had taken an active part in the Marrow controversy; and, in the process carried on against Professor Simson, he had done what he could to strengthen the hands of those who were contending for the truth. Repeatedly had the shafts of calumny been directed against him, with the view of injuring his character, and destroying his usefulness. Already had he, when a minister in Fife, been accused, first before the Synod, and next before the commission of the General Assembly, of teaching doctrines inconsistent with the Confession of Faith, by which his accusers meant the obnoxious doctrines of the Marrow.

'That a person of Mr. Erskine's character and influence should be obnoxious to those who could not brook opposition to their measures, and that they should be desirous of an opportunity to check his boldness, was natural. Such an oppportunity was furnished by a sermon which he preached at Perth, at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, on the 10th October, 1732. The subject of his discourse was Psalm cxviii. 22, 'The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.' In this discourse, Mr. Erskine, when describing the wicked conduct of the Jewish priests and rulers during the period of Christ's personal ministry, made some pointed allusions to the late transactions of the General Assembly, and to the state of affairs in general throughout the Scottish church, at the same time, his statements were so carefully guarded, that there was nothing personal in them, but each individual of his hearers was left to make an application of them to his own conscience. The sermon, which has long been before the public, contains in it no uncommon display of talent, but it is chiefly distinguished as being a clear, faithful, and practical exposition of the text, and by its peculiar appropriateness to the circumstances in which it was preached.'—p. 42, New Edition.

We must restrict ourselves to these extracts; suffice it to say, that the narrative advances in well-sustained interest as the plot thickens, until the final results, the expulsion of Mr. Erskine and his associates, and the formal institution of the secession church are brought out. These extracts afford examples of the

small *errata* of the author, on which we should feel disposed to animadvert. A phrase occasionally recurs, in rather close succession, even when it is not the most tasteful imaginable; thus, —'No sooner was a *way of escape opened up to them*, than multitudes eagerly availed themselves of it. *This way of escape was opened up to them* by the secession.' Some of his tropes might be improved somewhat. 'Those who are oppressed, having burst asunder their fetters, *will dash them in the faces of their oppressors.*' Not a few of the ecclesiastical phrases which he uses require a glossary in the south, such as '*serving an edict*,' '*moderating in a call*,' &c. And perhaps, there is more than enough of general remark and discussion to be altogether in keeping with narrative. Upon the whole, however, we welcome this work as a valuable addition to our national stock of ecclesiastical *memorabilia*.

Patronage has thus, then, produced one secession in Scotland: *is it destined to produce another?* A large majority of the General Assembly have solemnly condemned patronage at their last meeting! What, then, is to be done? Can they henceforth ever have to do with patronage? Common minds would say no, unless, after having condemned patronage, they have resolved next to condemn themselves. They set at nought the interdicts of judges; how can they honour the presentations of patrons? If they accept a presentation, or take a living on the ground of one; if they refuse to allow a congregation to elect, until it has first seemed good to the patron to appoint; if they concede to the patron the power he claims, after having solemnly, in the name of Christ, denounced the right and power he holds, the value of the decision will be neutralized by the inconsistency of its authors. *But it will be so neutralized.* The church distinguishes, conveniently enough, betwixt what it may *bear*, and what it may *sanction*; it knows the state will preserve patronage, and, rather than dissolve the loved union, it will *bear*—it will do more, it will accept, it will recognise, it will live by patronage, and will content itself with a *protest* against the grievance! The wedded mates may scold one another, but the state has no wish to part with the church, and the church has declared she has none to part with the state (on the score of patronage, at least); so there will be no divorce with consent of either party, till some more potent third party appear, and finally dissolve the union. Oh that, for the sake of all that is great and good in human character, some at least may catch the spirit of the first seceders, and come forth nobly without the camp, bearing Christ's reproach!

Art. VII. *Norway and her Laplanders in* 1841: *with a few hints to the Salmon fisher.* By John Milford. 8vo. London: Murray.

The facilities afforded by railroads and steam-boats have greatly widened the peregrinations of modern tourists. The high road of European travelling having become familiar, and therefore distasteful, attempts are being made to break up new ground on every hand. Our adventurous countrymen are pushing out their rambles in all directions with an activity and enterprise which may well astonish some of our sluggish neighbours. To this we have no objection; but on the contrary, are gratified by the reports brought us from time to time of the habits, condition, and prospects of various tribes, of whom little was previously known. Until very recently, Norway might have been deemed *terra incognita*, but is now in a fair way of becoming as familiar to us as Switzerland, Italy, or Germany. Mr. Laing's volume has done much to effect this, and the one now before us, *haud passibus æquis*, follows in the same direction. The motives which induced Mr. Milford to select Norway as the scene of his excursion, were of 'a private and painful nature.' A heavy sorrow, the nature of which it is not difficult to guess, had beclouded his home, and he sought relief to an overburthened mind and shattered nerves in change of scene and the excitement of travelling. 'I selected Norway,' he tells us, 'as partaking more of nature, fresh and unsophisticated, than those polished and luxurious countries which are more usually resorted to.' He left Hull, accompanied by his son, on Saturday, the 24th of July, 1841, and anchored in the harbour of Christiansand on the morning of the 27th, after a passage of sixty-two hours. The scenery of the coast was not so bold as he had expected, and was certainly less grand than the North of Spain, which Mr. Milford had previously visited. It was, however, 'strikingly beautiful, being indented with bays, and fringed with small rocky islands, and was picturesque, although bare of vegetation.'

The city is not visible from a distance, being concealed by a projecting rock. The houses here are built of wood, and have in general a neat and clean appearance.

'The streets of Christiansand run at right angles to each other; they are of immense length, in consequence of the numerous gardens which intervene between the houses, and have a desolate appearance, few pedestrians being seen, and never more than one or two carrioles, drawn by one horse, passing at the same time. In short, I should say this must be a dull town, although the inhabitants have a theatre to enliven them, in which a company of Danish actors were now playing one of our immortal Shakspere's tragedies, translated into Norse.'—

A short excursion was made to Vigeland, a distance of ten English miles, in the hope of finding some sport in fishing, but the weather was unpropitious, and our author's first essay at salmon catching, proved, in consequence, unsuccessful. On Friday, the 30th, he sailed for Christiania in the steamer *Constitucion*. Everything on board was admirably arranged and beautifully clean; the wines, Sauterne and St. Julien, 2*s.* 6*d.* a bottle, were excellent, and the dinner well dressed in the French style. The steamers on this line call at several small places for passengers, and anchor in some snug harbour every night. This gives the traveller an admirable opportunity of acquainting himself with the habits of the people, of which Mr. Milford diligently availed himself. Amongst the characteristics mentioned, is a love of dramatic representations, a theatre appearing 'to be considered as a necessary appendage to most towns.' The inhabitants are represented as a good-looking race, abounding especially in feminine beauty. Only three barons now survive in Norway—the last vestiges of a race once numerous and powerful. This is the result of a law passed in 1814, which annulled the orders of nobility, and abolished the rights of primogeniture. Amongst his fellow voyagers, our author mentions a hawk-catcher, of whom he gives the following account, which will probably surprise some of our uninitiated readers:—

'A man has just entered into conversation with me who has been sent by Prince Alexander, the second son of the King of Holland, the Duke of Leeds, and several other Englishmen fond of hawking, a distance of seven or eight hundred miles, to Jerkin, on the Dovre fæil, for the sole purpose of capturing some Norwegian hawks. He told me he should remain at the last-mentioned spot for a month, and expected to catch about half a dozen of these birds. He was taking some live pigeons with him for this purpose, all the way from Amsterdam to the highest mountain pass in Norway. His method is to build a shed in a wild situation, in which he may conceal himself, and then to confine a pigeon to the ground close to an expanded net; the hawk is attracted to the spot, and easily captured. This person had been for twenty years falconer to Lord Bernard, and had lived in Suffolk, but was now employed by a hawking society in Holland. I saw the list of the members. They meet during the months of April, May, June, and part of July of every year. Amongst the names were those of many both of the Dutch and English nobility.'—pp. 24, 25.

Christiania, the most modern of the four capitals of Norway, is represented as 'a fine town, with wide streets and lofty houses, most of them built of stone, and with great regularity. The harbour is excellent, and the trade extensive.' It contains a university with several hundred students, and being the seat of government, has several public buildings on a large scale. 'Its

general appearance, however,' Mr. Milford tells us, 'is gloomy, and I passed through many streets without meeting with any description of vehicle, and scarcely half-a-dozen people. The number of its inhabitants, nevertheless, exceeds 12,000.'

From Christiania our traveller proceeded to Tronjeim, a distance of about three hundred and fifty English miles. His mode of travelling, and the expenses attendant on it, are thus described :—

'We purchased carrioles, which, together with the harness, cost 4*l.* each. They are little vehicles with low wheels, very convenient and snug, being just large enough to hold one person, whose feet rest against the cross bar, whilst his legs are protected by a large leathern apron. These light carriages are tolerably easy, for although they have no springs there is much play in the shafts; there is, however, no covering, which is a somewhat awkward circumstance in case of rain, but they are solely intended for summer travelling. The only place for your luggage being upon the board behind, the less you encumber yourself with the better, particularly as upon it the proprietor of the horse occasionally takes his seat, and in more than one instance the contents of my carpet-bag were wofully crushed in consequence.

'We proceeded on our journey, travelling post, the horses being provided by the landed proprietors of the country (bonder), at the rate of about a shilling a Norse mile (seven English miles) for each animal, which is about the same expense at which you can travel in England by a public conveyance. Each carriole is drawn by one horse, and you are obliged to send on a forebud, or avant-courier, in a cart, ten or twelve hours before you start, to carry your additional luggage, and to have the horses, which are fetched from the plough or from other work, in readiness by the time of your arrival; but you frequently overtake this functionary, in consequence of the temptation which finkel offers to him at every post-house; and although a book is kept for the purpose of making known to the proper authorities any complaint either of incivility or delay, the traveller passes on, and seldom avails himself of such an uncertain mode of redress. The duty of the forebud is to leave a printed ticket at each post station, informing the proprietor when you may be expected to arrive, and what number of horses you require. For the trouble of sending to the farmer for these animals, the said proprietor is allowed a fixed charge of four skillings (about twopence), which is called order money, and you have also to pay him a few more skillings for every hour you are after your time.

'The little horses are stiff built, well made, full of spirit, very fast, and sure-footed, and on level ground go at a good rate; the roads, however, although well kept, are generally so hilly that, including stoppages (each change occupies twenty minutes), we never went more than from five to six miles in the hour.'—pp. 30—33.

The post-houses, the only inns along the road, in external appearance and internal accommodation, are about on a par with

the posadas of Spain and Portugal. Our author gives no very tempting account of the accommodation they afford, which we extract, for the information of those of our readers whose love of adventure exceeds their love of ease.

'You generally find one large comfortless room, the whole furniture of which consists of a table, a few chairs, and a couple of beds, and in this you both eat and sleep, if not prevented from enjoying 'tired nature's calm restorer' by fleas, musquitoes, bugs, et hoc genus omne of annoyances, with the addition of an infinity of villanous smells, arising from the dirty habits of the people, and but partially counteracted by the strong odour of the tops of the spruce and juniper, which are spread over the floor of every cottage in Norway, for the purpose of keeping it clean.

'Wo be to the English traveller who does not bring some portable soup and good biscuit with him for this journey, or indeed for any other which he may make in Norway, even from one capital to another. The keen northern air and the hard exercise will sharpen his appetite, but he will find nothing to satisfy it, excepting such unsubstantial food as eggs and coffee. The former you can generally get; the latter always, even in the smallest cottages, but you must wait, although half starving, for a full half hour after your arrival before you can procure even this, for it has first to be roasted, then ground, and afterwards boiled. Now and then we had the additional luxury of bad bacon, for the Norwegian pigs resemble 'des anatomies vivantes.''—pp. 41, 42.

We pass over the account of the salmon fishing of the Namsen, which Mr. Milford describes as 'the best salmon river of Europe.' The disciples of Walton, who want information on this point, may find it in the sixth chapter of our author's volume. For our own part, we have no taste for such amusements, and therefore pass over the details furnished, for other and more pleasing matter.

Lutheranism is the established religion of Norway, but there is reason to fear that the power of Christianity is exceedingly circumscribed. The people are moral, and the duties of social life are discharged with punctuality, but the higher and spiritual relationships of man receive little attention. The forms of religion are maintained, but the spirit by which they should be animated, and whence they derive all their value, is seldom evidenced. The ordinary effect of a state religion is visible on every hand, and is presented in a form much more favourable than in many other countries; nevertheless, the devout mind will look in vain for those indications of spiritual life which are so prominently exhibited in the word of God. The absence of energy and zeal from the public services of the church is noted by Mr. Milford, though himself apparently but little inclined to require much in this way. It is a wearisome service which the state

stipendiary performs, and its effects are consequently extremely limited.

'There is a bishop in each of the four provinces of Norway, Tronjeim, Bergen, Aggerhuus (or Christiania), and Christiansand, and their incomes are from 800*l.* to 1000*l.* sterling per annum each, whilst the stipend of the inferior clergy is from 150*l.* to 250*l.* sterling each. No other profession in this country is so well paid. I should say that one of the principal defects of their church establishment is the small number of clergymen. Those whom we met complained to us of the onerous duties they had to fulfil, in consequence of the great distance between the different churches which they serve, and the long and fatiguing journeys they had to make, across the mountains, in all seasons of the year, and in every kind of weather. The result (and it must be most detrimental to the progress of religion) is, that service is only performed occasionally; in some parishes about Ekker once a month, and in others which are more remote only twice a year.'—pp. 224, 225.

The public worship symbolizes with that of Rome. 'The costume of the priest,' remarks Mr. Milford, alluding to the service which he attended at Ekker, 'as well as his occasionally crossing himself, and bowing towards the altar, strongly reminded me of the Roman-catholic worship.' The same likeness was observable in the recreations indulged in on the Lord's day, as the following brief extract will show.

'Sunday is not considered here as with us, a day of rest, nor observed as such for the whole twenty-four hours; the public service of the church being over, the remainder of the day seems to be devoted in Norway, as it is in Roman-catholic countries, to amusement and merry-making. I found after the christening that there was a dance, which lasted till one o'clock the next morning; and had it not been Sunday night I should have made a point of witnessing the scene. Two Englishmen were of the party, and waltzed all night with the Norse belles, who dance remarkably well.

'I saw many handsome countenances amongst the females; the eyes are their finest feature, but their greatest charms are their extreme modesty and virtue; the conduct of the married as well as of the single women is without reproach. Some of our countrymen who had frequently attended their merry meetings, informed me they had never witnessed an instance of irregularity, nor even the slightest levity of conduct.'—pp. 78, 79.

To the fact alluded to in the latter part of this extract, frequent references are made, which are uniformly honourable to the Norwegian character. 'Purity of conduct and of morals,' it is remarked, 'forms one of the most prominent characteristics of the people of Norway.' One exception, we are sorry to add, must be made to this favourable description. 'The vice of drunkenness is the besetting sin of the Norwegians,' and its

effects, though far less deleterious than in our own country, are of the same order.

On the twenty-third of August, Mr. Milford set off in search of the Lapps, an encampment of whom it was reported was to be found at about seventy miles distance. His guide was a schoolmaster, who, for twenty years, had been in the habit of visiting this simple people every summer, and of residing among them as long as the weather permitted, for the purpose of instructing them in reading and writing. The season was far advanced for such an excursion, and the inconveniences and dangers encountered were by no means inconsiderable. Still our author and his associates persevered, and were amply rewarded, as the following extract will show. The infrequent opportunities we have of introducing our readers to such a scene, must apologize for its length.

'Upon our arrival we found the encampment consisted of two circular tents built of poles joined together in the centre, in form of a cone, with cloth stretched over them. The door of the larger one, in which we took up our abode, was so low and small, that we had some difficulty in crawling in. The whole scene was highly picturesque. Each tent was occupied by a Lapp family; every individual gave us a most kind reception, and heartily shaking us by the hand, at once offered us a share of their tent, the only night's lodging they had to give. We thankfully accepted their hospitality, and soon found ourselves laying on skins before a large and cheerful fire. The inhabitants of the hut comprised three generations of Lapps,—namely, a middle-aged man and his wife, with four children and an old grandmother; to these were now added our party, consisting of four Englishmen, their two interpreters, and two other attendants. The tent was made of coarse dark cloth, and the outside of it was covered with turf; around the inside were hung cheeses, bladders, dried gut of reindeer, guns, and various other useful articles. The chief part of the smoke escaped through a large opening at the top, but enough remained painfully to affect our eyes, and to give the copper countenances of the Lapps a shade as dark as those of Indians. The second family, who occupied the smaller tent,—namely, our late Lapp guide, Peter Johansen, his wife and two children, soon came to pay us a visit. I have already described his person. His wife and daughter had light hair and fair complexions, and were pleasing in their appearance, and his little boy was an intelligent and interesting child, and although under ten years of age, took his turn with the men in watching the reindeer during the night. He was dressed in his best clothes, entirely made of skins, with a girdle round his waist, and such a protuberance in front as to give him the appearance of being stuffed, and greatly to excite our laughter. He wore his knife in its case behind, and several small ornaments by his side, thus forming a complete Lilliputian Lapp in full costume.

'We were soon presented with a large bowl of reindeer milk, which is much richer than that of the cow, and has a delicate and aromatic flavour, with a pleasant taste, resembling the milk of the cocoa-nut; but I found I could not take much of it with impunity, as it was more like drinking cream than milk. They also boiled for us a reindeer ham, which had only been salted two days before. We found it so good, that upon taking our departure next morning, we were glad to add it to our scanty store of provisions. It has a wild flavour, and is quite equal to our park venison.

'The old grandmother was as shrivelled as a mummy, but the other two women were by no means ill looking. Their dress was of dark woollen cloth, with silver ornaments in front, as well as in the girdle round the waist, to which sewing implements were suspended. These ornaments were in good taste, and well finished; and the buttons were similar to those used by the peasantry in Spain. I have no doubt this smart costume was put on in compliment to us. The dress of the men consisted of leather coats, and tight trousers of the same material, with reindeer-skin boots. All the females smoked, and the old woman seemed more pleased with having her pipe filled with tobacco brought from England, than with anything else that we gave her. Some boxes of Lucifer matches which we presented to them were also highly prized; they had evidently never seen them before, and expressed no small astonishment at the manner in which ignition is effected. We regretted we had no fish-hooks, which they inquired for; but we gave them a glass of finkel each, which the octogenarian appeared to relish more than any of her descendants. The head of the family (Johan Nielson) was a grave, sedate-looking man; decision of character and intelligence were marked on his fine countenance. In reply to the questions I put to him through my interpreter, he said they were happy in the enjoyment of their wandering pastoral life; that they confined themselves to the mountainous ridge which separates Norway from Sweden, the boundary line between these countries being only two English miles from the spot where they were then encamped; that they had been there about eight days, intended to remain a fortnight longer, and should then move onwards for a change of pasture for their reindeer. He told me that in summer they conduct these animals, which constitute their wealth, to the elevated parts of the mountains, and in the winter they descend to the level country. His herd consisted of about three hundred, and it appears that a family requires nearly that number for its support. The great proportion of them were his own property, but some belonged to Peter Johansen, and ten to a middle-aged single woman who lodged with them. These Lapps, although 'dwellers in tents' all the year round, are in many respects far from being uncivilized. They strictly observe the sabbath, the best reader of the family officiating as priest, and going regularly through the Lutheran service. Occasionally they attend the church of the nearest village on the frontier of Sweden.

'Our guide, the schoolmaster, is employed by the missionary society, and twice in the course of every summer attends the Lapps, for the

purpose of instructing them. He stays for three weeks on each occasion, and divides his time between the different families who are encamped many miles apart. This man told me that all the children could read, write, and say their prayers. The Lapps have but few wants, and appear perfectly satisfied; having no bread, they subsist almost entirely on the produce of their herds, with the occasional assistance of fish and game. We saw no other description of food whatever, neither have they any candles; and when we required additional light, one of the women took a firebrand in her hand and held it up for us. On one occasion we wanted to pour some of their delicious milk into our small keg of finkel: in an instant they very ingeniously made a funnel of some of the birch bark which hung round the tent. The sun and stars are their only clock. They had no spirituous liquors, but it is well known that they are generally addicted to inebriety; and doubtless, when the opportunity occurs of going down into the valleys, either of Sweden or of Norway, they indulge in this, their one besetting sin.

'Both Nielson and Johansen are great hunters, and occasionally are absent from the encampment for many weeks together, in search of bears, seals, and game. It was nearly midnight before our interesting conference with Johan Nielson was brought to a close. He at length asked us in a civil, I might almost say in a polite manner, whether we felt disposed to sleep. To this we assented; and when all was quiet, and most eyes were closed, I surveyed with no little interest the singular scene around me. Our host lit his pipe, by way of a soporific, laid down his head on his hard pillow, and comfortably puffed himself to sleep. One of the children coming in late, the old grandmother lifted up her large reindeer covering, and inclosed the young herdsman within its ample folds. It was a fine night, and we felt no inconvenience either from heat or cold. We were, however, as closely packed all round the tent as negroes in a slave ship, and it would have been difficult for a single additional person to have found a berth. I slept soundly notwithstanding. We were so near the fire, that my foot would have been burnt had not one of my companions awakened me, and pointed out the danger. It will be long before the details of this night will be forgotten by any of us; and we all regretted that there was no artist amongst us to have sketched some of the more characteristic features of the scene.'—pp. 159—167.

The government of Norway is a limited monarchy, hereditary in the male line of the royal family of Sweden. The king is required to profess the Lutheran religion, and wields exclusively the executive power, the legislative being shared with the Storthing, or national assembly. The construction of this body is popular, and, in Mr. Milford's judgment, little adapted to meet the varying necessities of the case. The Norwegians, however, are jealous of the Swedes, to whose crown they were forcibly united in 1814, and are not, therefore, inclined to any alteration which would increase the influence, or render more fixed, the

power of that court. Our author's account of the Storthing is as follows, in which his political predilections are sufficiently apparent.

'Many of the most judicious of the Norwegians are convinced that this storthing is too democratic in its construction, and that the machine, however well it may work in quiet times, will prove insufficient in the hour of need. The session of the storthing does not exceed three months, and as it takes place only once in every three years, very injurious delays frequently occur, in enactments ultimately connected with the public good. The legislature has jealously excluded all the best and most intelligent persons from its halls, by disqualifying every one who is connected with the court or the government, or who is in the receipt of any income derived from the national purse, whether in the shape of salary or pension, and thus those individuals who, from their position, must naturally be the most conversant with public affairs, are interdicted from all legislative power. Although some individuals connected with the church and the law are elected, the deputies principally consist of yeomen, whose views, as is common with tillers of the soil, are somewhat too practical,—somewhat too economical; their niggardly votes of supplies hamper all local and general improvements; and they have carried measures, such as the abolition of hereditary distinctions, the equal division of property among children, &c., which, according to our notions, must sap the very foundations of a limited monarchy. Of this the Norwegians themselves are perfectly aware; but they contend that the government of Norway is a pure democracy, and that as their country has been appended to Sweden, without their consent having been sought or obtained, the present system of legislature is the only one which gives them any chance of maintaining their national independence. As there is no intermediate house between themselves and the crown, and as a bill which has passed a third storthing becomes a law, without the king's signature, the crown only possesses a veto, which, when twice exercised, ceases; and there is, in fact, no barrier whatever, no protection for the upper classes, or for the supreme chief. Hitherto, as they have had peace at home, and no foreign war, things have gone on smoothly, and the ill-constructed machine has kept together; but should invasion, rebellion, or any powerfully disturbing element arise, to shake the fabric of society, their system of representation would be exposed to a trial which it is little fitted to sustain; in short, the duration of this ill-devised government seems very problematical.'—pp. 208—210.

Mr. Milford's volume is written in a simple and unassuming style. It wears a truthful aspect, and bespeaks good sense and a cultivated mind.

Art. VIII. 1. *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire.* By W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D., &c. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1842. pp. 299.

2. *The Disturbances in the Manufacturing Districts. Morning Chronicle, August,* 1842.

3. *Speech of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., to the Anti-Corn-Law League, in reference to the disturbances in the Manufacturing Districts.* Manchester: Prentice and Co.

PROVIDENCE has wisely ordered that no portion of the human family should be entirely independent of all others. Each district of the globe has been endowed with peculiar advantages. The tea-plant of China, the cotton and corn of America, the coffee and sugar of Brazil and the West Indies, the timber of the Baltic, and the minerals of our own country, are all so many instances of the benevolence and wisdom of the great Giver of all good. We think that the evident design of the Creator in this arrangement is, by rendering the products of each country necessary and subservient to the comforts of the rest of the world, to promote a universal feeling of peace and good will. That so glorious a design should be frustrated by human laws is a sad proof of our depravity, and is necessarily the cause of much suffering. Commerce, or in other words, the exchange of the products of one people for those of another, is the golden cord which binds together the most distant nations, and whenever that cord is broken, jealousy, bitterness, and strife, are the almost inevitable results. Some trifling occurrence, magnified by ill feeling on both sides, is followed by war with its attendant calamities, its awful sacrifice of life, and its useless expenditure of wealth. But these are not the only evil results of the breach of this great natural law of mutual dependence. A nation which should attempt, with purblind selfishness, to render itself independent of all others, would necessarily fall into a state of barbarism and decay. But an *entire* independence, perhaps, no party advocates; the most bigoted monopolist can see at once the absurdity of building mills upon the sugar plantations of Cuba, or of erecting hot-houses for cotton in England, and yet it would be equally as wise to do so as it is to attempt to make this nation independent of foreign supplies of food; the attempt *must* fail, and its only effects can be disaster and ruin. The fact is, for many years we have been dependent upon other countries for supplies of grain, and the operation of the Corn Laws has been to make that supply precarious, and, by limiting its amount, to enhance artificially the price of the home produce, to derange commercial transactions, and to deprive thousands of employment.

Time after time have we directed the attention of our readers to the fearful state of privation under which great masses of our countrymen are suffering. Had this misery been the natural result of certain causes over which we had no control,—had God, for some wise end, laid his hand heavy upon the people, we might have mourned over the distress, but should scarcely have thought it necessary to fill our pages with its harrowing details. We have however done so, because we believe that this famine is created by man's laws. Our hard-handed artisans *could* buy corn with the earnings of their toil, and God *has* provided for them the food necessary for their subsistence, but His bounties are interrupted, and groaning multitudes starve, that the selfishness of a few may be gratified. The North Western States of America overflow with abundant harvests. Waving fields of corn spread over a vast extent of territory, and the produce is far greater than our transatlantic brethren require for their own wants. Why then do the operatives of Britain cry aloud for food in vain? Their ingenuity and industry enable them to offer, in exchange for wheat, manufactured goods, which the Americans are anxious to obtain, but an Act of Parliament steps in and prohibits the barter, and the beneficent arrangements of providence are rendered of none effect! Every cry, then, from our suffering countrymen rises to heaven in testimony against our heartless aristocracy, and every record of starvation and distress should stimulate the Christian and the patriot to make still further efforts for the total overthrow of monopoly.

The work which we have placed at the head of this article could not have appeared more seasonably. Its author took the opportunity, afforded by a visit to Lancashire in June last, of examining into the condition of the manufacturing population, and he has given us the results of his observation in the form of a series of letters to the Archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Taylor is, in every respect, well calculated for the task which he has undertaken. Unconnected with the manufacturing interest, and in a great measure free from the trammels of party feeling, he is in a position to judge impartially of the facts which came beneath his notice. He states in his preface that his 'sole anxiety was to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,' and our own knowledge enables us to attest fully the correctness of many of his statements. Dr. Taylor has written under the influence of immediate impressions, he 'jotted down' things just as they occurred, and there is consequently a vividness and graphic power in his descriptions which add much to the interest and value of the work. We are convinced that the 'tour' will add largely to the reputation which its benevolent author had

previously acquired, and we have pleasure in strongly recommending it to the early attention of our readers.

It has been the fashion with many persons to express a vast deal of sympathy with the factory operatives, and we have heard much of the degradation to which this class are exposed, of the cruelty of 'tyrannous cotton lords,' and of the superior condition of the agricultural population. The ferocious tirades of Mr. Ferrand made the treasury benches echo with applause, and the reiterated calumnies of the *Times* and the *Standard* have, we doubt not, made their readers believe that the poor cotton spinners and weavers are more cruelly treated than were the slaves in the West Indies. Dr. Taylor's work shows the utter absurdity and falsehood of these statements, which are too often made with a view of diverting attention from the real causes of the distress. At Turton and Egerton, where the mills of Messrs. Ashworth are situated, Dr. Taylor had the opportunity of observing the state of the workpeople when in full employment. He remarks, that 'the conditions of health in the mills of Turton and Egerton, and I may add generally in all that I have examined, are exceedingly favourable. The working rooms are lofty, spacious, and well ventilated, kept at an equable temperature, and scrupulously clean. There is nothing in sight, sound, or smell, to offend the most fastidious sense.' 'With respect to the length of time during which the work is continued, I must remark that the toil is not very great, nor is it incessant.' A short time previously to Dr. Taylor's visit, Messrs. Ashworth had found it necessary to reduce the wages of their men, and he states that the operatives were satisfied that their employers had been reluctantly compelled to do so in consequence of the decay of trade, which 'they universally attributed to the refusal of our government to admit the materials of payment proffered by those who were anxious to become our customers.' And then, as to the domestic comforts of the operatives:—

'I visited the interior of nearly every cottage; I found all well, and very many respectably furnished: there were generally a mahogany table and chest of drawers. Daughters from most of the houses, but *wives*, as far as I could learn, *from none*, worked in the factory. Many of the women were not a little proud of their housewifery, and exhibited the Sunday wardrobes of their husbands, the stock of neatly folded shirts, &c., and one of them gave me a very eloquent lecture on the mysteries of needle work, of which I did not comprehend a syllable; but I could very well appreciate the results in the neatness and comfort around me.'—pp. 28, 29.

In connexion with the mills, schools have been established, and Dr. Taylor describes his visit to them as being peculiarly inter-

esting. The children, on examination, were found to possess information on mental arithmetic, geography, scripture history, &c., above the average of any school which the Doctor had ever visited. The boys and girls employed in the mills were as 'merry as crickets,' and all the workpeople appeared contented and happy. A similar scene—alas! that there should be so few now in Lancashire,—was witnessed at Hollymount, where the mills of Messrs. Whitehead are situated.

'The residences of the operatives are not so much cottages as handsome houses, consisting of from four to six rooms, provided with every convenience necessary for comfort and cleanliness. They are all well furnished, in many cases with mahogany: I saw none destitute of a clock and a small collection of books, generally on religious subjects. The children in the village were remarkably healthy, neat, and intelligent. They answered the few casual questions addressed to them with a politeness of demeanour, and propriety of expression, which could not be surpassed in much higher ranks of life. I was informed that most of the men were teetotallers, and that they had invested considerable sums in the savings' bank. If the entire forest had been similar to Hollymount, it would have been an earthly paradise.'—pp. 58, 59.

The school attached to the factory is described as a very elegant and convenient building. The children subscribe twopence a week for their education, which is allowed to accumulate as a reserve fund, to be paid back to each pupil at twenty-one years of age. The benevolent proprietors have also erected a place of worship, at which they and their workpeople attend. Need we wonder, that with such advantages the villagers of Hollymount are 'healthy, happy, and contented?' Where, amidst the agricultural districts of England, could a similar congregation of happy labourers be found?

Dr. Taylor bears a willing testimony to the virtues of both the employers and the employed. So far from the 'cotton lords' being ashamed of their proceedings, they received a stranger, whose object was to inquire into their conduct, with the greatest cordiality. 'I am bound in gratitude to add,' says Dr. Taylor, 'that when my anxiety to obtain information on the subject became known, every possible facility was offered and afforded by the manufacturers and millowners. '*All we wish is to be known;* there is nothing in our entire system which we desire to be concealed,' was the universal cry, and of the sincerity with which it was uttered, I have received the most striking and convincing demonstrations.' Messrs. Ashworth's and Whitehead's are fine samples of their 'order,' but there are many, very many others, with as kind a disposition towards their workpeople, although they may not have equal means of carrying their benevolence

into effect. 'A healthy spirit of emulation has long existed among the proprietors of rural mills and print works; they were not less proud of the comforts and respectable appearance of their operatives, than a nobleman is of his palace or demesne.' The working men, too, have secured the warmest expressions of admiration from Dr. Taylor. For years have they borne up with fortitude and with heroism against the flood of suffering which has overwhelmed them. And in the midst of it all, they have displayed, not only vast powers of endurance, but a nobleness of mind which impresses us with the highest feelings of respect. Every expedient is resorted to before they will offend their sense of manly independence by soliciting aid from the Poor Law Guardians. Listen to the testimony of the commissioners appointed by government to inquire into the state of Stockport. They found many 'enduring distress with patience, and *abstaining, sometimes to the injury of health, from making any application for relief;* while others who *have been driven reluctantly to that extremity,* we have seen receiving a degree of relief, sufficient only to support life, often with thankfulness and gratitude, and generally without murmur or complaint.' But this is not all. There is reason to believe that some have *died* in consequence of their unwillingness to apply for parochial relief. A case of this nature is recorded in the report of the commissioners. Mr. Blackshaw, a respectable surgeon, resident in Stockport, stated, in evidence, that a man of the name of Frost had died in consequence of the privations which he had endured previously to receiving relief from the Union. The surgeon, on visiting him, asked him why he had not made earlier application for relief, and the reply was, that '*he wished to go on as long as he could.*' Mr. Blackshaw ascribed this to a 'spirit of independence,' and he stated that 'many would rather sacrifice all their furniture than apply to the parish.' Of course this character is not universal, but still it is sufficiently common to be regarded as a general attribute of the people. The commissioners further report that, 'in some instances, the weekly allowance had been voluntarily resigned immediately on their having obtained some other means of support.'

Dr. Taylor mentions that an operative, 'a living skeleton of a giant,' who was almost borne down with suffering, told him that 'he had been for seventeen weeks without work of any kind, and had been principally supported by the charity of neighbours little better off than himself. *When I offered him a shilling he refused to receive it until I had given my name and address, in order that he might repay it if ever an opportunity offered.*' This was noble; but there is still a finer instance of the unobtrusive virtues of the poor.

'I went into the house of a widow who had three children. She was one of the most intelligent, naturally polite persons I ever saw. She told me that the earnings of herself and two of her children amounted together to about eleven shillings per week; and that though they had once been better off, they felt themselves comparatively happy when they contrasted their condition with that of their neighbours. I remained some time, and on parting, offered her a shilling for the trouble I had given. '*No, sir*,' she replied, '*I cannot take your money while there are many so much worse around me: allow me to send it to a family suffering from sickness as well as want*;' and forthwith she sent her daughter with the shilling to the house whose misery she had been describing.'—pp. 81, 82.

There is something exceedingly touching in the pure benevolence of this poor widow. How would her conduct put to the blush the occupants of many a lordly hall or gilded palace! And yet such charity, elevated though it be, is found in many of the poorest cottages of Lancashire.

'Throughout the entire of the district I found the most distressed dwell invariably on the assistance which they received from their neighbours. 'We must have perished but for the charity of our neighbours,' was a phrase which met me everywhere; and invariably I found, upon inquiry, that their neighbours were very little better off than themselves.'—p. 82.

Although there is still much work for the schoolmaster in Lancashire, yet it must not be supposed that the people are in a state of besotted ignorance. Vast numbers are highly intelligent, and display a considerable amount of information. Dr. Taylor states, that during his tour, he 'heard the most important lessons in moral science and political economy from the lips of persons who have never been inside the doors of what may be called a study.' He took notes of conversations which he had with the operatives, and they abundantly prove that these men see through the fallacies which the bread-taxers attempt to blind them with. Take, for instance, the senseless cry of 'don't be dependent upon foreigners for your supplies.' Dr. Taylor asked a 'fustian jacket' if he had no fear, that were the Corn Laws repealed, 'foreign nations would refuse to supply us with corn: might they not enter into a conspiracy to starve us?' *He laughed in my face*, and said, 'I have no fear of getting bread so long as I have the means of paying for it. The baker over the way hates me as he hates the ——, on account of a rough and tumble [boxing and wrestling] which we had at the election, but I assure you he would not be such a fool as to refuse my custom for a loaf.' Dr. Taylor had been talking with another operative, and could not avoid expressing surprise at the amount of information on political economy which he possessed. He coolly replied, 'I hope

you will never have such a teacher as I have had, *it has been starved into me!*'

As might be anticipated, Dr. Taylor's *Tour* is full of the melancholy details of the sufferings of the operatives, but our space will only allow us to quote a few instances. Of Bolton, he remarks, 'that the mass of the population is on the very brink of sheer destitution, and that thousands are absolutely starving.' It has been calculated that the diminution of wages in this ill-fated town amounts to 200,000*l.* annually, which, added to the increased expenditure produced by the increased price of food, amounting, it is believed, to 118,000*l.* per annum, shows that the injury done to the working population by the corn and provision laws must be estimated at '320,000*l.* annually, or about 1000*l.* for every working day!' A government commissioner has, it seems, been sent down to relieve the distress of Bolton by the distribution of 500*l.*, or 'just one half of the sum fiscally subtracted' from the wages of the operatives every working day! Dr. Taylor may well ask, 'Is this mockery, or is it reality?' S. Forster, Esq., the Chairman of the Board of Guardians of Stockport, gives the following account of the state of the starving operatives in that town:—

'The clothing of the women is very wretched, and by no means adequate to protect the body from disease. This we are frequently reminded of from some of our medical officers, who have informed us that medicine would be unavailing without an increase of apparel. . . . . But perhaps nothing can so forcibly portray the depth of the present misery as the great want of beds and bedding. This destitution is abundantly confirmed both by medical and relieving officers—by the testimony of such as have visited the dwellings of the poor who have applied to our board for bedding, many of whom, we understand, have no bed; some a few flocks, or a little straw, spread in the corner of their room or cellar; no covering but a single sheet or rug. Many have to lie together to the number of six, seven, eight, and more, of both sexes, indiscriminately huddled together in their clothes, covered by an old sack or rug; no sheets, blankets, or coverlids. In these cases we have a wretchedness that cannot have entered into the contemplation of most people—a degradation which cannot be thought seriously of, both as to its moral and physical effects, without apprehension as to the consequences; and though it may be doubted by those who do not wish to believe such distress exists, it is nevertheless true; yea, and greater than this is also true; for we know that the infant has been brought into the world on the floor of one of these abodes of wretchedness, because there was not either bed, sheet, blanket, or bed-cover, and no provision had been made for the infant. . . . . We have also reason to believe some have died of starvation. *Cases of this kind are kept as much as possible from the public view.* Some have been mentioned which have attracted the notice of those con-

nected with government, at least, the Poor Law Commissioners; but we believe more have taken place.'—pp. 211—213.

After reading such statements as these, who can be surprised at the occurrence of scenes like the following? In Burnley, the streets were filled with groups of idlers, 'their faces haggard with famine, and their eyes rolling with that fierce and uneasy expression which I have often noticed in maniacs.' These people were discussing the best means of obtaining the redress of their grievances,—they were all Chartists, and the block-printers and hand-loom weavers were heard by Dr. Taylor *openly* advocating 'the expediency of burning down the mills, in order to compel the factory hands to join in an insurrectionary movement.' In Padiham, a still greater degree of violence was manifested, 'teeth were set, hands were clenched, and curses of fearful bitterness pronounced with harrowing energy.' 'There was a reckless desperation,' says Dr. Taylor, 'about the aspect of misery in Padiham, which was unlike anything I ever saw in Lancashire, but I doubt if it be more dangerous than the steady and fixed resolution to obtain a redress of real or imaginary grievances which I found among the people in Colne and Marsden.' After the scenes which our author had witnessed, we do not wonder at his giving expression to the following opinions:—

'There is yet time to avert the calamities which the state of things before me is calculated to produce. But if the remedial measures be too long delayed,—if the opportunity—the golden opportunity—offered by the rejection of the American tariff be neglected, the war between the 'have-nots' and the 'haves' must inevitably break out, and Coleridge's fearful eclogue of 'fire, famine, and slaughter,' will become applicable to districts far more important and extensive than La Vendée. This alarm is suggested by no loud threat or angry declaration; I have heard little of such vapouring in Lancashire; *it arises from hearing stern declamations made with a concentrated energy and bitter resoluteness which found vent in few and brief sentences:* these were pregnant with meaning, and meant far more than they said. I endeavoured to remonstrate with one of these men, and to show him the perils of the course which he wished to see adopted: he cut me very short, and coolly informed me that 'the time for argument was gone past.''—pp. 152, 153.

The remedial measures are still delayed; and since Dr. Taylor wrote the above passage, the war between the 'have-nots' and the 'haves' has, we fear, commenced. The recent disturbances, as our readers are probably aware, began with the workpeople of Mr. Sparrow, an iron-master in Staffordshire, and arose out of a dispute about wages, which afterwards extended through the mining districts. In Lancashire, the turn-out commenced at Staleybridge. The manufacturers of that town, having disco-

vered that they were paying higher wages than were given in other places, announced to the workpeople their intention of making a reduction. To this proposal the weavers refused to submit, and in consequence left their employment. This was followed by various meetings; and on Sunday the 7th of August, eight or ten thousand people assembled on Mottram Moor, and it is understood that the operations for the ensuing week were then determined upon. On the following day the turnouts visited the various mills in Staleybridge, and having induced the workmen to join them, proceeded to Ashton, Dukinfield, &c., and stopped the whole of the factories. Strange to say, during all this time the Manchester authorities were not apprised of the disturbances in the surrounding districts, and on Tuesday morning, August ninth, were astonished by the sudden announcement that a mob, consisting of several thousands, was entering the town. A troop of cavalry, headed by the stipendiary magistrate and other gentlemen, immediately proceeded to stop the progress of the rioters, but on receiving a pledge from the leaders that the procession should move orderly through the streets, and that no destruction of property was contemplated, the authorities thought it right to allow the people to proceed. Detachments of the mob were speedily sent to the various mills and workshops to summon the workpeople to join the turnouts, and, in most cases, found a ready acquiescence in their wishes. When any refusal was given, the rioters, by throwing stones at the windows of the factory, speedily convinced the managers of the propriety of yielding to their demands, and the men were turned out amidst the cheering of the tumultuous assemblage. So rapid were these movements, that the military and police were unable to prevent them, and, in a few hours, the immense productive power of the commercial metropolis was standing utterly idle. The streets were filled with the turnouts, many of the shops were closed, and the scene was one of confusion and dismay. Various bodies of men were, during this time, perambulating the town, begging, or rather demanding bread from the bakers, who, of course, were not in a position to refuse their requests. The magistrates adopted every means in their power to protect property and prevent the further disturbance of the town. The riot act was read, troops were sent down from London, and thousands of special constables sworn in. In the meanwhile the spirit of insubordination spread through other parts of the country. At Preston a serious conflict between the rioters and military ended fatally, several of the turnouts being mortally wounded. Rochdale, Todmorden, and from thence, Yorkshire, became a scene of confusion. At Elland, near Halifax, the rioters surrounded a small party of soldiers, two of whom they

severely wounded, and broke the sword of the officer. In Scotland, matters assumed an alarming appearance, and the strike extended throughout the mining districts. Potato fields were plundered in many places, and other acts of violence committed. In Staffordshire, where the strike commenced, and where the population is far inferior, both morally and intellectually, to the factory operatives, the most serious destruction of property has taken place. On Monday, the sixteenth of August, a meeting of colliers was held at Shelton, which was addressed by several Chartist leaders, in violent speeches, and immediately after the work of destruction commenced. The seats of several gentlemen were burned to the ground, or completely emptied of the furniture. The police office at Hanley was forcibly entered into, and the public books, papers, &c., were destroyed. Several lock-ups were opened, and the prisoners set at liberty. At Burslem many of the rioters were killed or wounded by the military. The colliers in Leicestershire subsequently joined the strike, and the whole of the Midland counties were in a state of the greatest excitement.

In Manchester a 'Great Delegate Conference' was summoned on Monday, the sixteenth of August, when eighty-five trades and public bodies sent deputies. This conference, which was of a decidedly Chartist complexion, lost the confidence of many of the workpeople, and soon dwindled into insignificance. On Sunday, August twenty-second, there were only twelve left out of the one hundred and forty-four delegates, and these poor men, on learning that their chairman had been arrested, immediately adjourned *sine die*. The resumption of work gradually followed, and although large numbers of weavers, at the time we write, are still 'out,' yet all apprehensions are quelled for the present.

Much has been said and written about the cause of this alarming outbreak. Sir R. Peel, in the closing speech of the session, attempted to cast the blame upon the Anti-Corn-Law League, and his suggestion has been echoed by the Tory press throughout the kingdom. It was a gloomy time for parliament to be prorogued. The right honourable Baronet knew that the 'faithful commons' were about to be congratulated by her Majesty on having passed measures 'calculated to promote the general and permanent welfare of all classes of her subjects,' and that her Majesty was about to assure the assembled legislators of her confidence in the 'indications of gradual recovery from that depression which has affected many branches of manufacturing industry, and exposed large classes of her people to privations and sufferings which have caused her the deepest concern;' we say, Sir Robert Peel was well aware of the confident words which

he was about to put in her Majesty's mouth, and yet at that moment London was ringing with the most alarming accounts from all parts of the country, orders for troops were being dispatched, and there was every prospect that, before her Majesty again met parliament, violence and bloodshed would have cast a gloom over every class of the community! Such were the 'indications of gradual recovery!' Mr. Mark Philips 'implored the government to give to the evils prevailing in the manufacturing districts their most earnest and solemn consideration. *They were evils that threatened to disorganize society, and to spread themselves wider and wider, until they involved the whole country in one common ruin, and one common downfall.*' After this, the assurance of the Queen that there were 'indications of gradual recovery,' must have sounded very like mockery. The wily leader no doubt felt the discrepancy, he knew that passing events were rapidly fulfilling the solemn warnings of the League, and being unable to overthrow their principles, he seized the moment, when no reply could be offered, to malign their characters. 'He must say that during a period of severe distress, and when the people manifested a degree of patience and fortitude which reflected the highest credit upon them, *attempts were made, and studiously made, to inflame their passions, and exasperate them into violence.* Yes,' continued the right honourable Baronet, 'the people, to their credit be it spoken, were disposed to be quiet. I have admired their fortitude under their privations. They are not to be blamed, but *those who have used expressions calculated to incite the people, are to be blamed;* and it is questionable whether some who have used such language may not repent the course they have taken.' Of course the monopolists loudly cheered this attack, but, to say the least of it, it was ungenerous in Sir Robert to take such an opportunity of calumniating the League, when he knew that a summons from the Usher of the Black Rod would prevent the possibility of a reply; but the premier seldom allows considerations of principle or of honesty to interfere with his seizing a momentary advantage. The League, however, stand in no danger from the charge. The calumny is utterly groundless. So far from the League being the authors of the riots, it may safely be asserted that they have done more than any other party to preserve the peace of the country. Their efforts to promote the best interests of the nation have been unwearied. Conference after conference have assembled, and have laid before government, and brought under the notice of the legislature, statements of the highest importance, and have demonstrated, by irrefutable proofs, that the Corn Laws are the main causes of the distress which, for so long a period, has covered our land. Repeated and solemn have been the warnings given by these

patriotic men, that the necessary effect of the Corn Laws, by producing starvation and misery, must be riot and violence. Publicly and privately have they prayed the ministers to save the country from destruction, by granting the repeal of all commercial restrictions. In the hall of legislation, the most eminent member of the League told the monopolists that the 'country *was drifting to confusion without rudder or compass.*' And is it not preposterous that after all these exertions, and after all these warnings, the Anti-Corn-Law League should be accused as the authors of the evils which they predicted as the necessary and inevitable consequences of monopoly? We shall not offend our readers by the further consideration of an accusation which is so obviously false.

The other party accused of being the authors of these riots, are the Chartists. The *Manchester Guardian*, a Whig paper of considerable influence, regards the turnout as the 'carrying out of that fiendish scheme developed by Mr. Feargus O'Connor and other agitators, so long ago as October, 1838, under the name of the 'sacred week,' and 'the national holiday;' which was twice or thrice announced in the early part of 1839, and which was finally attempted to be carried into execution on the twelfth of August in that year, a day which is significantly near the date of the present outbreak.' Now we think it can be proved that Chartism did not originate the late movement. In Lancashire as well as in Staffordshire it commenced with a dispute about wages. At Ashton, the turnouts published an address to the manufacturers, in which they say that '*such are our sufferings, in consequence of low wages*, and numerous other things, *that we can no longer tamely submit to it.* We therefore wish you to give us the same prices that we received in the year 1840.' The address proceeds to notice the great reduction of wages for weaving, &c., but does not contain any allusion to the Charter. At the first meeting in Manchester the speakers carefully explained that they were connected with no political party, and that their only object was to obtain 'a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.' The chairman stated that 'he had known several instances in which persons had dropped down dead from actual starvation. It was to remedy this state of things that they had turned out, and *not for the advancement of any political object.*' Another of the speakers asserted that they had not met 'for the destruction of property or machinery, but to obtain the co-operation of the people of Manchester, in seeking a fair day's wages for a fair day's labour.' Several others spoke to the same effect, and from the report it appears that none connected the movement with the Charter. The following morning a second meeting was held in Granby-row-fields, and again the subject of higher wages was

the prominent topic upon which the declamation of the speakers was expended. When the strike had emptied all the mills and workshops in Manchester, and when the people were in a state of the greatest excitement, then, and not till then, certain Chartist leaders seized the opportunity of promoting their sentiments, and attempted to convert what was originally a mere turn out for wages, into a national movement in favour of the 'People's Charter.' It cannot be wondered at that numbers of the distressed operatives eagerly followed the Chartist leaders, although there is abundant evidence to prove that many of the turnouts refused to swerve from their original intentions. At the meeting of the delegates on the sixteenth of August, one of the speakers stated that 'the body he represented were willing to cease from labour until wages were advanced; but *if the agitation were employed for political objects they were determined to return to their work.*' Another delegate 'denounced as foolish and insane the recommendation to the working classes not to return to their labour until they obtained the Charter.' Several other delegates expressed similar opinions. We admit that the majority of the deputies were Chartists, but we have already stated that the conference lost the confidence of many of the operatives, and after its dissolution, the strike resumed its original character, and the workpeople who remained out of employment did so on the *sole grounds* that they required an advance of wages.

After a calm review, therefore, of the whole proceedings, we cannot avoid forming the conclusion that the strike resulted entirely from the reduction of wages. The real cause was *distress*, and the authors of the distress are clearly the authors of the riots. We indulge in no exaggeration when we assert that government, and government alone, are responsible for the disturbances which have taken place. The inevitable effect of the depression of trade is the reduction of wages. Like everything else, the price of labour depends upon the supply, and if the market is glutted, its value must fall. It is quite absurd to suppose that the manufacturers have the power of reducing wages. Had Sir Robert Peel, during the last session, repealed the Corn Laws, every mill in the kingdom would have been called into activity, the demand for labour would have rapidly increased, the unemployed thousands would have found scope for their industry, wages would have advanced, the price of food would have fallen, and we should have heard nothing of the disturbances in the manufacturing districts. No inflammatory speeches can excite a happy people into rebellion, and a government which rules for the good of the many, need not fear any 'attempts to exasperate them into violence.'

It is true that these disturbances are at an end for the present,

but who can guarantee the continued peace of the manufacturing districts for a single hour? The influence of the military and the police have produced the appearance of tranquillity, but the embers of revolution are smouldering beneath the surface of society. Sir R. Peel praises the 'patience and fortitude of the people,' and says 'they are not to be blamed,' which is very true; but when they find that hollow words are all the evidences of sympathy which their sufferings obtain, is it surprising that they lose all confidence in the government, and attempt to redress their grievances by their own strength? Their 'patience and fortitude' have been sufficiently tried, the interests of the nation have been sufficiently trifled with, and yet honourable gentlemen and noble lords spend their time on the moors, apparently utterly careless of everything that does not interfere with their luxurious enjoyments. Surely, surely, the people deserve better treatment at the hands of their legislators; even in the late riots their general forbearance was as remarkable as it was pleasing. We were in Manchester during the turnout, and although the town was completely at the mercy of the 'mob,' although starvation must have almost driven many of the rioters to desperation, yet we witnessed no violence, and thousands were perambulating the streets without committing the slightest injury to property. They were a sad spectacle,—the victims of a vicious legislation. But this cannot go on long. These disturbances are but 'the beginning of the end.' Mr. Cobden, in his powerful speech to the League, justly remarked that—

'It is not enough for government to say that they have put down the people here by the military; it is not enough for them to say that they have got thousands of poor wretches in prison,—a larger number, I believe, than was ever known to be in the prisons of this country for any public delinquency since the days of Henry the Eighth,—I say it is not enough for them to say that they have quelled the disturbances by imprisoning or shooting the people; the duty lies with government still—and we must urge it upon them—to *find employment and subsistence for the people.* The manufacturers and tradesmen of this part of the country have told the government and the aristocracy,—'If you will allow us, we will find employment and subsistence for the people.' And what has been the answer? 'You have incited them to insurrection!' 'Very well, then,' we say; 'having put it down in your own way, tell us how you are to find them employment; and you shall never have peace or rest from us until you find employment, and give content to the people of this country.'"—*Speech*, pp. 7, 8.

Mr. Cobden asks, 'what was it which swelled the numbers of the turnouts,—what caused these multitudes to roam over the

country, stopping manufacturing pursuits, but because they *immediately met with a sympathizing body of thousands and tens of thousands of people who had no employment at all!* It is this fact which adds most to the alarming nature of the riots, and which impresses us with the most gloomy anticipations for the future. Our only hope is in the continued exertions of the League, aided by the prayers and the zealous co-operation of the pious ministers of the gospel who have already so nobly exerted themselves in favour of the people's rights. Our cause is based upon truth, and the arguments in its favour have only to become generally known to ensure its entire triumph. Agitation has already accomplished much, and it must and will accomplish more. We are glad to perceive, from Mr. Cobden's speech, that it is the intention of the League to carry the war into the enemy's quarters. Lecturers will visit the agricultural districts, and three prizes have been offered for the 'best practical essays, demonstrating the injurious effects of the Corn Law on tenant farmers and farm labourers, and the advantages which those classes would derive from its total and immediate repeal.' These essays, when published, will, no doubt, be extensively distributed amongst the classes whose interests they will discuss. The prizes are not large, but it is to be hoped that the excellence of the design will induce men of talent to write for them. The essays are to be sent to the League not later than the first of November.

We cannot close this article without again urging upon our readers the necessity of renewed exertion. Every day adds to the solemn responsibility of every man who can aid, in any way, the diffusion of free-trade principles. Let our friends in the agricultural districts be prepared to second the efforts of the League in teaching the farmers and their labourers that the repeal of the Corn Laws would benefit them, and that 'protection to agriculture' is only another name for protection to *Rent*. 'Let us do our duty, gentlemen,' exclaimed Mr. Cobden, 'one six months longer; let us exert ourselves with tenfold energy; and call upon the people to unite, as they will unite with us; and I engage that when parliament meets again, the prime minister will not dare to face us without bringing in a Corn Bill, such as he believes will demolish the agitation about the Corn Laws.'

Brief Notices.

The Seasons. By James Thomson. With engraved Illustrations from Designs on Wood, and with the Life of the Author, by Patrick Murdock, D.D., F.R.S. Edited by Bolton Corney, Esq. London: Longman.

NEVER did poet appear in more beautiful and appropriate attire than Thomson does in the volume before us. It realizes all which his warmest admirers can desire, and leaves far behind every competitor for public favour. 'In their endeavour to produce a beautifully illustrated edition of *Thomson's Seasons*, it has been the object of the publishers to combine the attractions of a faithful text with the best specimens of the graphic art.' Such was the announcement which preceded the appearance of the work, and it is bare justice to add, that the expectations awakened by it have been fully met. It has rarely been our lot to examine a volume of such exquisite beauty,—one which realizes so thoroughly our conception of what is due, in this age of refinement, to departed genius. The poem is printed from the edition of 1746, which contains the final revision of the author, who died two years afterwards. This edition has been strangely overlooked by Thomson's biographers, and numerous errors have consequently crept into subsequent reprints of his work. This is the more surprising, as several Lives of the Poet have been published, some of them by persons of considerable eminence in the republic of literature. Dr. Murdoch, whose memoir, from the revised edition of 1768, is prefixed to the volume, was an intimate friend of Thomson, and his narrative is enriched by the present editor with a large collection of notes drawn from the labour of other biographers.

The illustrations, seventy-seven in number, are from designs by various members of the etching club, and afford gratifying proof of the eminence which English artists may hope to gain in this hitherto neglected branch of their profession. Of the designs generally, it may with truth be affirmed, in the language of the editor, that 'the artists have established their relationship to the poet: they have evinced a similar intimacy with the forms and phases of nature, and a capability of giving each idea its apt expression.' Materials are, of course, furnished for minute criticism, but the general execution is so admirable, that we feel greatly disinclined to point out exceptions. An ambitious tendency is occasionally apparent, and a violation of anatomical propriety is observable in some of the figures. These, however, are minute defects which a severer taste and more accurate perception will easily rectify.

The whole work is beautifully brought out, and Mr. Corney's labours as editor have kept pace with those of the artists, in leaving us nothing to desire on behalf of a work than which few possess more numerous or warmer admirers.

Annotations on the Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Song of Solomon. By Henry Ainsworth. Parts I.—V. Glasgow: Blackie and Son.

Ainsworth's *Annotations* enjoy an European reputation, and are eminently distinguished by a thorough knowledge of Jewish learning, and a profound insight into the meaning and spirit of the inspired records. It is one of the best books which the industry and learning of our puritan fathers have bequeathed us, and is not supplanted by anything which has appeared since their day. It should be found in every theological library, and will prove an invaluable companion and aid to the rising ministry. That such a work should not have been reprinted in this country since 1639, is matter of great astonishment, and reflects no credit on our biblical reputation. It is emphatically, in the words of the present publishers, 'A work which has been praised by all of every denomination who have had access to consult its valuable pages; a work combining a thorough knowledge and explanation of the original Hebrew, with a most indefatigable comparison of the Old and New Testament Dispensations, illustrating Scripture by Scripture, and admitting nothing that is fanciful, or founded on mere conjecture, but establishing the true meaning of the passages explained by a patient investigation of the sense of the various places in the sacred oracles where the subjects are treated; a work suited to enrich the mind, to facilitate an understanding of the divine records, and to repay the diligent research of the most learned, whilst it is calculated to excite in all an earnest desire to be better acquainted with these copious streams of divine instruction.'

The edition now before us is to consist of thirteen parts, price two shillings each, of which five have already reached us, and it is needless to say that its success has our warmest wishes. We strongly recommend it to theological readers at large, and to our younger ministers especially.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. William Shakspere. A Biography. Nos. I.—III. London: Charles Knight.

A biography of William Shakspere from one of his most laborious and discriminating editors, whose reverence is shown in the efforts made to secure the great dramatist an opportunity of speaking after his own fashion, and not in the artificial style imposed by modern criticism, cannot fail to be a great acquisition. Mr. Knight possesses, in an uncommon degree, the qualities required for such an undertaking. He is an indefatigable collector of local traditions, a keen detector of those minuter points, both of history and character, which constitute the materials for such a biography as that of William Shakspere; patient in research, large and comprehensive in the spirit of his criticism, of sound judgment, and an intense though not blind admiration of the genius of his hero. With such qualifications he has diligently devoted

himself to the examination of all the materials which are in existence, and the success of his labours is clearly shown in the numbers now before us. His views are clearly stated in a postscript to the sixth volume of the present edition, in which he informs us that he contemplates 'an extended view of *Shakspere in connexion with his age*, its literature, its politics, its religion.' 'I would regard him,' says Mr. Knight, 'in association with the courtiers and the men of letters of the days of Elizabeth and James; I would surround him with all the customs and manners of his times; I would exhibit him amongst the scenes in which he lived in his boyhood, his maturity, and his later years. I profess to have no new materials for such a life, but I may be able to make the old materials more attractive than they have yet been made.'

A biography conceived in such a spirit, and executed with Mr. Knight's acknowledged ability, cannot fail to receive a hearty welcome from all the admirers of one of the loftiest geniuses which has ever adorned our nature.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division—Lancashire. Part VIII. London: How and Parsons.

This part completes the county of Lancashire, which may now be had in a separate volume, and which will be found to be as valuable in its details, as it is beautiful and varied in its illustrative engravings. The cotton manufactures of the county, its local traditions and historical features, the habits of its people, and the architectural remains of a former age which adorn its surface, are described with a fulness and accuracy which entitle the work to general patronage. This *Illustrated Itinerary*, if completed in the spirit and style in which it has been commenced, will constitute one of the most valuable publications of our day.

Tracts on the Errors and Evils of the Church of England. By the Rev. W. Thorn. London: Jackson and Walford.

Mr. Thorn is doing good service by the publication of these tracts, which, we are glad to find, are obtaining extensive circulation through the country. They are brief, consisting only of four pages each, are written in a perspicuous, pungent, and popular style, and display an extensive acquaintance with the genius and working of our state church. Such publications, issued at the low price of one halfpenny each, are admirably suited to the wants of the present day, and should be distributed freely in every parish of the empire. They will find their way where more bulky and elaborate treatises never appear, and cannot fail to make a strong impression. The following titles of the tracts constituting the Set now before us, which may be purchased for one shilling, sufficiently indicate their nature and the wide range which the author has taken:—'1. The Essential Difference between the Church of

the prominent topic upon which the declamation of the speakers was expended. When the strike had emptied all the mills and workshops in Manchester, and when the people were in a state of the greatest excitement, then, and not till then, certain Chartist leaders seized the opportunity of promoting their sentiments, and attempted to convert what was originally a mere turn out for wages, into a national movement in favour of the 'People's Charter.' It cannot be wondered at that numbers of the distressed operatives eagerly followed the Chartist leaders, although there is abundant evidence to prove that many of the turnouts refused to swerve from their original intentions. At the meeting of the delegates on the sixteenth of August, one of the speakers stated that 'the body he represented were willing to cease from labour until wages were advanced; but *if the agitation were employed for political objects they were determined to return to their work.*' Another delegate 'denounced as foolish and insane the recommendation to the working classes not to return to their labour until they obtained the Charter.' Several other delegates expressed similar opinions. We admit that the majority of the deputies were Chartists, but we have already stated that the conference lost the confidence of many of the operatives, and after its dissolution, the strike resumed its original character, and the workpeople who remained out of employment did so on the *sole grounds* that they required an advance of wages.

After a calm review, therefore, of the whole proceedings, we cannot avoid forming the conclusion that the strike resulted entirely from the reduction of wages. The real cause was *distress*, and the authors of the distress are clearly the authors of the riots. We indulge in no exaggeration when we assert that government, and government alone, are responsible for the disturbances which have taken place. The inevitable effect of the depression of trade is the reduction of wages. Like everything else, the price of labour depends upon the supply, and if the market is glutted, its value must fall. It is quite absurd to suppose that the manufacturers have the power of reducing wages. Had Sir Robert Peel, during the last session, repealed the Corn Laws, every mill in the kingdom would have been called into activity, the demand for labour would have rapidly increased, the unemployed thousands would have found scope for their industry, wages would have advanced, the price of food would have fallen, and we should have heard nothing of the disturbances in the manufacturing districts. No inflammatory speeches can excite a happy people into rebellion, and a government which rules for the good of the many, need not fear any 'attempts to exasperate them into violence.'

It is true that these disturbances are at an end for the present,

but who can guarantee the continued peace of the manufacturing districts for a single hour? The influence of the military and the police have produced the appearance of tranquillity, but the embers of revolution are smouldering beneath the surface of society. Sir R. Peel praises the 'patience and fortitude of the people,' and says 'they are not to be blamed,' which is very true; but when they find that hollow words are all the evidences of sympathy which their sufferings obtain, is it surprising that they lose all confidence in the government, and attempt to redress their grievances by their own strength? Their 'patience and fortitude' have been sufficiently tried, the interests of the nation have been sufficiently trifled with, and yet honourable gentlemen and noble lords spend their time on the moors, apparently utterly careless of everything that does not interfere with their luxurious enjoyments. Surely, surely, the people deserve better treatment at the hands of their legislators; even in the late riots their general forbearance was as remarkable as it was pleasing. We were in Manchester during the turnout, and although the town was completely at the mercy of the 'mob,' although starvation must have almost driven many of the rioters to desperation, yet we witnessed no violence, and thousands were perambulating the streets without committing the slightest injury to property. They were a sad spectacle,—the victims of a vicious legislation. But this cannot go on long. These disturbances are but 'the beginning of the end.' Mr. Cobden, in his powerful speech to the League, justly remarked that—

'It is not enough for government to say that they have put down the people here by the military; it is not enough for them to say that they have got thousands of poor wretches in prison,—a larger number, I believe, than was ever known to be in the prisons of this country for any public delinquency since the days of Henry the Eighth,—I say it is not enough for them to say that they have quelled the disturbances by imprisoning or shooting the people; the duty lies with government still—and we must urge it upon them—to *find employment and subsistence for the people.* The manufacturers and tradesmen of this part of the country have told the government and the aristocracy,—'If you will allow us, we will find employment and subsistence for the people.' And what has been the answer? 'You have incited them to insurrection!' 'Very well, then,' we say; 'having put it down in your own way, tell us how you are to find them employment; and you shall never have peace or rest from us until you find employment, and give content to the people of this country.'"—*Speech*, pp. 7, 8.

Mr. Cobden asks, 'what was it which swelled the numbers of the turnouts,—what caused these multitudes to roam over the

country, stopping manufacturing pursuits, but because they *immediately met with a sympathizing body of thousands and tens of thousands of people who had no employment at all?*' It is this fact which adds most to the alarming nature of the riots, and which impresses us with the most gloomy anticipations for the future. Our only hope is in the continued exertions of the League, aided by the prayers and the zealous co-operation of the pious ministers of the gospel who have already so nobly exerted themselves in favour of the people's rights. Our cause is based upon truth, and the arguments in its favour have only to become generally known to ensure its entire triumph. Agitation has already accomplished much, and it must and will accomplish more. We are glad to perceive, from Mr. Cobden's speech, that it is the intention of the League to carry the war into the enemy's quarters. Lecturers will visit the agricultural districts, and three prizes have been offered for the 'best practical essays, demonstrating the injurious effects of the Corn Law on tenant farmers and farm labourers, and the advantages which those classes would derive from its total and immediate repeal.' These essays, when published, will, no doubt, be extensively distributed amongst the classes whose interests they will discuss. The prizes are not large, but it is to be hoped that the excellence of the design will induce men of talent to write for them. The essays are to be sent to the League not later than the first of November.

We cannot close this article without again urging upon our readers the necessity of renewed exertion. Every day adds to the solemn responsibility of every man who can aid, in any way, the diffusion of free-trade principles. Let our friends in the agricultural districts be prepared to second the efforts of the League in teaching the farmers and their labourers that the repeal of the Corn Laws would benefit them, and that 'protection to agriculture' is only another name for protection to *Rent*. 'Let us do our duty, gentlemen,' exclaimed Mr. Cobden, 'one six months longer; let us exert ourselves with tenfold energy; and call upon the people to unite, as they will unite with us; and I engage that when parliament meets again, the prime minister will not dare to face us without bringing in a Corn Bill, such as he believes will demolish the agitation about the Corn Laws.'

Brief Notices.

The Seasons. By James Thomson. With engraved Illustrations from Designs on Wood, and with the Life of the Author, by Patrick Murdock, D.D., F.R.S. Edited by Bolton Corney, Esq. London: Longman.

Never did poet appear in more beautiful and appropriate attire than Thomson does in the volume before us. It realizes all which his warmest admirers can desire, and leaves far behind every competitor for public favour. 'In their endeavour to produce a beautifully illustrated edition of *Thomson's Seasons*, it has been the object of the publishers to combine the attractions of a faithful text with the best specimens of the graphic art.' Such was the announcement which preceded the appearance of the work, and it is bare justice to add, that the expectations awakened by it have been fully met. It has rarely been our lot to examine a volume of such exquisite beauty,—one which realises so thoroughly our conception of what is due, in this age of refinement, to departed genius. The poem is printed from the edition of 1746, which contains the final revision of the author, who died two years afterwards. This edition has been strangely overlooked by Thomson's biographers, and numerous errors have consequently crept into subsequent reprints of his work. This is the more surprising, as several Lives of the Poet have been published, some of them by persons of considerable eminence in the republic of literature. Dr. Murdoch, whose memoir, from the revised edition of 1768, is prefixed to the volume, was an intimate friend of Thomson, and his narrative is enriched by the present editor with a large collection of notes drawn from the labour of other biographers.

The illustrations, seventy-seven in number, are from designs by various members of the etching club, and afford gratifying proof of the eminence which English artists may hope to gain in this hitherto neglected branch of their profession. Of the designs generally, it may with truth be affirmed, in the language of the editor, that 'the artists have established their relationship to the poet: they have evinced a similar intimacy with the forms and phases of nature, and a capability of giving each idea its apt expression.' Materials are, of course, furnished for minute criticism, but the general execution is so admirable, that we feel greatly disinclined to point out exceptions. An ambitious tendency is occasionally apparent, and a violation of anatomical propriety is observable in some of the figures. These, however, are minute defects which a severer taste and more accurate perception will easily rectify.

The whole work is beautifully brought out, and Mr. Corney's labours as editor have kept pace with those of the artists, in leaving us nothing to desire on behalf of a work than which few possess more numerous or warmer admirers.

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St. Paul, the ardour of St. Peter, the meekness of Moses, I would look above all these excellent graces for my acceptance with God. No merit but that of my beloved Saviour,—with the mantle of his obedience unto death may I be covered. May I be found in him, accounted righteous before God only for the merit of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Here I can rest through faith, and find it full of consolation. Glory be to God for such a hope within the veil.'

With one more extract, which we think justly describes the character of Mr. Basil Woodd, we conclude this brief notice:—

'The most prominent characteristics of our deceased friend were, a mind deeply and powerfully impressed with the truth and importance of the religion he inculcated; a peculiar sweetness of natural temper, heightened and improved by the careful cultivation of the Christian graces; an uniform exercise of the most endearing courtesy and kindness; a steady, undeviating adherence in his public teaching to the simple doctrines of the gospel, without any affectation of novelty, or attempt to fathom or explain its deeper mysteries; a style of address well calculated to make its way to the consciences of his hearers, and which, while chaste and free from everything that could give just offence to the most fastidious ear, was equally adapted to the most ordinary capacity: an assiduous attention to the more private duties of catechising youth, distributing Bibles and religious tracts, visiting the sick, relieving the distressed, counselling, admonishing, exhorting, as opportunities offered, and circumstances dictated; in a word, an unwearied perseverance in well doing, under whatever discouragements or difficulties.' Though no translator of Æschylus, he was one of the church of England's brightest ornaments.

Dr. Pusey unsilenced, in a Letter addressed to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the chief errors of the new system are exposed, and the prevailing tendency to Romanism traced to its causes. By the Rev. William Atwell, A.M., Trinity College, Dublin, and Curate of St. Mark's Parish. London: Seeley's, Hatchard, and Nisbet.

If the spread of Romanism has anything in it to alarm the ecclesiastical head of England's protestant episcopal church, this pamphlet cannot fail greatly to affect the nerves of the most reverend prelate to whom it is addressed. Popery proper is on the increase; disguised popery is making very rapid strides among the rising clergy. The leaven is working mightily. Travel where you will by public vehicles, sojourn where you may, at hotels, boarding-houses, and places of general accommodation, you are sure to be brought into contact with a parson, and that parson, in nine cases out of ten, is sure to be a Puseyite. We doubt not but that these two poperies are both the cause and the effect of each other. Romanism has produced Puseyism, and Puseyism is again supplying daily new converts to Romanism. How it may be asked, and the question ought to be pressed home to the

rulers of the episcopacy,—How is it that the church of England is the only protestant church in the world that openly avows her antagonism to Rome, and is yet perpetually breeding papists in her own bosom, and affording popery its best facilities for propagating and extending its heresies and delusions? There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark,—men who well understand the nature of this spiritual malady in the state church, tell us that this rottenness is at the core. For our own part, we know not how a consistent churchman can meet a Puseyite in the field of argument, and we are perfectly sure that a Puseyite has no chance with a Romanist.

Our readers will be greatly amused, as we were, with Mr. Atwell's simplicity, when he says to the Archbishop of Canterbury (we wonder whether archbishops ever laugh in their sleeves), 'In its scriptural character, our church, as now established, has the impress of truth upon it; and, regardless how it has arrived at this happy consummation, let us, as dutiful children, render obedience to our kind and indulgent mother, who in infancy cherished us in her bosom, in youth nourished us with the sincere milk of the word, and in manhood fed us with the bread of heaven.' We have been looking in vain for an opportunity to take a peep at this kind and indulgent old lady; indeed, we have often asked some of her sons, so eloquent in her praise, to favour us with an introduction to her, but we could never catch them 'in the vein.' We have sometimes imagined that the personage we have seen rolling in pomp and splendour from the palace to the cathedral, and from the cathedral to the palace, must be the very old gentlewoman in question; but we have been mortified to learn, that we have mistaken the right reverend Father for the never-to-be-too-highly reverenced mother; though we could never obtain a glimpse of the great impalpable invisibility, we have been told to open our ears and we should hear her. 'Hear the church.' We listen,—Bishop Blomfield is preaching and propounding tenets that savour very strongly of Rome; another voice is raised, (for her ancient ladyship seems to be an accomplished ventriloquist): Bishop Bagot is delivering a charge to his clergy,—that, too, is a shield thrown over the restorers of Romanism in the Anglican establishment. A third voice, more tremulous than the last, gives forth no uncertain sound—it is that of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury maintaining apostolical succession, sacerdotal authority, the efficacy of sacraments, and the exclusive possession by the clergy of a power to open and shut at their pleasure the door of the kingdom of heaven. We have no wish to hear the church any further, and we leave her nurslings in her bosom. The next generation are likely to turn out a very pretty brood,—infant Bonners, Parkers, and Whitgifts; they already lisp the language of intolerance; and if the nation look not to it, the sword of persecution will be ready to their hands by the time they will be able to use it. That time, we confidently believe, will never come,—

> ——'that two-handed engine at the door,
> Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.'

LYCIDAS.

Brief Memorials of the Rev. B. W. Mathias, late Chaplain of Bethesda Chapel, Dublin. London: Longman, Brown, and Co.

Mr. Mathias was a pupil of that singular man, the Rev. John Walker, who was at the time, and long afterwards, purely evangelical in his sentiments, and an exemplary clergyman of the church of Ireland. The subject of these brief memorials derived the greatest advantage from Mr. Walker's friendship, till the strange opinions which his tutor afterwards adopted, prevented them from holding the Christian intercourse they had formerly enjoyed. Mr. Mathias was the great instrument of the revival of religion in the Irish church. He infused into it the missionary spirit, established Sunday schools, and was the first to welcome the Bible Society, and to give it in Dublin a local habitation and a name. Most catholic in his intercourse with Christians of all denominations, he braved the charge of irregularity by preaching in the unconsecrated pulpits of men who pretended not to be the successors of the apostles. All loved him, except the bigots of his own communion. His memory is blessed, and these 'brief memorials' will be read by many with affectionate delight.

Memoir of the Rev. Robert Findlater, late minister of the chapel of Erse, Inverness; together with a Narrative of the Revival of Religion during his ministry at Lochtayside, Perthshire, in 1816—1819. *To which are prefixed, Memoirs of his Parents.* By the Rev. William Findlater. London: Whittaker and Co.

Besides an affectionate tribute to near and dear relations eminently useful in life, and now passed into eternity, this unpretending volume contains much of devout sentiment, and many profitable observations on religion in general, and especially on revivals, as they are called, which have at distant intervals been so remarkable in Scotland. The work requires no recommendation of ours. It is, we doubt not, a welcome companion in many pious families north of the Tweed; and we should be glad to see it travelling southward.

The Eucharist not an ordinance of the Christian church; being an attempt to prove that eating bread and drinking wine in commemoration of Jesus Christ is not obligatory upon Christians. By Joseph Goodman. London: Sherwood.

"Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good;" in obedience to this apostolic command, we feel ourselves still bound to the administration of the Lord's Supper as a memorial of his sacrificial death, notwithstanding all the arguments of Mr. Goodman to persuade us to change our opinions and to abandon our practice. He has cleared away some rubbish, and has written in a commendable spirit. We question whether he will be able to get up a controversy on the subject. No sacrament at all is infinitely to be preferred to the *opus operatum* of the Anglican and Roman churches. But let us hear the truth; it lies between the extremes. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

THE LADY'S CLOSET LIBRARY:—*The Hannahs: or, Maternal Influence on Sons.* By Robert Philip, author of "The Marys," "Marthas," "Lydias," &c., &c. London: Virtue.

What a progeny is here—Marys, Marthas, Lydias,—and now the Hannahs! Mr. Philip is no mere compiler. He has a mind of his own—and it is opulent to overflowing. He has also a rich fancy, and all he writes is baptized with the spirit of piety. But who is perfect? His style often violates the proprieties of taste; he knows it, but still goes on in his trespasses. The volume before us has, indeed, fewer of the blemishes with which his other works abound; which leads us to hope that he is not incorrigible. The first chapter, on "The Peculiarities of Christianity towards Mothers," is a superior performance, and is managed with considerable ingenuity. The work as a whole scarcely answers to the title; we see Hannah in one chapter only, and the Hannahs might have been the Sarahs, or the Rebeccas, or the Elizabeths; but we suppose we shall be presented with them in due form on some special and pertinent occasion. We are well pleased with the happy blending of the sprightly and the serious in this elegant addition to the Lady's Closet Library, while we were a little surprised that the childless Queen Dowager should have the work inscribed to her as especially "revered and beloved by British mothers." Is she not as much an object of regard to British sisters and British widows, as to British mothers?

A Memoir of the late Mrs. Sarah Budgett, of Kingswood Hill, Bristol; including Extracts from her Letters and Journals. By John Gaskin, A.M., incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Kingswood Hill, Bristol. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

We are certainly of opinion that this memoir of a true Christian, a member of the Wesleyan church, ought to be read by all Christians of a catholic spirit. We wish that Methodism, and such liberal piety as that which glowed in Mrs. Budgett's bosom, were indeed one and indivisible.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Early in October will be published, The Conciliator of R. Manasseh Ben Israel; A Reconcilement of the Apparent Contradictions in Holy Scripture, to which are added Explanatory Notes and Biographical Notices of the quoted Authorities. By E. H. Lindo, Author of the Jewish Calendar.

Just Published.

The Pictorial History of England during the Reign of George the Third, being a History of the People as well as of the Kingdom. Illustrated with several hundred Wood-cuts, by George L. Craik and Charles M'Farlane, &c. Vols. I. and II.

Torrent of Portugal. An English Metrical Romance, now first published from an unique MS. of the Fifteenth Century, preserved in the Chetham Library at Manchester. Edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., &c.

A Review of the Bishop of London's Three Sermons on the Church. By John H. Hinton, M.A.

The Unity of the Christian Church, and the Communion of Christians. A Discourse by W. L. Alexander, M.A., to which are prefixed, Strictures on an Address to Dissenters, recently issued by the Scotch Central Board for vindicating the rights of Dissenters.

Elements of Latin Hexameters and Pentameters. By Rev. Robert Bland. Sixteenth Edition, revised.

The Rudiments of Greek Grammar as used in the College at Eton. Edited by Rev. J. Bosworth, D.D., F.R.S. Fourth Edition.

Nine Letters on the Corn Laws, originally published in the 'Morning Chronicle,' 'The Sun,' &c. &c. Corrected and revised.

Brief Memorials of Departed Saints, designed to exhibit the animating and supporting influence of Christianity in Labours, Sufferings, and Death. By the late Rev. J. M. Chapman (of Yeovil), with a brief Memoir of the Author, by Rev. J. Baynes.

Doctor Hookwell, or the Anglo-Catholic Family. 3 vols.

What will this Babbler say? By the Rev. W. Pym, M.A., Vicar of Willian, Herts.

The Seven Churches of Asia. By Rev. J. A. Wallace, of Hawick.

Elements of Geometry, consisting of the first four, and the sixth books of Euclid, chiefly from the text of Dr. Robert Simson, with the principal Theorems in Proportion, and a Course of Practical Geometry on the Ground. &c. &c. By John Narrien, F.R.S. and R.A.S., Professor of Mathematics at Sandhurst.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspere. Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. V.

Lectures on Female Prostitution: its nature, extent, effects, guilt, causes, and remedy. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Delivered and published by special request.

Produce your Authority! or the Proper Mode of dealing with ecclesiastical assumptions. By Edward Miall. Second Thousand.

Russia and the Russians in 1842. By J. G. Kohl, Esq. Vol. I.

Newfoundland in 1842; a sequel to 'The Canadas in 1841.' By Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Knt., Lt.-Col., R.E. 2 vols.

Norway and her Laplanders in 1841, with Hints to the Salmon Fisher. By John Milford, of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Exercises, Political and others. By Lieut.-Col. T. Perronet Thompson. 6 vols. 12mo.

National Warnings; a Sermon on behalf of the Distressed Manufacturers. By John Blackburn.

Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Rights and Obligations of Mankind. By Jonathan Dymond. Fourth Edition.

The Anatomy of Sleep; or, the Art of Procuring Slumber at Will. By Dr. Binns, M.D.

The Biblical Cabinet. Calvin and Storr on the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians.

A Manual of Devotion for Individuals, &c. By an Octogenarian.

Phonography; or, Universal Writing of Speech and Music. By V. D. De Stains, Graduate of the University of Paris. Second Edition, greatly augmented, with Plates. 8vo.

Oxford Unmasked; or, an Attempt to Describe some of the Abuses in that University. By a Graduate.

Poems. By Thomas Powell. 1 vol. Foolscap.

Principles of Money; with their Application to the Reform of the Currency and of Banking, and the Relief of Financial Difficulties. By John Wade.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1842.

Art. I. 1. *Minutes of Committee of Council on Education*, 1840, 1841.

2. *Reports on the Training of Pauper Children*, 1841.

3. *Report of the General Assembly's Education Committee*, 1842.

4. *Thirtieth Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church*, 1841.

5. *Thirty-seventh Report of the British and Foreign School Society*, 1842.

6. *The Normal Schools of the British and Foreign School Society. Printed for the Society.* 1842.

7. *A Bill to continue the Poor Law Commission for a time to be limited, and for the further Amendment of the Laws relating to the Poor in England.* Ordered to be Printed 11th May, 1842.

8. *Proposals for Establishing a Normal School for Unitarians.* 1842.

THE publications whose titles we have placed at the head of this article, bring before us, at a glance, the leading parties now engaged in promoting the instruction of the labouring classes of England. The Government, the Church, the Societies, the Poor Law Commissioners, the Scottish Presbyterians, and the English Unitarians, all are in the field, apparently partaking of one impulse, and professedly aiming at one object,—the improvement and extension of elementary education.

It is to the character and tendency of this movement, at present stimulated by the *patronage*, and hereafter to be controlled by the *power* of the State, that we wish seriously to direct the attention of our readers. In doing this, we shall have occasion briefly to notice the successive steps by which the country has

arrived at its present critical position in relation to National Education.

It will be recollected that in the year 1833, Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to parliament the first vote of 20,000*l.* in favour of elementary education. This sum was to be devoted exclusively to the erection of school-houses, and to be divided on equal terms between the two great societies. The proposition was favourably received by the house, and acted upon for six successive years. The various sums allotted by parliament were annually disbursed, under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury, in proportion to the amount raised by voluntary contribution, and the parties receiving assistance pledged themselves to submit 'to any audit of accounts which their lordships might direct, and to make such periodical reports respecting the state of their schools as might be called for.'

Here matters rested until the fourth of February 1839, when, by command of her Majesty, a letter was addressed by Lord John Russell to the Lord President of the Council, appointing his lordship, with four other of the Queen's servants, viz.—the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Master of the Mint, a board or committee for the consideration of all matters affecting the education of the people. An order in council directing the above-named Committee of Council to superintend the application of any sums voted by parliament for the purpose of promoting public education, was issued on the tenth of April of the same year, and on the thirteenth of the month, an extract from the minutes of the committee, developing the plans intended to be pursued, was laid upon the table of the house.

The storm excited by this ill-judged scheme, which it is generally understood emanated from Dr. Kay, will not soon be forgotten. The main feature of the plan was the establishment of Model and Normal schools, in which religious instruction was to be divided into *general* and *special;* the general religious instruction to be communicated by the schoolmaster, the special by clergymen and other licensed teachers. The religious instruction of the candidate teachers was 'to form an essential and prominent element of their studies; and no certificate was to be granted unless the authorized religious teacher had previously attested his confidence in the character, religious knowledge, and zeal of the candidate whose religious instruction he had superintended.' To each of these schools chaplains of the established church were to be appointed, and *in case a wish to that effect was expressed,* the *special* religious instruction was to be committed to the licensed minister of the religious persuasion of the candidate teacher, who

was to attend the school at stated periods, to assist and examine the pupil in his reading on religious subjects, and to afford him spiritual advice. The utter worthlessness of this provision as a protection against infringements on religious liberty has now been so thoroughly manifested in Union workhouses, that it is needless to designate it as it deserves. The plan satisfied no party, it abounded in errors, and was at length abandoned by its projectors.

Driven, most unwillingly, from the ground that had thus been occupied, the government fell back upon Lord Althorp's scheme, but of course modified to meet the emergency. It was agreed that a sum of 10,000*l.*, granted by parliament in 1835, for the establishment of Normal schools, and which had now lain for four years unappropriated, should be divided in equal proportions between the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society; that a fresh grant of 30,000*l.*, together with the remainder of grants made by parliament in 1837 and 1838, then undisposed of, should be applied *chiefly*, as heretofore, in the erection of school-houses, but that a portion should be set apart for the purposes of inspection, and that the whole should be disbursed under the control of the Committee of Council; it being specially provided that no further grant should be made for the establishment of any school unless the right of inspection should be retained.

To this arrangement the committee of the British and Foreign School Society, although decidedly adverse to the constitution of the education committee, cheerfully assented. They had always recognised the importance of inspection; they had published their opinion that 'no inquiry could prove satisfactory which was not carried on by parties unconnected with the schools they were to visit and report upon;' and now, naturally anxious to avoid the appearance of inconsistency, blinded perhaps by a little political partiality, believing that the government was acting in good faith—that the inspectors would 'not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the schools'—that the inspection, in short, was to be a friendly and not an adverse one, they passed a resolution distinctly recognising 'the soundness of the principle that where public money is granted, inspection should be required;' and stated that 'in the event of their receiving aid from government, such inspection would be cheerfully allowed.'

We stated that the government plan for the establishment of a Normal school, under the direction of the State, failing to please any party, was finally abandoned. We ought rather to have said, *deferred;* for, on looking to the order in council of the

third of June, recommending as a substitute for this scheme, the division of the 10,000*l.* between the two societies, we find the following passage:—

'The Committee (of Council on Education) are (still) of opinion that the most useful application of any sums voted by parliament, would consist in the employment of those moneys in the establishment of a Normal school under the direction of the State, and not placed under the management of a voluntary society. The committee, however, experience so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views, respecting the provisions which they are desirous to make in furtherance of your Majesty's wish, that the children and teachers instructed in this school should be duly trained in the principles of the Christian religion, while the rights of conscience should be respected, that it is not in the power of the committee to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this design without further consideration; and they therefore *postpone* taking any steps for this purpose until greater concurrence of opinion is found to prevail.'

The subsequent measures of the education committee, up to the period of the retirement of the whigs from office, were all in accordance with this avowal, that State education was *postponed*, rather than abandoned. Dr. Kay was continued in office as secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, and left to work out his own plans as far as circumstances would admit. A Normal school established at Battersea, under his own direction, and mainly at his own cost, although unrecognised by government, occupied, in point of fact, the place of the intended State school, and became the model into accordance with which other schools were, if possible, to be brought. The Rev. John Allen was appointed inspector of National schools, and Mr. Seymour Tremenheere, inspector of British schools; and it was hoped and expected that by the influence which these gentlemen might be expected to exert over the local committees whose schools they visited, by the inducements they would in course of time be able to hold out, opposition would be lulled, conformity to the desired system be secured, and the way be gradually made plain for the establishment of a centralized *State over Church* system of education.

But the National Society rebelled. Its committee absolutely refused to accept any government aid on the proposed terms, and after a brief but spirited struggle, obtained the following order in council, fully securing to themselves, through the heads of the church, adequate control over the inspection of National schools.

At the Court at Buckingham Palace the tenth of August, 1840, *present, the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas there was this day read at the Board, a Report from the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, dated the fifteenth of July ultimo, in the words following, viz.:—

'We, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty that the following arrangements be made for the inspection of such schools as are in connexion with the National School Society, or with the Church of England.

1. 'That before we recommend to your Majesty any person to be appointed to inspect schools receiving aid from the public, the promoters of which state themselves to be in connexion with the National Society, or the Church of England, we should be authorized to consult the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, each with regard to his own province, and that the archbishops should be at liberty to suggest to us any person or persons for the office of inspector, and that without their concurrence, we should recommend no person to your Majesty for such appointment.

'We further beg leave to recommend to your Majesty, that if either of the archbishops should, at any time, with regard to his own province, withdraw his concurrence in our recommendation of such appointment, your Majesty would be graciously pleased to permit us to advise your Majesty to issue your order in council, revoking the appointment of the said inspector, and making an appointment in lieu thereof.

'We further beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty to direct that such portions of the instructions to these inspectors as relate to religious teaching, shall be framed by the archbishops, and form part of the general instructions issued by us to the inspectors of such schools, and that the general instructions shall be communicated to the archbishops before they are finally sanctioned by us.

'We are further of opinion that each of the said inspectors, at the same time that he presents any report relating to such schools to the committee of the Privy Council, should be directed to transmit a duplicate thereof to the archbishop of the province, and should also send a copy to the bishop of the diocese in which the school is situate, for his information.

'We are further of opinion that the grants of money which we may recommend to your Majesty, should be in proportion to the number of children educated, and the amount of money raised by private contribution, with the power of making exceptions in certain cases, the grounds of which will be stated in the annual returns to parliament.'

Her Majesty having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to approve thereof, and the Lord President of the Council is to take the necessary steps herein accordingly.

(Signed) G. C. GREVILLE.

The British and Foreign School Society, thus isolated, was left to cope alone with the State educationists. The whigs were indeed in power, and the Committee of Council, *as individuals*, were the old friends and patrons of the society; but the tenure by which they held office was slight and uncertain, while the relative position of the society was seriously and permanently changed. Inspection had now become a totally different thing from what it was when originally proposed by the government and approved by the society. *Then*, it was to be the inspection of an independent public servant, visiting alike all schools receiving aid from government, and reporting, without fear or favour, honestly upon them all. *Now*, it had assumed the character of an unfair, partial, and mischievous visitation. *Then*, the schools of the British and Foreign School Society were to be examined in common with those of the National Society; both were to be inspected 'in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several schools;' errors were to be pointed out with kindness; improvements were from time to time to be suggested; no interference, under any pretext, was to be allowed with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the schools. *Now*, the deficiencies of National schools were to be carefully concealed; those of British schools to be unsparingly exposed. *The former* were to be inspected by one supposed to be a friend, his reports to be controlled by the bishop, his retention of office to depend on his obedience. *The latter* were to be visited (we will say it openly), by an avowed foe;* his reports to be published under the direction of an individual, (we allude of course to Dr. Kay) pledged to another system, anxious to see these very schools superseded by others formed on the model of his own, and avowing his conviction that the existence of the two societies was the insuperable hindrance to the permanent establishment of a centralized church,—or, as we have already more correctly designated it, *State over Church* system of National education.

Such was the position of the British and Foreign School Society previously to the retirement of the whigs, and such it is

* The application of this phrase to Mr. Seymour Tremenheere may appear to some uncandid. But it is not so. We are informed, on unquestionable authority, that in visiting British schools, Mr. Tremenheere has invariably depreciated the system adopted by the society—that of imparting instruction by means of monitors; while his commendations have generally been bestowed in exact proportion to the extent to which the teacher of the school visited has been disposed to deviate from the plans adopted at the Borough Road, and to admit those recommended at Battersea and Norwood. The bearing of this course on the general interests of schools sustained by voluntary contributions we shall have occasion hereafter to notice.

at this day. What steps the committee of that society may have thought it right to take in order to relieve themselves from the difficulty in which they have thus been placed by their own friends, is a matter with which, as nothing has been published, the public are unacquainted. We simply vouch for the fact, that the society is yet unprotected; and viewing the institution, as we do, with high regard; esteeming it to be a bulwark of religious liberty, and a breakwater to the high tide of intolerance, which seems now to have set in upon us, we feel no ordinary solicitude that it should speedily occupy a place, in which, with freedom and security, it may pursue the great purposes for which it has hitherto been so nobly sustained.

The first and main object to be secured, without which, indeed, all others would be little worth, is the thorough independence of its new and magnificent Normal school. We believe we are not revealing secrets when we say that on this very point, the committee are at the present moment at issue with the government. The sum of 5000*l.*, to which we have already referred as having been set apart in 1835, and allotted in 1839, was, we understand, subsequently paid over to the treasurer of the British and Foreign School Society, with a stipulation that, if within the term of three years from the date of payment, the trust deed of the Normal school should not be executed upon conditions to be approved of by the Committee of Council, the amount should be returned to the government. A personal bond to this effect, given by certain members of the committee, secures the re-payment in case of need. The question at issue between the society and the government involves the retention or repayment of this sum.

In justice to the present administration, it should here be distinctly stated that they have laid down no new condition, they ask nothing more than their predecessors demanded; they simply require the fulfilment of the terms acceded to by the committee of the British and Foreign School Society, when the 5000*l.* was offered,—namely, the admission of the government inspector. We may further state, and we have great pleasure in doing it, that in the various interviews which, in consequence of this and other difficulties, Lord Wharncliffe has had with deputations from the British and Foreign School Society, his lordship has manifested a degree of candour and straightforwardness highly characteristic of him, we believe, as a man, and eminently calculated to win the good opinion of all who can estimate the worth of some of the best points in the old English character.

Why then, it may be said, should the committee of the British and Foreign School Society object to the insertion of the required clause, that the school 'shall be at all times open to the inspec-

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at this day. What steps the committee of that society may have thought it right to take in order to relieve themselves from the difficulty in which they have thus been placed by their own friends, is a matter with which, as nothing has been published, the public are unacquainted. We simply vouch for the fact, that the society is yet unprotected; and viewing the institution, as we do, with high regard; esteeming it to be a bulwark of religious liberty, and a breakwater to the high tide of intolerance, which seems now to have set in upon us, we feel no ordinary solicitude that it should speedily occupy a place, in which, with freedom and security, it may pursue the great purposes for which it has hitherto been so nobly sustained.

The first and main object to be secured, without which, indeed, all others would be little worth, is the thorough independence of its new and magnificent Normal school. We believe we are not revealing secrets when we say that on this very point, the committee are at the present moment at issue with the government. The sum of 5000*l.*, to which we have already referred as having been set apart in 1835, and allotted in 1839, was, we understand, subsequently paid over to the treasurer of the British and Foreign School Society, with a stipulation that, if within the term of three years from the date of payment, the trust deed of the Normal school should not be executed upon conditions to be approved of by the Committee of Council, the amount should be returned to the government. A personal bond to this effect, given by certain members of the committee, secures the re-payment in case of need. The question at issue between the society and the government involves the retention or repayment of this sum.

In justice to the present administration, it should here be distinctly stated that they have laid down no new condition, they ask nothing more than their predecessors demanded; they simply require the fulfilment of the terms acceded to by the committee of the British and Foreign School Society, when the 5000*l.* was offered,—namely, the admission of the government inspector. We may further state, and we have great pleasure in doing it, that in the various interviews which, in consequence of this and other difficulties, Lord Wharncliffe has had with deputations from the British and Foreign School Society, his lordship has manifested a degree of candour and straightforwardness highly characteristic of him, we believe, as a man, and eminently calculated to win the good opinion of all who can estimate the worth of some of the best points in the old English character.

Why then, it may be said, should the committee of the British and Foreign School Society object to the insertion of the required clause, that the school 'shall be at all times open to the inspec-

tion of the government inspector or inspectors for the time being? They told us in 1839 that, 'in their opinion, no inquiry could prove satisfactory which was not carried on by parties unconnected with the societies whose schools they were to visit and report upon.' Why then should they refuse, in 1842, to submit to the very investigation they so anxiously courted only three years ago?

We reply, and we believe we express the views of the committee, 'inspection is not objected to, it is still approved of, still courted.' But circumstances, originating as we have already seen, not with the society, but with the government, have entirely altered the position of the institution. The aspect of the whole question is changed. Security that the inspection will not be abused is now essential to safety. The inspection required is an inspection *in perpetuity;* it is to be secured by a trust deed legally enrolled, and is, therefore, unalterable; it is to extend, not only over the particular building, erected at an expense of 20,000*l.*, towards which the 5000*l.*, has been granted, but over all the property of the institution, for it meddles with everything. It involves a species of moral control, not only over present possessions, but over reversionary property, over everything that at any time may fall into the hands of the society; for all is to be exposed to the scrutiny of the inspector, and in relation to all, criticisms the most arbitrary, statements the most injurious, opinions offered with or without evidence, may, if any adequate object should appear to require it, be published by authority, and be circulated at the public expense in every part of the empire.

We have said all this *might* be done; we will now go a little further, and say, all this *has been done* in relation to another institution, and under circumstances which may well afford to the British and Foreign School Society, salutary warning.

The Glasgow Normal seminary has been, for some years past, known as a school of some celebrity, established at vast expense and labour by Mr. David Stow, a warm-hearted and zealous friend to the education of the people. Of the merits of this seminary we shall not speak. With some excellent features, we always thought it, on the whole, decidedly inferior to the Normal school of the British and Foreign School Society. Such, however, was not the opinion of Dr. Kay and the promoters of the Battersea school. On the contrary, they exalted it far above its competitors, and received their first teachers from its Model school. Alas, how transitory at the best are official smiles! This seminary, established on comprehensive principles and open to all classes of the community, obtained aid from government on condition of inspection. The report of the inspector regarding it has recently been published among other minutes of the Committee of Council, and from this official document we shall make

a few extracts, *first* to shew what is understood by government to be included under the term 'inspection;' and *secondly*, to exhibit the way in which such inspection might be made to work out the ruin of a voluntary society, if such a result were desired. These quotations, it will be seen, relate mainly to the plans pursued in training teachers.

1. 'Although the course of instruction to which their attention is directed while students in the seminary, embraces many important and interesting branches of knowledge, an acquaintance with which it is extremely desirable that every teacher should possess, yet *it seems to me to have a tendency to render their instructions as teachers superficial and desultory.*'—p. 417.

2. 'Their labours in the model school, although most nearly resembling the employment in which the greater part of their time, as teachers of schools of their own, must be spent, and therefore apparently deserving special attention, *were not characterized by even an ordinary amount of vigour*, and in every respect contrasted most unfavourably with the animation and energy that distinguished this part of the training of the young men attending the General Assembly's Normal School at Edinburgh.'—p. 419.

3. 'Upon the whole, and speaking generally, my opinion of the young men in respect of literary acquirement is, that while they may be found to possess a considerable amount of general knowledge, their acquaintance with the more strictly technical branches of instruction will be found both loose and limited.'—p. 419.

4. '*Although I cannot speak from personal observation, and cannot adduce the testimony of any one to corroborate the statement,* I have considerable confidence in affirming that these young men, after having completed their course of training in the seminary, and after having been intrusted with the organization and management of a promiscuous school, will feel very considerable difficulty in performing satisfactorily most of their duties.'—p. 420.

The above will suffice to show how completely the reputation of a school is placed at the mercy of the inspector.

Soon after the publication of this report, the Glasgow school was transferred to the Church of Scotland, and the committee of the General Assembly now receive 500*l.* a year towards its support. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We do not say that the report, from which we have taken these extracts, was drawn up with any malicious intent, that the object was to destroy the reputation of the school, and to alienate its subscribers, *in order that* it might fall into the lap of the church. The high character of Mr. Gibson forbids such a supposition. We are simply maintaining that this power of publishing individual opinions under the authority of government, and at the expense of the public, is a very different thing from inspection with a

view to improvement: that it is a power far too great, and too liable to abuse, to be entrusted to any man, however well qualified he might be for the task; but that when placed in the hands of a mere amateur, inflated by his own schemes and theories, whether he be a clergyman, a doctor of medicine, or a barrister-at-law, it becomes both dangerous and ridiculous; it partakes at once of the character of a tyranny and an absurdity. It is obvious that no model school could long resist the deadly influence of documents of this kind, if got up to injure or destroy. It would be insanity to believe that the committee of the British and Foreign School Society will voluntarily expose the institution to such a risk. Yet this is *the one thing* required of them.

All *other* Normal schools are to be specially protected. That of the National Society, by the order in council which we have already quoted. Those of the General Assembly, by Mr. Gibson, who is, in point of fact, the servant of the church. Battersea school, by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth himself, who very prudently trusts no inspector, but draws up the official report of his own proceedings. The British and Foreign School Society *alone*, as the price of aid, is to be placed in circumstances which will immediately endanger, and, we believe, ultimately ensure its destruction as a voluntary society. To suppose for a moment that the committee of this institution would so far betray the trust reposed in them by the friends of Scriptural education throughout the country, as to sell the society for such a miserable mess of pottage as the 5000*l.* in question would then become, is to insult their understandings, and to distrust their principles.

On what ground, consistent with common fairness, such a sacrifice is asked, we are at a loss to conceive. Why an order in council, similar to that possessed by the National Society, should be withheld from the British and Foreign School Society, if it be really intended that their schools should continue to receive any portion of the government grants, is to us inexplicable. We know it is pretended that the Committee of Council have yielded nothing to the National Society; that their concessions have been made exclusively to the church as by law established. But this is a mere evasion, an unworthy quibble. Every one knows that the archbishops appeared in the matter simply as the representatives of the National Society. The trusts of that society provide for the education of the children in the principles of the established church. The heads of the church were, therefore, the only parties who could properly be entrusted with the control granted. The trusts of the British and Foreign School Society run, that the schools shall be conducted on the plan and principles of that society. With the committee of the society would, therefore, appropriately rest the equivalent guarantee against improper interference.

The necessity for some control over the publication of reports on *local* schools of a liberal character, when visited by government inspectors, has not yet been strongly felt, as very few have at present been noticed in the minutes of the committee. The little that has been said is, however, sufficiently contradictory to excite smiles, if not fears.

The Rev. John Allen visits the mining districts of Durham and Northumberland, with a view to obtain information on the state of education in these districts, and his estimate of British schools is comprised in the following paragraph:—

'*As a class*, the masters of the Lancasterian schools appeared to aim at more in the instruction of their pupils than the masters of the parochial schools; they seemed more alive, more stirring. In two of these schools good maps were drawn by some of the pupils. I doubt, however, whether the education given in such schools has not rather the tendency to press some children forward, to rise out of their own sphere of life, than to elevate the condition of the mass.'

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel undertakes a similar mission in the great cotton districts, and his report on the same class of schools is as follows:—

'The great majority of the patrons and conductors of the National *and Lancasterian* schools which I visited, only profess to teach the children reading, writing, and arithmetic. The knowledge of the English language, natural history, geography, physiology, and the history of their country, are all excluded subjects. Upon none of these could I examine the children generally, because their teachers professed the total ignorance of the children respecting them. If occasionally I heard that Liverpool was an island, that Lancashire was one of the great towns of England, and that Asia and America were chief countries of Europe, I was led to expect this; if I heard such grammatical inaccuracies as those contained in the following answers to questions put by me—'Them as is good goes to heaven.' 'The men as was gazing up into heaven.' 'He drowned the whole world.' These were mistakes which the teacher did not undertake to correct. But unhappily, many of the schools were very unsuccessful in teaching what they profess to teach. In several of those which I examined, many children of the highest classes were unable to read fluently, even in the New Testament; words were often mistaken, stops were misplaced, small words were omitted so as to destroy the sense, and many of the children were unable to spell even short and common words occurring in the lesson.

'In some of the girls' schools very few of the children could write, and the writing was very bad; while even in the boys' schools, where more attention is paid to this important art, there were very few boys, and in very few schools, who had attained to a good running hand without the aid of lines. In several of the girls' schools the children do

not learn arithmetic at all. The masters of the boys' schools always profess to teach it, but I found the boys sometimes exceedingly defective in their knowledge of even the earliest and simplest rules.'

We shall make no remark on this extraordinary statement. It is only comprehensible to us on the supposition, that the words, 'and Lancasterian,' were an after-thought, and inserted (without any very definite notion either of the justice or injustice involved) to prevent the appearance of invidiousness in condemning national schools only. Whatever be the explanation, Mr. Allen and Mr. Noel must compare notes another time before they venture to speak of Lancasterian or British schools as a class.

But we must leave alike the British and Foreign School Society and its interests, in order to notice other indications of the determination of government to establish, as soon as practicable, a centralized national system of education, on church principles, but under state control; and we think we find these,—

I. In the anxiety manifested to introduce into all schools aided by government, *uniform* methods of teaching.

II. In the endeavours which have been made to secure, if possible, a greater degree of control than is afforded by inspection and publication.

III. In the recent educational proceedings of the Poor Law Commissioners.

On each of these points we shall offer a few observations.

In reference to the first, the anxiety manifested to introduce into all schools one uniform system, we need only refer to the minutes of the Committee of Council. A supplementary minute respecting the mode of conducting applications for aid from the parliamentary grant, published in the last volume issued by the committee, contains the following paragraphs:—

1. 'Their lordships have been desirous that the arrangements of the desks, benches, and school apparatus, should be *consistent with the progress made in methods of teaching in the most approved schools.*'

2. 'The committee were by no means prepared to expect the immediate adoption of their plans throughout Great Britain. On the contrary, they knew the information thus diffused to be so intimately connected with the adoption of improvements in the method of instruction, that *they did not expect the general adoption of these plans to precede the general improvement of method which will result from the foundation of schools for the training of teachers, and the publication of improved lesson books, and of manuals of method.*'

3. 'In those cases in which the school committees *adopt in all respects* the amended plans of the committee, following as

closely as local circumstances will permit, the specifications, estimates, and forms of conveyance, *the committee will grant aid towards the erection of the master's house*, as well as the school-house.' Here a premium is directly offered on conformity to given plans.

In the same spirit are the suggestions of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, which, being published by the Committee of Council, are, we presume, approved. Mr. Noel recommends:—

'1. That as there are numbers of children who are neither taught in schools, nor working in factories, there is a great want of school buildings, and the friends of education will need the help of government in erecting them.

'2. That as there is a general complaint of the difficulty of getting good masters, the government should institute training schools in various parts of the country, at which masters may be educated freely.

'3. That as the funds of many schools are so low as to prevent the school committees from allowing salaries adequate to retain the services of able men, and from employing assistant masters, the government may usefully afford small allowances to those masters, a certain number of whose scholars shall pass an examination satisfactory to a government inspector; all public elementary schools which are conducted on principles approved by the Committee of Council being at liberty to invite such inspection.

'4. That as no elementary school books have as yet appeared which are unobjectionable to all parties, the government might perhaps advantageously offer prizes for the best class books on various subjects, and furnish such class books at a cheap rate to the patrons and conductors of schools.

'5. That as many uneducated parents are unconcerned about the education of their children, it would perhaps serve the cause of education if the government should offer prizes for the best tracts on this subject adapted for general circulation among the parents, and should enable the friends of education to circulate them at a cheap rate through the country.

'6. That as the public are not well informed respecting popular education, just views might be widely diffused if the government should offer a prize or prizes for the best essay or essays upon this subject.'

'We perfectly agree with the committee of the British and Foreign School Society in the opinion they have expressed in their last report, that 'the dark view Mr. Noel has taken of the state of instruction throughout the country, has led him, without adequate reasons, to recommend an amount of interference on the part of the government, which, to say the least of it, would soon place popular instruction altogether under state control.'

It is this determination to promote by all possible means a *uniform* method of teaching, *which shall not be monitorial*, that

renders the inspection of British schools by the government inspector unfair and dangerous. The schools of that society *are* monitorial. It is unnecessary for the inspector to examine them; they are 'condemned already.' All he can do is to record his conviction of their deficiencies, and to suggest the adoption of what he considers improved methods of teaching.

But here two questions arise;—*first*, Are the alterations suggested really improvements? *secondly*, Do they involve an amount of expense inconsistent with the maintenance of the schools as institutions supported by voluntary subscription?

To the first of these questions we can only reply that, having carefully read the minute on constructive methods of teaching reading and writing, having known something of the matter by experience, having visited many excellent continental schools in which these methods were adopted, and having sought the opinions of practical teachers who have studied them at Exeter Hall, we are forced to the conclusion that they have very little to recommend them.

The Phonic method of teaching reading is altogether unadapted to the English language. We believe its most zealous advocates now admit the attempt to introduce it to be a failure. Moliere (as the 'Times' newspaper some weeks ago humorously, yet accurately remarked) has described the method admirably:—

'"Pour traiter,' says the Maitre de Philosophie, in Moliere, 'cette matière *en philosophe*, il faut *commencer, selon l'ordre des choses, par une exacte connoissance de la nature des lettres, de la différente manière de les prononcer toutes.* . . . .

'"M. Jourdain.—J'entends tout cela.

'"Maitre de Philosophie.—La voix A se forme en ouvrant fort la bouche,—A.

'"M. Jourdain.—A, A. Oui.

* * * * * *

'"Maitre de Philosophie.—La voix O se forme en rouvrant les mâchoires, et rapprochant les levres par les deux coins, le haut et le bas,—O.'

* * * * * *

'"M. Jourdain.—O, O, O. Vous avez raison. *Ah! la belle chose que de savoir quelque chose!*"'

The whole thing 'done into English' is purely absurd.

Mulhausen's method of teaching writing has some merit, but is quite unfit for an ordinary school. It will certainly never supersede existing plans.

Pestalozzi's arithmetic, the third great constructive engine of improvement, was in use twenty years ago at the Borough Road school; it passed from thence to the Kildare-street Society's

model school in Dublin, from whence it has now travelled back to London in the character of an imposing novelty.

The success which has attended Mr. Hullah's efforts to propagate Wilhem's method of teaching vocal music, has in some degree compensated for the failures in other departments to which we have alluded. Mr. Hullah's tact and energy, his pleasing manners, and above all, his power to interest and keep up the attention of his pupils, have rendered him 'a tower of strength' to the Committee of Council. The only objection which can be made to the proceedings of the committee on education in reference to him, is one which has already been urged with much ability in the Westminster Review—the creation of a monopoly.

'No one,' says the reviewer, 'could have blamed the Committee of Council, if, in patronizing Mr. Hullah they had shown an equal desire to support any other man of equal or greater ability, as, for instance, Mr. Mainzer, who, as a teacher of the working classes, has been far more successful than any other; but the committee not only did not do this; they did that which is perfectly inconsistent with all improvements in the art of teaching; they set about making proselytes to one particular method of instruction; they published their faith in Wilhem, and practically announced that no teachers of music but those who had been formed in his school were deserving of public encouragement or support.

'The immediate effects of the steps taken by the Committee of Council were to paralyze the exertions of the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music. The Committee of Council declined to give any money for the support of a singing school, which, we think, would have been a most legitimate application of their funds; but they assumed the superiority of Mr. Hullah's 'Manual,' and went out of their way to print it at government expense. The singing classes at Exeter Hall, had, therefore, to be supported by private subscriptions, and many of the subscribers to the above-mentioned society were applied to for pecuniary aid. Among them there were some who said, 'We will not subscribe to both, and we will support the new government institution rather than the society, because that which has government patronage is most likely to succeed.' Thus the means of the society diminished, while the efforts making to give *éclat* to the new institution prevented the society taking any effective steps to recruit its own funds, which, by withdrawing attention from Mr. Hullah, would have seemed like an ungenerous rivalry. At the same time, the announcement of a new method almost put a stop to the diffusion of a knowledge of music by other plans. Local educational committees wishing to introduce music in their schools, felt a desire to adopt that method, which, as they naturally supposed, possessed the greatest excellence, having received the highest possible sanction. The question was continually asked, 'Why don't you unite with government in propagating Wilhem's system?' to which the answer was one which

failed to be satisfactory to all parties,—viz., 'We were willing to assist in giving Wilhem's method a fair trial, and offered to do so, but we cannot admit the inferiority of every other plan, without some evidence of the fact.'

Yet this is what the government must do, if direct teaching is to be considered as its appropriate work. It must become *schoolmaster general* to the empire.

The giving up of the monitorial system, and the adoption of a different and more expensive agency is a still more serious question. Apart from all controversy as to the precise degree of merit which may attach to that system, the expense of obtaining a competent teacher for every sixty poor children is utterly out of the question in schools supported by voluntary contributions. Such a scheme could only be carried out by a Central Board, and at an enormous cost; and even then we should consider the result as very dubious.

The friends of scriptural and comprehensive education should think of this, when the inspector urges change—'charm he never so wisely.' It is very easy to find defects in monitorial schools;* it is equally easy to suggest that the two hundred children, instead of being placed under one master, aided by monitors, should be divided into three large classes, and taught simultaneously. But this is a task which no one master can perform; to attempt it is to disorganize his school. Assistant teachers must therefore be obtained. Voluntary subscriptions will not meet this emergency. Dependence is the result. In a little time government may be in a position to hail this dependence with satisfaction, and to offer the assistance required, either in money or in pupil-teachers. In either case the *quid pro quo* expected will be *submission;* first, in relation to methods; finally, with regard to principles. Only four years have passed away since a society, consisting almost entirely of liberals, and embracing eighteen influential members of parliament in its committee of management, thus expressed its views on the very subject now before us:—

'Not, then, in the hands of THE PEOPLE should be either the train-

* It is much to be regretted that the ill-judged parsimony of local committees too frequently prevents the monitorial system from being properly carried out. In every good British school, monitors are, in one form or other, paid for their labour. The sum allowed by the committee may be a trifle, and it need not be much, but *something* should certainly be granted, were it only for the purpose of retaining for a time the services of one or two elder boys as aids to the master in carrying out vigorously the system he has adopted. This is a very different thing from breaking a school into sections, and placing these divisions under the care of pupil-teachers. The one course is essential to successful monitorial teaching; the other is destructive of it.

ing or selection of public teachers; it is a task to which government alone is competent, and which, for the sake of the people itself, the government should boldly and largely assume.' 'If the people are allowed to choose their own teachers, 'the political partisan, *the religious fanatic*, the monied intriguer, will usually be the victor; the modest and virtuous scholar, of course, the vanquished.' 'To rescue education from such abuse, to rescue the people from the people's passion and folly, is to render a good and great service both to the people and to education. It is to interpose between their true and false, their temporary and permanent interest. To effect this, we require *external, compressing*, and *repressing* power, an intelligence fully adequate to comprehend the universal interest, a solicitude to provide impartially for it, and an energy and activity to carry such provision into execution. Is this to be found in the people,—in sections of the people,—in the people ignorant,—in the people excited? Where are we to look for it but to the government?'—*Wyse.*

'Whether the ideas entertained in this country, with regard to the liberty of the subject being infringed by such an obligation, would, *for the present*, permit a system of *compulsory* education to be adopted with advantage, may be doubtful. The manners of the people must, perhaps, precede the law. Still *the government may facilitate* the diffusion of education, and secure its being of a good quality, *by preventing individuals from acting as schoolmasters whose capacities have not been duly certified.*

'If compulsion is not to be used, it is only because compulsion is not in all cases the best means of obtaining this end. It is *just* to use it, *on the principles professed and acted on by all shades of German governments;* but in other countries, under other modifications, it *may not be expedient.* We hear the same plea every day,—this or that measure may be good, but not fitted for contemporary society,—for the national mind as it is. The answer to such an apology for indolence or timidity is surely very obvious;—change the national mind, make it other than it is, re-educate it, *make it capable of bearing your law.* It is not the laws which should bend to men, but men who should be gradually brought to bend to the laws.

'For *improvements* to be generally and simultaneously adopted, so that the whole of the next generation should have the full advantage of them, *they must be enforced, and this by the State.* There are, no doubt, evils attending this; as, for instance, the great powers which would be given to government; but if the government be responsible, can its power be too great?'—*First Publication of Central Society of Education.*

We seek in vain for evidence that a wiser or better state of public opinion has rendered doctrines of this character a whit less dangerous now than formerly.

The attempt recently made by the Poor Law Commissioners to establish district schools, under the authority of the Committee of Council, has, for the present, been defeated; but the provi-

sions of the bill sufficiently indicate the intentions of its framers.

After providing for parishes and unions within certain limits, being combined into school districts, and taking due care that they should be made liable for all needful expenses, the following clauses occur:—

'Clause XI. Provided always and be it enacted, that every such District Board shall appoint, with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, at least one chaplain of the established church, as one of the officers aforesaid, who shall be empowered to regulate and superintend the religious instruction of all the infant poor under the control of such District Board, except the children of persons who object to the liturgy and catechism of the established church, and whose parents or surviving parent, or in case of an orphan whose next of kin being of the same religious persuasion as the parents or last surviving parent may object to the child receiving any religious instruction according to the liturgy and catechism of the established church, in which case it shall be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of the parents of such child to visit such child at times which shall be specified by the District Board, subject to the regulations of the said commissioners, for the purpose of instructing such child in the principles of his religion.

'Clause XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, that all rules, orders, and regulations of the said commissioners, which relate to the instruction and training of infant poor in such district school, or to the plan of any building to be erected for such school, or which prescribe the qualification, duties, or salary of any officer to be appointed for such instruction and training in such district school, shall be made with the consent of her Majesty's council for education, and every inspector of schools appointed, or to be hereafter appointed by her Majesty in council, shall at all times have access to any such district school for the purpose of examining the children, or of ascertaining the competence or fitness of any officer, and generally of inquiring into the method of instruction and training pursued therein, and in every case in which any such inspector shall report to the said committee of her Majesty's council, that any person employed in the instruction or training of the infant poor in such district school is incompetent, or otherwise unfit for his situation, and if the said committee of her Majesty's council shall signify to the said commissioners the fact of such incompetence or unfitness, then, and in such case, the said commissioners may accept the resignation of such person, or shall dismiss him from his office.'

These establishments were evidently intended to be the Normal schools of the Committee of Council. Inspection was to involve absolute control—the appointment and dismissal of all teachers and officers.

The same disposition to grasp at patronage, and to centralize

power, is manifested in the correspondence with the General Assembly's committee, although in this case also without success.

The following resolutions of the Committee of Council of December last, in reference to the Normal schools of the church of Scotland, plainly indicate this spirit:—

'That a rector be appointed to each establishment.

'5. That before proceeding to the appointment of this rector, or of the head master of each of the several model schools, the Education Committee of the General Assembly shall confer with the Committee of Council on Education, communicating the names and testimonials of the candidates, and suggesting the names of the most eligible candidates, and that *the concurrence of the Committee of Council shall be necessary to any appointment.*

'6. That the Committee of Council *may at any time withdraw* their concurrence in the appointment of the rector, or of any head master, who shall then cease to hold office in the school.'

The Assembly's Committee very naturally took alarm at this attempt to *control* the education they were to impart, and the government eventually saw it right to yield.

Battersea school, is, however, very politely placed at the disposal of the State.

'We should much rejoice,' say Dr. Kay and Mr. Tuffnell, 'if the results of these preparatory steps towards the foundation of a training school were deemed sufficiently auspicious to warrant the confidence of the commission and the aid of government, so far as to procure for the future expenses of the school assistance from the public funds. In that case we feel that the government would be entitled to require that no tutor or professor should be appointed to the school without their approval, that their sanction should be necessary to the dismissal of any tutor or professor; and further, that *on the report of such inspectors, they should be entitled to proceed to remove any tutor or professor from his office.*'

After these plain declarations, it is utterly vain for Dr. Kay Shuttleworth to pretend that *his* ultimate design is anything short of the establishment of a centralized national system of education. We may safely add, it is but too plain that no voluntary society, unprotected by a specific order in council, can be safe in his hands.

During the next session of parliament, the whole question of national education will, in all probability, be again discussed. Lord Ashley has given notice of his intention to move an address to the Crown, praying 'that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the blessings of a moral and religious

education among the working classes of her people. This motion can scarcely fail to bring out the views and intentions of the government. It *may* lead to results the most momentous. Any great extension of the means of education at the present moment, must, almost of necessity, involve an equal extension of opinions, now too well known under the title of high church principles. Stanley Grove, the new training college of the National Society, is (if *The Record* may for once be believed) already in the hands of the Tractarians. The last report of the National Society indicates the influence of that party. The Rev. Edward Field (addressing the Bishop of Worcester on the state of parochial education in that diocese), in a document which is, generally speaking, able and enlightened, and well worthy of perusal, mentions as a source of anxiety and fear, the extension of Bible teaching in National schools; a point to which, he says, attention has in the towns been specially directed, *in consequence of the efforts of rival schools*, while the only remedy he can suggest for unauthorized instruction and all other evils is,—implicit resignation to the clergy,—the entire yielding up of all authority to them, —the virtual exclusion from school management, not of dissenters only, but of laymen and local committees altogether. Battersea is professedly a liberal school, but even there we find the pupils are required, among other things, to give Scripture proofs, first, 'that the sacraments convey an inward and spiritual grace,' and next, 'that they are generally necessary to salvation.' Apostolical succession and other figments of popery will doubtless follow in due time. But this is the chaplaincy system. This is what statesmen (whether whig or tory) mean when they speak of religious instruction. We fear it may be added, this is *all* they mean.

The British and Foreign School Society is the great practical antagonist of these notions. All its proceedings are based on the assumption that the Bible may be separated from human creeds,—religion from a clergy. Hence, it is unsectarian without being irreligious; liberal, without being latitudinarian. If, on the one hand, it puts aside the priest, on the other hand, it has no sympathy with the unsubdued pride of human reason. While it simply asks a Bible for a text-book, it demands a believer for a teacher. While it refuses to exclude any portion of divine truth, it separates Christianity from a sect, the Bible from a creed, the book from its interpretation.

'It has been the policy of priests, and bigots, and persecutors, in all ages, to insist that no such distinction can be maintained. It has been the interest of sceptics and of statesmen to echo the assertion. We cannot but acknowledge that these men are wise in their generation;—

the subtlety of the serpent has not forsaken them. A fair and full recognition of the majesty of the Bible, and the right of private judgment, is as fatal to irreligion, as it is to priestcraft and superstition. 'Commit to an Atheist the erection of a Commonwealth, and he will assume without scruple the control of religion, because he thinks God a dream, and conscience a prejudice. Such a man, *owning no rights of conscience*, yet unable to cure his subjects of their religious propensities, will make provision for giving them indulgence according to his own ideas of what is pleasing and politic. He will, therefore, erect and set in motion a kind of religious pageant. Hence, two great authorities, Hall and Mackintosh, have pronounced a Hobbist to be the only consistent persecutor.'

'The safeguard of freedom is the Christian Scriptures. The great and golden rule for governors in relation to religion,—*Protect and let alone*, is a simple deduction from the Bible. A truth like this natural morality never taught; the human mind was incapable of such a conception,—it is as foreign to its nature as it is superior to its capacity. The offspring of pure and unadulterated Christianity, it cannot *exist* apart from its parent; it can only be developed in proportion as the Bible is separated from the creed, truth from a human system, religion from the science of theology.'*

The British and Foreign School Society is the *only* educational institution established on this basis. It is therefore the only institution in which a protestant dissenter can consistently prepare himself for the office of a public elementary teacher. It is the only institution which maintains, or even admits the right of Nonconformists to share in directing the education of the people. It is the only institution which provides a cheap and efficient course of daily instruction for their poorer members. It protects thousands from the temptation to buy knowledge for their children, at the expense of truth, honour, and conscience.

Hence the necessity for preserving intact the independence of the society. Whatever course, therefore, may be taken in reference to education, either by the church or the government, we hold it to be indispensable that this institution should be free and unfettered. We still trust that this object may be attained without the society being obliged to repay the 5000*l.* it has so well expended, or to endure the loss of future aid from government. But if it be otherwise,—if it be determined that this injustice shall be perpetrated,—if the society is to be practically excluded in future years from participation in parliamentary bounty, the course of the committee is still clear. They must trust to the righteousness of their cause, appeal to the justice and generosity of their countrymen, and according to the measure of aid they receive, regulate the extent of their operations.

* National Education, the Question of Questions, by Henry Dunn.

In the meantime, the committees of local schools that have received aid from government *on condition of inspection*, must be on their guard in relation to any hints or suggestions that the inspector may throw out. They must keep the government to the letter of the bond, and while they afford all fitting information, must resolutely discountenance anything approaching to interference with the discipline or management of the school. Parties who, at the suggestion of the Committee of Council, have voluntarily invited the visits of the inspector, will of course hold themselves in readiness to withdraw the permission thus granted whenever such a step appears to be necessary for the maintenance of the common safety. *All* must unite heart and hand in presenting a firm and unbroken front against any inroad which may be attempted on the freedom of schools or societies established and sustained by voluntary subscription for the diffusion of knowledge on sound, scriptural, and comprehensive principles.

Art. II. *Sermons on Various Subjects.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty, Prebendary of Lincoln. London.

We much doubt whether the true genius of the Oxford dogmata, notwithstanding a long and searching discussion, be yet clearly and adequately comprehended. They cannot rank as a simple class of opinions. They are not to be judged by their claims to antiquity or novelty. They are no subtle, evasive, passionless abstractions. They represent a mighty influence. They are the signs and shadows of a deep and earnest life. They are the decretals of a fearful domination, a power hidden, but vigorous, unpretending but elated, affecting to be the subject of wrong, and with difficulty moved to self-defence, while its ambition really gloats in visions of universal conquest, and seeks its aggrandisement with an utter disregard, the most wanton indifference, to the nature of the means. The time has come when its due exposure must be no longer delayed. It has been hitherto treated with a most undeserved courtesy and forbearance. Sincerity would offer little reason for a respite of judgment, for what superstition cannot boast this quality? Nothing is more sincere than error and vice. But even in this attribute it is wanting. It is without heart. Its utmost warmth is that of a sickly sentimentalism. It vaunts of a taste for tenderness, awe, and mystery. Its disciples have become 'vain in their imagination.' Surely Christianity, did the propounders of these doctrines know what they mean, or did they mean what they say, might furnish such elements to a divine excess. In it there is a repletion of

the most exquisite sensibility, the most tremendous reverence, the most glorious marvel. Are they the essences of loveliness, and truth, and purity, after which they pant?—the forms of the lofty and venerable which they would seize?—high inspirations which they would make their own? The carved work of the sanctuary, dress and gesticulation, impressions on the most vulgar senses, indefinable generalities and irresoluble metaphors, are what they fondly desiderate. These are the staple of their devotion. More stained glass, more receding altar, more organ pedal, can render their piety quite transcendental. None more deceive, or are more deceived, by words. And it so happens that their gratuitous dictations become imposing by the undefended manner with which they are announced. Can such men, from their chairs and thrones, proclaim aught but the most scrupulously sifted propositions? But as they are unprotectedly advanced, must they not be self-evident? And then the spell-like *terms* of the school! We confine our present notice to two or three.

There has always been a method of speaking about the CHURCH which not only is capable of misconstruction, but positively tends to it. The whole church is the fellowship of all the faithful through the whole world. A particular church is the membership of particular persons who believe, and are found on some given locality. The greater or the less can be personified. This is rhetorical, and may be convenient. But it is not thereby made a multitudinous collective being. It has no personal consistence. It is, all this while, only a number of individual men and women. The personification was not the exclusive evil. It soon was deified. It was made a Saviour. It usurped the place of Christ. And thus we still hear of the ark of the church, rather than of salvation; of the prophetic office and the priestly keys of the church, rather than of the revealing spirit and sacerdotal atonement of the Redeemer; of the church as the door rather than of the Shepherd, who is the door of the sheep-fold; of the house rather than of Him who is a son over his own house. Reduce this compound, and what is the constituency? So many sinful, fallible, dying creatures on any portion of earth, or scattered abroad among its nations. Each unit confesses this. The multiplication of these units creates the church. And thus multiplied, the whole is suddenly made unlike its parts. In its integrity it is holy, separately it is sinful. Collectively it is the instructor, distributively it is in pupillage. In mass it is the judge, in detail it is dependent on adjudication. In concrete it is a mother, in decomposition we recognise only children. What an enormous fallacy is here! And yet this is the word which is

supposed to denote a something higher than the church proper, to indicate an existence somewhere independent of the church visible; what it is none can define, where it is none can declare; it is true of no numeral, of no analysis of figures, short of the sum; then only beginning, and incapable of continuing, but in that total; that which can be asserted of no atom and no combination, at no stage of the experiment, all transformed in a sudden and last result. They who can work out the idea must possess arithmetical powers and chymic affinities all their own.

Next to the influence of this term, stands in their vocabulary that of *succession*. It is thaumaturgic. We might have expected, from the manner in which it is maintained, that it would be uncoiled with some exactness. It was not an unnatural probability that historic tables would be adduced, and that the perfect lineage would have been traced out. For our own part, less might have served our conception. By continuance in the apostle's doctrine and rule, we content ourselves as their true descendants. Our notion requires not a knowledge of each step in the entail. Were there the chasm of centuries, we are unable to see any necessary loss of the inheritance. We always begin afresh with the scriptures of truth. We go forth as though none had gone forth before us. We feel as though the gates of Jerusalem let out every new embassy and mission of the gospel. It is all of the original appointment. The grace wells up in its own fountain, and we wait for it through no precarious channel, and in no penurious rill. We retrace no course of generations, be it coherent or broken; we obey Christ, and from him only seek authority. This may be illustrated. If we believe, we are the children of faithful Abraham: his blessing comes upon us. We are his seed, and heirs, according to the promise. Is it indispensable, ere we can appropriate and realize this paternity and heritage, that we should establish a faultless pedigree?—that there always has been, in every actual moment, this succession? Is the title invalidated if there be not the ascertained series? Is it not enough that any one man believes, without a thought of others, to constitute him the seed? Who asks for more? No hiatus vitiates his claim. In the same manner, with the strictest parity of argument, we maintain an independent succession of primitive appointment, in its constant renewal by no authority inferior to that which initiated it. Christian pastors *succeed*, they come after, they are later in their period of action, they carry on a work which they did not begin, they have entered into the labours of others, but the right so to do is derived immediately, not circuitously, not by trust, from the Lord of all. To say nothing of the arrogant assurance of this fabled power, its foul

transmission if true,' its historic perversion when defended, we only pause to remark that no chimæra was ever more naked than this, and that none has exerted a more potent influence.

We must not pass over another word of extensive use in this terminology, *sacrament*. We need not inform our readers that it is entirely without any sanction of scripture; and that *sacramentum* cannot be the Latin correlate to the μυστηριον of the Greek. It is as nearly correct as the translation of Πασχα by Easter, and ιεροσυλους as robbers of churches; the people of Jerusalem being thus favoured with the orgies of the Sidonian Astaroth, and Paul and his companions in travel being thus absolved of all ecclesiastical pillage! The faculty of applying these sacraments is shut up in a particular order of men. The efficacy depends upon the administrators. The bishop of the New Testament *must* be blameless; in this case, there is no such necessity. The officer accomplishes his work by the unassisted virtue of his office. By the rite of baptism he justifies and regenerates the party. It is a profane incantation. No intrusion into the province of the 'God that justifieth,' of 'the Spirit that quickeneth,' can be more violently sacrilegious. But thus it unlocks the covenant, and men are deluded into the fiction of a Christian alliance.

We wish in these remarks very greatly to exclude all that affects the church of England. Our business is not, at present, with it. It is not our desire to investigate how far it has warranted, by its spirit and tone, this new, or this but revived, pretension. We should feel it ungenerous to institute comparisons of consistency between its members who reprobate or who foster it. It is, however, but just to affirm that it could scarcely have germinated from any other system. It may be a diseased substance, but there was a predisposition to its formation. It may be a little horn speaking great things and proud blasphemies, not a part of the head out of which it springs; but there must have been earlier callous processes and excrescences, however unsuspected. We revere those churchmen who yet are stout in their zeal for reformed doctrine, and cannot now taunt them for their false position. They mourn that the street of the great city which had fallen should be built again. All honour to them for the stand that they have made. This is the hour of their temptation. May they keep their garments white! May they not turn back in the day of battle!

We are not a little disgusted with the extenuations which are attempted by those who belong to the soundest sections of the Catholic church when speaking of this pest of our day. Well may the tracts, which are its vehicles, be dedicated to our times. What other times would have endured them? For a hundredth

part of their political treason, Atterbury was banished; for an infinitesimal approach to their idolatrous rite even the fair fame of Butler narrowly escaped. And are we to be wooed to com passion and implored to relenting, when this evil is to be uncowled? A heresy and a schism of the darkest kind? The most portentous eclipse of saving truth? The most wrenching evulsion from scriptural unity? What are its claims to lenity? There is no community which it would not rend. There is no church besides its own descriptive one which it would not discredit. It is a repulsion. It is a formalism. It is a thing of 'shreds and patches.' It is a creation of 'rotten parchment bonds.'

Nor let it be surmised that we disallow a hearing to it. We have waited for its reply. It is easy to tear and scatter on the winds the apologies it attempts. We turn ourselves from these to meet the softening glosses which we feel ashamed to say are invented by those who should have stood at the greatest distance, and have spoken with the utmost distinctness. It really mortifies us, it sickens us at heart, that mountebank dress, that sleek brow, that measured simper, that mincing whine, can pass for sanctity and call forth delight. The manly, the open, the generous, the free, are the qualities of Christianity; but they are to be sacrificed to this mannerism of pretty conceit and effeminate finesse. Strong, hardy, intellection, is considered vulgar and oppressive, while minikins, whose mind might be measured by the first joint of the forefinger, are caressed for the sweet inanities of which they are delivered. The style is deemed perfect which is feeble to insignificance, and exhausted of passion. Withal, every high and unearthly pretension is conceded to them; they are blessedly contrasted to every known form of worth and goodness; their activity can only be hallowed zeal, their bigotry can but be disinterested benevolence! We ask no crusade against them; we would not undervalue them; but we do admire that the proportion of character which the history of the world has united to prove artful, cunning, worming, sinister, selfish, shall be suddenly taken up as praiseworthy, and be quoted for applause! It is to forget all that we have learnt, that tyranny is always mild until it can be outrageous; that the lamb is ever made to mask the dragon; that the words which are smoother than butter, softer than oil, yet are drawn swords. Should any give the adherents of this system credit for the spirit of inquiry, they may be contrariwise assured that no argument which is employed for refutation is deemed worthy of thought or notice. This is their fraudulent tactic in all cases of rejoinder; a pretext, it may be a consciousness, of infallibility, forbids reply and criminates reasoning. Should any candidly imagine that the supporters of these sentiments would maintain

an honour of bearing in propagating them, they might soon be experimentally convinced that intrusion on privacy, sleight of language, corruption of friendship, licence of slander, are their best concerted arts. That which would be an impossible recourse, an inconceivable alternative, to the upright man, whatever his straits and temptations,—the injury of his worst foe's repute,—is the common demonstration, the first attack, of these remorseless sectaries. Should the meekness of this party be alleged in its favour, or at least in its vindication, they who are flattered by this fair shew in the flesh, need to be reminded that this is the most fixed aspect of persecution. She does not ramp, throwing cruelty into her countenance and violence into her mien; her eye is downcast, her voice gentle, her stroke constrained! The judges of the inquisition sat in grave and solemn calm; its familiars stole forth in quiet and hasteless procession. Should it be assumed that there must be a precise unity where there is the constant disclaimer of diversity, they who have become the dupes of such a cry have yet to learn, that the presence and the absence of every principle alike are covered with this type, and brooked for the sake of this coalition. A latitude of opinion is suffered, beneath which the most disquiet conscience may sleep. Should it be held that the ascetic and mortified air of these votaries proves their abandonment of all earthly indulgence, it is notorious that this is a matter of forms and times, a venal abstinence, a perfunctory vigil, requiring no change of the disposition, no discipline of the heart, preceded and followed by its best-beloved relaxation, the carnival not of a gala, but of the course of this world. Should it be contended that they are the true champions of spiritual religion, that they defend the independence of the church against the encroachments of secular power; let their apologists open their eyes to this double fact, how greedy they are of all state favour and dower, and how sullen they are only when the state will not suffer them to ride over it.

Men may not trouble themselves to observe, may think the danger light, but there is springing up among us a faction the most mischievous, both politically and religiously regarded. Its yearnings are all in behalf of conditions from which deliverance could only be obtained at the most costly price. Others think of such deliverance as an end worthy of every sacrifice and every commemoration. It is the Exodus from the most degrading bondage; it is kept by us in festival, it is inscribed on adamant, it lives in chronicle and song; we utter it from age to age; successive generations prolong the joy. But these scowl on the deliverance with disdain; reformation and revolution, the Briton's noblest words, his proudest remembrances, they cannot endure; they have no sympathy with the growth of knowledge and the

enlargement of liberty; they would recall the past with all its dotage, slavery, and fanaticism; they would crush the activities of public opinion; they would extinguish the lights of national intelligence; what they cannot prevent they grudge; even Christianity they would teach with much reserve. Though they do not absolutely refuse the Bible to the people, the truth of it must be believed on their canon, its interpretation must be controlled by their tradition, and its utility must depend upon their administration. Any party so thoroughly alien to all our free institutions, to all our historic monuments, to all our patriotic breathings, cannot be imagined; and they seek to revive all that our forefathers bled to exterminate. They would throw down the landmarks of our dear-bought freedom; like a barbarous horde they would sweep all before them. Martyrs they turn into oppressors, and oppressors into martyrs. These are their qualifications, — let us ask their requirements. Forsooth, the education of the people!—apt teachers! They would secure a rapid proficiency. Freeman would sink into serf, serf into slave: these would follow but the political and ecclesiastical merchandise of the souls of men!

Instead of demonstrating—a most easy task—how this shape of error originates in the leading dispositions of human nature, its avidity for some religion, and its enmity to the religion of grace and holiness; instead of shewing that no changes of the national religion could have transformed these leading dispositions; instead of tracing the progress of high-church opinion from Harley and Sacheverel to the Bangorian dispute, we begin with a very recent period. Within our own times, there had been a most extraordinary revival of evangelical doctrine in the English church. Its decided preachers of such doctrine were counted by thousands; it was working an upward way into the hierarchy; the testimony was borne before kings; the dry and jejune ethic which had lulled the fold, and in delineating which the shepherds had but talked in sleep, was well nigh exploded; a system of pastoral vigilance and popular organization was superinduced; things went well; they who altogether disliked the polity and anti-christian connexion of the establishment, saw a blessing upon the pious clergy and laity in it which even staggered that dislike. It was no uncommon perplexity with the nonconformists, how auspices so divinely rich could attend those who, however peculiar and contradistinguished from others, were responsible for all the sins of that deformed institution. If any looked on with holy joy, if any hailed with grateful pleasure each token of favour as it fell upon its altars, it was the protestant dissenter; he was firm to his principles, but he was not narrowed by them; they gave him a vantage ground and a dilated horizon; he employed

them to recognise the real congregation of the faithful; he was a lover of good men; he added to brotherly kindness charity. Where are these evangelical ministers now? Are there hundreds for the thousands? Other men may be false prophets, but these are *apostates!* We cannot conceive the dimensions of their guilt; we, hating ever moral censure, cannot hesitate to charge a very baseness on their motives. When fashion ceased to smile on them, the abjects deserted the post of all that they had hitherto held great and sacred; many of them are at this moment the foremost teachers of priestly imposture; they deride their former standing; they speak penitentially of any love with which they once embraced a differing disciple; they confess the impiety of every general effort to promote the gospel with which they were intermixed. We own that we shudder when we think of these fallen ones! No more do they preach Christ crucified,—they mean by the awful phrase no atonement but a personal austerity. Justification by faith is no longer the unction and soul of their ministry,—with them it is a priestly absolution. Sanctification is to depend on occult virtues of material causes, forbidding the experience of the interior life. A certain parlance is retained; but it is a pseudo-evangelism. Men who have not known better may thus harangue with a comparative excusableness; but who will not tremble for them who formerly gave full meaning to this language; who cherished these as special and vital truths; who encountered the reproach of the cross; now crouching to the rising power, shrouding their heads in prevalent and flattering guise, rearguing every aim and purpose of their past lives? Miserable, most miserable, is the palinode, when we remember how near some of these grey-haired renegades must be to their account!

The machinery of this frightfully lapsed party has been a signal advantage, a trove treasure, to this new division; it has taken possession of it, and still wields it; the nomenclature is adopted far beyond any use of it that is commonly believed; the style of external manner, in its amiable and serious temper, is very generally assumed; the preaching address is emulated; though the stern and dictatorial occasionally is betrayed, it is habitually subdued; anathema perchance follows irritation, but it is politicly checked. These pervertors of the gospel have thus easily obtained a ready apparatus; it is the same trumpet, but it gives another sound; the course is undisturbed, but far different are they who run in it.

The means are varied, with a supple accommodation to place and season. To entice the unwary, nothing can be too cunningly managed. The staid, the regular, the rigid, all is moulded for the passing exhibition. Licensed school-room, prayer and class

meeting, tea parties, extemporaneous prayer and preaching, all that savoured of the despised conventicle, is pressed into its service: rout, levée, conversazione, are also rendered tributary. It is thoroughly elastic; it can fulsomely affect the cause of the poor; it speaks as though it envied the unlearned; it is filled with the pride of riches; it arrogates exclusive scholarship and lore; it will bend with any sycophancy for the favour of the crowd; it is essentially a thing of class and distinction.

The name of the author whose sermons now lie before us, has been so notably associated with this body of partizans, that we owe no apology to him for passages of remark which their conduct has extorted. In an unguarded hour, but certainly not without high generosity, he identified himself with No. 90 of the Oxford Tracts. Until then, he was only supposed to favour them. He was always pointed out by his denomination as the thorough Anglican-Catholic parish priest. He was applauded to the echo for bringing out the more abstract parts of the system, and making them operate on the unlettered and the rude. This volume, therefore, is of no slight interest as presenting the subsistence which can be given to more scholastic musings, the exoteric of mysteries which were as yet confined to cloister and cell. The mystic is compelled to explanation. The oracle must be put in common phrase. The hierophant stands beneath the portico of the temple. He is 'championed to the utterance.'

The subjects of the sermons are as follow:—I. She hath done what she could. II. On a Particular Providence. III. Predestination. IV. On Sacerdotal Benediction. V. Palace of the King of Kings. VI. The Doctrine of Holy Places. VII. Public Worship a Sacrifice. VIII. Christian Training. IX. On Watching. X. The Lord's Day. XI. Moderation of the Church of England. XII. The Song of the Angels. XIII. Jesus Christ the Righteous. XIV. The cross of Christ. XV. The Second Advent. XVI. Faith, Hope, Charity.

Those who might expect from the station and fame of this writer a classical grace of diction, purity, and selectness of figure, even chaste simplicity of language, await disappointment. Sometimes it shows a certain strength, but it is more of coarse vigour than happy compactness. It is uniformly careless in its structure, though not without occasional ambition of period and point. There is, moreover, a certain ex-cathedra rotundity; a brow-beating sternness; a convenient method of getting through a sentence without much aid or embarrassment from rhetoric. The best properties of the style are an evident earnestness and gravity; more properly this state of mind is transfused through it, and stamps a characteristic upon its whole complexion. Large sonorous expression is not wanting; latinized words frequently

recur, but chiefly such as are compounded without taste or authority; it is ever and anon inflated and inelegant; it rises without being sustained, it falls without rebound; it is strangely harsh in its rhythm, and halting in its cadence. It is loosely diffuse, and seldom is redeemed by even a stroke of condensation. It is, nevertheless, rather versatile than habituated; has a certain faculty of making a subject clear when its author is so minded, while it is not ill-adapted to the intellect which knows no adversary; is ignorant of any contrary opinion, and fearlessly glorifies its own conclusion. It is little to complain of a reckless composition where the argument is wholly reckless.

The reader of this volume, if he knew nothing of the sect to which it belongs, would be instantly amazed at the partial, one-sided, view which it takes of every litigated principle. The author never pretended even collegiate habits: he has always been the active minister. He has lived the greater part of his course in large towns. He has been active in the lists of controversy. Yet it might seem that there never occurred to his mind a possible contrary to his judgments. His is the scale, and not the balance.

A casual and uninformed reader might be, on the other hand, somewhat pleasingly surprised at the orthodox parlance which pervades these discourses. There are the strongest disclaimers of human merit and strength,—fervid assertions of justification by faith, and even apostrophes to the cross. A little further perusal will convince him that this is too supplementary. There has been a previous groundwork of remark not merely suspicious, but even boldly corrupt. The author appears aware of the offence. He must parry the bursting indignation which he has provoked. He proceeds to a reparation, and the effect would be ludicrous were not the business too serious for lightness. For determined to make the amends most ample when he does begin, he violently thrusts an incongruous heap of doctrine into his peroration. If it deserve a place at all, it should have appeared in the design of the composition; it should have flowed up freely from his heart; it should have been delineated cautiously, but firmly: as it is often now presented, it wears the impression of a sedative to paradox and apology for blunder.

It will be only equitable to exhibit a short abstract of some of the leading and more prominent argument of these sermons, which were doubtless penned as a manifesto and epitome of a specific theology.

The first sermon in the book shall furnish a few specimens, especially of a certain inconsistent tone of statement, and of the hurried introduction of the gospel just in the way of a compensative settlement. We will draw the earliest citation from its

close. 'And then, oh my brethren, what joy will it be to us when the day, the awful day of judgment having come—that day when Satan our great accuser is standing near us, and is unfolding the volume to point out our offences by deed, and by word, and by thought, to detect unholiness in our holiest things; then, oh my brethren, what joy will it be to us to hear the Lord Jesus proclaiming, 'Let them alone, they have done *not* all that they ought to have done, *but* they have done what they could. My grace is sufficient for their sanctification! my merits for their salvation.' Now what is the gist of this divinity? That our duty and our ability respect different measures; that we may do our utmost, and yet fall short of our obligation! What moral philosophy—what scriptural responsibility is this! What prevents our discharge of duty but the want of disposition? What constitutes our sinfulness but that want? The language implies that the Great Master gathers where he had not sown. All that we require for Christ's service—all that he demands, is to do what we can. The defect is not properly of power, but of will. And then, too, how unworthily is the exclusive hope of the sinner, and the unperfected saint, inserted, not as a climax, but an after-thought—a suddenly adopted codicil! Nor is it clear what even thus is intended. Sanctification is strangely substituted for justification, the common mistake of the Romish church, and not an unlikely graft for the scion of the Anglican faction.

There is even in this primary discourse a mature development of the peculiarities by which 'this kind' is known. Its hatred of catholicity is thus confirmed, and by a shameless abuse of quoted inspiration. 'We are to remember that there is one body as well as one spirit, and we are to have regard to the unity of the body as well as to the unity of the spirit; and if we attempt, therefore, to promote God's glory in opposition to the principles of his universal church, or to the regulations of that particular branch of it under which his providence has placed us, it is to be feared that we are only self-seekers, self-pleasers, indulging merely an unsanctified enthusiasm. It is certain that we retard the object we profess to promote: instead of pleasing we displease God, for we displease him when we disobey him, and we disobey him, speaking to us by his providence, when we go out of our appointed sphere, and doing what St. Paul would *not* do, stretch ourselves beyond 'the measure of our line.'—p. 22. Is not this delectable in logic, in temper, in generosity? It is a very fair sample of every attempt of the author to reason, and to enforce himself by sacred text. Did not the church, which was at Jerusalem, 'go out of its appointed sphere,' when its members 'went everywhere preaching the word'? Did they not infringe 'the regulations of that particular branch under which Providence

had placed them,' when they 'preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans'? Did the primitive disciples recognise 'the measure of' any 'line' of a wretched partizanship but that which should 'reach' unto the world? If delicately they forbore to cross 'other men's labours,' was it from any question of their claims? Was it not from a sense of their worth, and an admiration of their efficiency?

We also find in this discourse a justification of that practice which we must deem neither innocent nor doubtful, bowing at the name of Jesus. 'To glorify their Saviour, they who would have anointed his head when on earth, will assume in his house the attitude of devotion, nor ever utter the name of his humanity, Jesus, without that reverence which the church enjoins,' &c. Now this usage, though urged in the canons of the establishment, is not in its rubric: its performance when the name of Jesus occurs in the Apostles' creed and in the Nicene, is only traditionary and capricious. Many excellent clergymen refrain from it. Should any defend it on scriptural sanction,—'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow,' we need only remind them that our sex's inclination of the head cannot satisfy the letter of the rule, and that this is as figurative a requirement as looking to Christ, or kissing the Son. And why should this sound, this vocable, be preferred to every other which speak forth the conception of that Word who is God, that Redeemer who is mighty? Why not do homage to the Son of the Father in truth and love? to the High-priest of our profession? to Immanuel? These great and transcendent titles may be all enumerated, and yet not followed by a sign of reverence. The name is used, therefore, not for its idea, but as a sound. Now this carries it into the heart of idolatry. For these very men have repeatedly said that bowing to a painting or image of Christ, though it should be intended to terminate upon him, is painting or image worship. The optical impression is that which calls it forth. This is felt to be the essence of the crime. But here is a sound,—not the idea, for that is suggested by many titles which would equally deserve the obeisance,—and it is worshipped. In the one case, it is the optical impact; in the other, it is the auricular. It is in both a sensible sign, whether on eye or ear. If we have any fixed definition of idolatry, if there be such a thing,—though we would be loudest in the real adoration of the Saviour, nor from his 'Father's praise disjoin,'—this honouring of a word is a semalatria, a reserved, but a true, idolatry.

The sermon on predestination is likely to excite much curiosity, when propounded from such a quarter. It might have been supposed that the subject would be treated on its controversial merits—that the dissertation would adjudicate between rival

opinions. The preacher is innocent of the least impression that it has been variously understood. He proceeds to shew that the nations which have received Christianity among them are the elect; that the heathen are not the elect! It is an outward condition. 'Thus the Apostle addresses the church of the Thessalonians, good and bad commingled, as knowing their election of God.' (p. 58.) The noblest predestination allowed is to some future sphere, which they who have never heard of Christ, though the atonement *may* be applied to them, cannot attain. It is lamentable to see the stolid ignorance, or the shuffling evasiveness, of this discourse; it is not in fairness nor integrity—it is a painful mockery.

The succeeding sermon is on sacerdotal benediction. After much special pleading and logomachy, it resolves itself into the Jansenist confession. There is no absolution without contrition; its priestly pronunciation is useless, save as contrition exists; but where it exists, there is absolution. Why, then, should it be pronounced? This benediction is shewn to be inapplicable but to the son of peace; but in that peace he possesses it. There is, we admit, a declarative good. An *opus operatum* is perhaps implied in the argument of this author, but it is not avowed. Sacramental act and priestly remission are still left perfectly conditional. There is much fencing. 'I dare not, waits upon I would.'

The next was preached during the services connected with the consecration of the new parish church in Leeds. It is the most elaborate in the volume. It abounds in all the peculiarities of the writer and of his sect. Here we have the apostolical succession, though the election on the first vacancy in that college was set aside, and no election on the second was attempted. There is also a bungling endeavour to shew that the Christian church, with a few exceptions of detail, is equally a theocracy with the Jewish; forgetting that that terminated when Israel received an earthly king. They said, 'Nay, but a king shall reign over us, when the *Lord their God was their King.*' This was their treason. 'We have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king.' Then was Jehovah's retributive abdication. The theocracy now presumed is but a hierarchy, competent to administer all, possessing in right abundance of grace, voiding every office of Messiah the Prince—not even a dependency on heaven, but an independent province! A theocracy indeed! They install any bishop, without so much as asking, concerning rival candidates,—shew whether of these two Thou hast chosen! They give the Holy Ghost at will! They claim the power of justifying and regenerating! They defer to the Head of the church in nothing! They are the *imperium*, without any *in im-*

perio. Political establishment, crown-appointed prelates, state-inducted clergymen, auction-emblazoned advowsons, and all this while a theocracy!

The sanguine author never wants a reason, nor is he ever deserted of hope. 'There is no failure of subjects,' says he, 'for under the rule of the heavenly Sovereign, countless thousands are daily born, even as many as, being born of water and of the Spirit, enter the kingdom of God, through the instrument of our King's appointment.'

Space does not allow us to examine some assertions, which were, perhaps, never exceeded in rashness and headlong violence. 'As the spiritual kingdom increases in numbers, and as its powers are more fully developed in any nation, it must become an object of jealousy to that country in which it exists.' We wholly deny it, unless it affects a secular competition—another political jurisdiction. 'The state is, of course, bound to protect itself.' Let it, against all evil doers; but it must then be a 'praise' to the spiritual Christian, for he 'doeth well.' 'One, then, of two things must, in course of time, follow: either the state must persecute the church—that is to say, it must seek, in self-defence, to put down a power within itself not amenable to the laws of its own polity, and to punish or drive away citizens prepared, though never to rebel, yet to disobey laws inconsistent with the superior laws of the spiritual kingdom, while yielding without a murmur to the penalties of disobedience; or else, on the other hand, the state must ally itself with the church, and, in greater or less degree, itself become blended with the kingdom of God.' We never understood to what extent the doctrine of selfdefence might carry men before. Doubtless, then, Nebuchadnezzar only properly coerced his recusant subjects on the plains of Dura; or, had he adopted the religion of his captives, his twofold government would have been a theocracy. Not a word of blame falls from Dr. Hook on the state which thus persecutes; not a word of regret for the church which thus succumbs! In both suppositions he sees a perfect propriety.

Startling as are the novelties of the day, we constantly find something newer and newer still. What will be thought of this? —it is almost the last—can it be followed by any better? 'And this it is that gives to chanting its charm. They who have realized the idea which I have this day placed before you, desire, when doing their homage to their heavenly King, to approach him with *peculiar* services, with prayers offered in a *peculiar* tone—a tone not used on any *other* occasion—a tone which, while they pray, reminds them that they are discharging no ordinary duty—that with the very angels, and, as it appears from Isaiah, in the very manner of angels, they are doing their

homage.' Now, chanting is but singing; it is the musical expression, in common acceptance, of prose: the very same tune, with a little adaptation, goes as well with metre. There is nothing very peculiar in this. Should the Gregorian notes be intended, they are rarely used but in the Church of Rome. Our cathedral recitative must be meant; but it requires a schoolmaster to teach it: it is to almost every person a laborious indoctrination. It is a most unhappy difficulty, if the set term of prayer. We had thought that all peculiar tone was contrary to taste. We have heard that of the meeting-house rather buffoonishly caricatured, we neither saying whether it does or does not exist. Who can spontaneously catch the strain? If the clergyman could not take up the key-note when entoned, is his church no more the house of prayer? Can that people, *having no ear*, offer no homage?

We cannot but refer to the tenth discourse, which is entitled 'the Lord's Day,' and founded on Coloss. ii. 16, 17. In this the well-known latitudinarian view of Romanism and its younger sister, touching the sanctity of the Christian sabbath, is most unequivocally betrayed. We little doubt that both would gladly commute it for Friday. They readily sap any authority which rests solely on revelation, that they may lift up the authority of the church. They endeavour, therefore, to inveigle the observer of the Christian day into an argumentative dilemma. They select this text, and hope to shew the abrogation of the sabbath of the ancient law. They then insist that there is no appointment of another. Thus they attempt to shut us up to the admission, that unless we receive the institute from them, we are left without one. Now, this is passing strange, when we remember that the Church of England, in its most solemn service, reads the whole decalogue as fully binding now, and that its children, on the enunciation of the fourth commandment, pray, 'Incline our hearts to keep this law.' How, then, can a churchman speak as follows?—'We contend that the fourth commandment, being a part of the ceremonial law, has been abrogated.' (p. 245.) It never was a part of the ceremonial law. Where is the proof of its abrogation? The aforesaid text is adduced. Now, it was from the beginning, ere Eber could be known. Sacrifice kept this sevenfold division. Noah reckoned the dates of the deluge in the same manner. Israel, while yet it had not stood before Sinai, regarded the primæval observance in its collection of the manna. That nation received the law as in nowise new: '*remember* the sabbath day.' It was universal in its import. All men needed rest. That record of creation was alike interesting to every inhabitant of earth. Opportunity and occasion must be most important to the exercise of social worship in every circum-

stance; it is a moral demand on man. The time is the positive part of the precept; the service, and the proportion of the time to the service, is the imprescriptible. The manner of reasoning upon it in the Pauline epistles, we think, proves nothing as to its repeal. The rule there inculcated of mutual forbearance towards those who eat or who eat not, who esteem one day more than another, or who esteemed it not, cannot respect anything further than the particular fasts or indulgences of Levitical periods. The word in the verse, on which the argument of the sermon now under our review is founded, is Σαββατων; not the sabbath day, but sabbaths or sabbath days. The festivals and convocations which did not fall on the seventh day were called sabbaths; thus the day of atonement was denominated: 'It shall be unto you a *sabbath* of rest: in the *ninth day* of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your sabbath.'—Levit. xxiii. 32. There must be an antitype to every figure. The Christian rest may correspond to the legal; or it may point to heaven. The argument is equally strong; the figure must be in force until so fulfilled. We have, on either shewing, the sabbath; the alteration in the time proves nothing against its inexorable validity; for, was it now altered for the first time? Was it not varied by a day in the wilderness? The tribes marched on the fifteenth day of the second month from Elim to Sin—on the seventh from that was the sabbath; then that day of their journey was the sabbath. This cannot be. Their sabbath was, too, a special remembrancer: God 'gave' it them; but it was given to all. Then was not this peculiar gift in a different form?—It was a sign betwixt Himself and them. Then must it not have been marked by some diversity?—They were commanded to keep it because of their deliverance from bondage. When a new character and reason were infused into it, would it not receive a new indication?—The probable inference is that the day was changed from the patriarchal notation, that it was carried back from our first day to our last of the week, and that the Lord's day is the original period of solemnization. The day is of no consequence to the moral rule; the interval and the employment being the same. But have we not the law for the occurrence of the sabbath?—The example of Christ, and of his apostles acting under him, is decisive. Having risen from the dead; He, greater than the temple, and Lord of the sabbath, kept this day in his awful apparition to the disciples. He, during the forty days of his earthly sojourn 'spake to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.' They obeyed, and their acts are our ordinances. The first day is the appointed time for breaking bread, and for laying by in store the alms. The holy exile of Patmos still counted his days by that of the Lord. Man, as the creature, obeyed it from

the foundation of the world; the Hebrew had a yet stronger motive; the Christian, in its combination of all former reasons with that which consecrates it emphatically as the day which the Lord hath made, the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the grave,—possesses the noblest grounds of all. Yet all this is to be made light of, and thus quoth our preacher:—'If in catholic countries upon the continent, in spite of the superstitions of foreign catholics, much to be lamented, there be more warmth, and if it be said that, although public amusements are encouraged in the evening, the churches are crowded in the morning, still we are to remember that in those countries every Friday is, by devout persons, as religiously observed as the Sunday; and until the catholics of England, the members of the English church, do likewise, we must protest against any relaxation of the laws which enforce the strict observance of the Lord's day, even though that day, in England, appear to foreigners more like a fast than a festival, more like a Jewish sabbath than a Christian holiday. . . . . We must not yield what we possess *until* we have secured an equivalent.' We do not attempt to parse the sentence, we do not see quite clearly through the syntax, the members of it seeming rather conversative than agreed,—but we call on our readers to mark the drift! When it can be done, the calendar shall be restored, and the Lord's day be seen taking its level with St. George's day! When a compensation can be obtained in saintly anniversaries, then shall the Lord's day be relaxed of the present unsightly strictness, no more offending by its veto of gaiety, but happily blending opera and ballet with its use!

Our observations have far outgrown our purpose. We shall leave the other discourses to the undirected opinions of our readers. We but dwell momentarily upon one, for the sake of illustrating what some have supposed a necessary difficulty in the way of those who symbolize with so many tenets, and with so much of the spirit, of Popery.—It is the XV., the Second Advent. If Rome be thus harmless, what becomes of the fearful predictions which are fulmined against it? That Wicked, the Man of Sin, Antichrist,—what mean these epithets which cauterize its brow? They are all misapplied! There is to arise a hero-monster, an infidel leader; his forty and two months are yet to begin, and all the tribulation which we had hoped was past is still to come!! We have not seen the persecuting power—the Antichrist!! This is the way in which Oxford exculpates the fierce and bloody dragonades of Rome, and loath, most loath, are we to behold this author doing suit and service in such a cause. How unhappy is its influence upon his own mind, the following lines will prove. Speaking of those who, like himself, are the uncompromising defenders of the English church, he

exclaims:—'Theirs is no idle, childish dispute, as between sect and sect; theirs is no party advocacy of an establishment, which they know, as the nation apostatizes,—as in common with all the nations of the world it will do,—must sooner or later fall,' &c. &c. How happy do we feel, unlike this melancholy seer, in thinking that though the conflict be not finished, it is pressing hourly to its victory! How secure we feel in our membership with a church which never can be in danger!

If we have spoken out, if we have not flattered what too many show themselves disposed to palliate, it is because we are persuaded that the evil is most appalling. Others may see and only consider it as an academic dispute; we have addressed ourselves to its study as a practical evil. We concern ourselves with it as a poison widely diffused and incessantly at work. Activity is not denied, but it cannot surely redeem a virus. There may be a strictness of manners in the room of former gaiety and dissipation; but there is no change for the better as to spiritual religion. The ministers of this community can the more effectually scoff at it, now that they have doffed their former garb and levity; now that the hunter, and the lounger, and the fainéant, are not seen among them. The use of evangelical doctrine but subserves a cruel end. It is made a lure to blind suspicion, and draws but more surely into the toils. It is the item which carries the sum. It is the make-weight which determines the balance. We can honestly say that should the inquirer, roused by the sting of guilt and the forewarning of danger, go to any such 'discreet and learned ministers of God's word,' he would be diverted from simple faith in Christ and importunate supplication for the Spirit, His wound would be healed slightly. He would be told of a church with whose corporate welfare he was henceforth bound up; of the necessity of looking from the operations of his own mind to the sacraments; of certain restrictions for a season, and not a uniform discipline; of the holiness of places rather than that of the heart. The souls of men, we scruple not to say, were in far less jeopardy when Christ was less named, and the gospel was more distantly approached. The jejune morality of Socrates and Epictetus did not deceive. The ceremonial administration had its fixed value; there was no pretence; there was no lying in wait, no sanctimony, no magic manipulation; all was clear, explicit, avowed. The awakened sinner sought another doctrine and another rest. Many are now beguiled. There are, nevertheless, manifestations of reaction: as cordially do we rejoice in these symptoms as though we called the English church our home. Were we its deadly enemies, we must have rejoiced at this waste of its health and power; we must have felt a large delight at this omen of its fall. Anything

so favourable to the cause of Protestant Dissent, considered as a party or a movement, could not have happened. It gives us a strength of moral contrast in our settled sentiments and inflexible principles which we cannot too highly estimate. But Protestant Dissent is, with us, no end; lighter than a feather, save as a helper to the truth; meaner than a straw, but as a quickening of the universal church. We sympathize with those who are in trammels, the more that we are free. We would even invite the flying or harassed children of Jerusalem, now in bondage, to our humble but quiet Pella, where there is no fear of man to bring a snare! But that sect which has already wrought so vast a mischief must still be watched. To save itself it will wear every mask, it will offer every atonement, it will utter every recantation; but it is remorseless, and it is insatiable. There never was a more grasping domination, a more vaulting ambition, a more reckless expedience. It is known by no principle, it is deducible to no rule. It is worthy of its parentage, but it is far more supple and temporizing. It can take any shape; it can accommodate any difficulty; it can issue any coin; it can venture any insinuation. Francis was not more meek; Loyola was not of more unbounded stomach; Dominic was not more unrelenting in his most cruel tortures; but Fable can only depict their character, they have no prototype besides:

'Mille adde catenas:
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.'*

Art. III. 1. *The Mental and Moral Dignity of Woman.* By the Rev. B. Parsons. 12mo. pp. 355. John Snow. 1842.

2. *The Daughters of England, their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities.* By Mrs. Ellis. Post 8vo. pp. 396. London: Fisher. 1842.

The present age is marked by the efforts which are being made to promote the real and solid excellences of the female sex, and this is one of its most delightful and important 'signs.' The feeling of honour and respect with which that sex is regarded by the other, is, and has long been, quite high enough, but it needs a more healthy direction and a more practical expression. It is impossible for any people exposed to the full influences of the Christian religion to be grossly wanting in that feeling. The general principles of that religion, the accounts it gives us of her history, her vocation, and responsibilities, the express injunctions it contains as to the mode in which she should be treated, acting upon the strong and natural dispositions of our nature, must

* Horat. Satir. Lib. ii., 3. Lin. lxx., 1.

raise woman to a more dignified position, and invest her with a more profound and delicate esteem, than would otherwise belong to her. The tender and irrepressible affection with which the female followers of our Lord waited at his cross and hurried to his tomb, while it was a fine development of woman's rich and graceful goodness under the influences of heavenly truth and love, might have been the fruit of a mystic anticipation of those peculiar blessings which should flow to their sex from the religion which he revealed. We can fancy them, not only as shewing forth a personal regard, but as representing the homage of their sex to Him whom future times should prove to be their peculiar deliverer. The regard for 'the sex' which Christianity fosters, has passed through various conditions; it has had many different outward types; it has risen and fallen according as it has possessed or wanted influences auxiliary to those of Christianity; but it has been with weaker or more vigorous force, with worse or better revelation, wherever that system of truth and kindness has prevailed. Of the measure of this regard which exists at the present time in our own country, we have no grounds to complain; our complaint is of the way in which it manifests itself. Notwithstanding its prevalence, our female population are not what or where they ought to be, nor are they near to it. 'The rights of woman' stand in need of stanch and energetic advocacy; the highest of them more loudly call for the hearing and submission of her oppressors, than do many others of greater popularity and better prospect of success. Woman, though not generally subjected to occupations, that in other times and countries have disgraced her lord and master, more than her, is not regarded or treated in the right light. She is looked upon as a machine more than as a spiritual agent; she is esteemed an object to be praised, rather than a rational instrument of incalculable force; her ailments and infirmities, rather than solid excellences, make her interesting; and she is valued, not so much for what she does as for what she cannot do. We rejoice, however, that the times afford evidences of a great change in this respect. Many works have appeared within the last few years, whose object has been to maintain the capacity of woman for a higher function than she has yet discharged, and her right to be so educated and disciplined as to be qualified for it. It is true that these works speak highly of woman; this may be easily admitted and defended. To rescue any class from a state inferior to its powers, it must be proved that its powers deserve a higher one. But the tendency of this commendation is not to injure, but to improve. Women have been commonly praised at the expense of their excellences; they have been praised for things of trifling value, and things which entail no peculiar duties and

responsibilities. But the praise to which we refer is of faculties and capabilities, every one of which is inseparably associated with solemn obligations. Vanity will not spring from a just perception of their mental endowments and social influence; to see them is the only way of becoming humble. It feeds on ignorance and forgetfulness of them, while humility and modesty are here, as elsewhere, the natural results of correct knowledge. To show what woman may and should be, while it is the only possible way of raising her to her just position in society, will itself tend, not to inflate, but to correct and chasten her.

Mr. Parsons is a very chivalrous advocate of the sex. We cannot but dissent from the opinion, which he boldly maintains, of the intellectual equality of the sexes, while we admit that the error and mischief of estimating too highly the female mind are less than of thinking of it too meanly. In order to arrive at a proper estimate of its powers, it is necessary to remember not only what it has achieved, but the disadvantages under which the achievements have been made. Women have certainly no need to be ashamed of the literary character and productions of many of their sex when compared with those of their masculine competitors; and if reason for shame existed, the remembrance of the manner in which the sexes have been trained would go far to remove it. What has been done is great, and the difficulties in the way of the doing of it make it greater. We are not disposed to quarrel with any one who, zealously aiming to promote the thorough education and discipline of females, entertains extravagant conceptions of their natural ability. We remember that all reformers have been extravagant. To think too highly of their subject, to invest it with an unreal importance, is the almost necessary effect of that frequent or constant contemplation of it which earnest and laborious efforts for its promotion suppose; and at the same time, an excessive sense of its value may be useful, if not necessary, to sustain those labours. Mr. Parsons has done much to show that the inferiority of woman to man, in point of mind, if it be not altogether a fiction, is very much less than it is commonly reckoned; and one certain effect of his work will be to win for her, wherever it is carefully perused, a larger portion of intellectual respect than she at present possesses. We quote one passage upon this subject, because it will not only show how the author goes to work, but tend to redeem an important portion of Scripture from prevailing misconception:—

'As an example of the truth of what I have been asserting' (respecting the neglect of philology), 'I may instance the words '*help* meet' as applied to woman. These terms every one is supposed to understand, and yet we shall not go beyond the mark if we say that not one person in a thousand has a correct idea of their true import. The

Hebrew word 'כנגדו, *kenegdo*,' rendered in our translation 'meet for him,' comes from the root 'גד, *Gad*,' a term which, in its compound form, sometimes refers to *rank* or *dignity*, and is rendered by the words 'captain,' or '*prince*.' In the latter sense it is applied both by Isaiah and Daniel to 'Messiah the *prince*.' In Proverbs, viii. 6, it is translated by the words '*excellent things*,' showing that *superior dignity* was one of its ideas. The words 'troop,' 'overcome,' 'to make manifest,' which it also signifies, comprehend the same notion. 'A troop' among the Jews, was a powerful and conspicuous force; 'to overcome,' also, was to achieve an action of no common dignity; and to tell, or manifest a thing, was to render an event clear or conspicuous. The words '*help meet for him*,' mean '*a help or succour according to his rank or dignity*.' The word *help* is very expressive; it is frequently applied to Jehovah himself, as our stay, succour, or help. 'God,' says the psalmist, 'is our refuge and strength, a very present *help* in time of trouble.' Now, it is worthy of remark, that this word 'help,' is the word chosen by the Creator himself to express the important relation to man which woman was to sustain; designating that relation by a term which in so many parts of the Scripture is applied to himself. Still, to let us see that the appellation was used in no inferior or menial acceptation, he says that woman was '*a help according to the rank or dignity of man*,' thus placing her on an equality with Adam; and by intimating that her existence was essential to his happiness, attributing to her that rank which in all civilized society every woman of a well-regulated mind is sure to obtain. Paradise had its thousand '*helps*,' all ready to administer to the wants of Adam; but among them all there was not one '*corresponding to his own dignity*,' until woman was formed. He had given names to every animal, and every one of them knew his voice, and obeyed his call. Some of them he may have instructed to imitate his speech, so that they repeated whatever lesson he had taught them; but still he had no companion, no one that could think and sympathize with him. All his reflections were lost upon them, and daily was he made to feel that he had no rational associate.'—p. 17.

Before women are contrasted with men, in reference to intellectual power, it is right that they should be *treated as well* as men. It is manifestly unfair, when education of any worth is almost denied to women, to institute an invidious comparison between them and men. Let women be taught as long and as diligently as men; let the vulgar prejudice against learned and scientific women vanish, instead of their being shunned and laughed at; if superior in intellectual taste and acquisition, let them be respected and esteemed; and we cannot doubt that woman, while she would retain, without the least diminution, her own peculiar grace and softness, would soon prove her possession of attributes that command respect, as well as of those that awaken love. She does, and must excel in 'whatsoever things are lovely,' in the amiabilities that bless and beautify humanity,

but she would then become, in force of understanding, a more formidable rival to her companion, whose reputed superiority has been, in not a little degree, the effect, not of better faculties, but of better treatment.

It is melancholy to reflect upon the wretched waste of female mind with which the present and past ages have been chargeable. Had women no influence, did their character and conduct terminate upon themselves, an enlightened philanthropist would have ample cause for earnest lamentation in the comparatively uncultivated state in which so much fine sensibility and genius has been permitted to remain. But this is only part of the cause for lamentation. The influence of woman is immense. This is matter of universal consciousness and observation. Authority may belong to men, but influence belongs to women. The first command, the second secure submission; the first have office, the second power. What a change would take place in the whole condition and aspect of society, if female influence were the influence of well furnished intellect and thoroughly disciplined emotions. If to 'please the ladies' it were necessary to produce stores of historic, and scientific, and literary knowledge; if conceit, and presumption, and ignorance, always secured the indignant reproof of womanly wisdom and dignity, instead of passing as a graceful compliment, what a mighty energy would be brought to bear upon the education of the other sex. But this is but one way in which the improvement of woman would benefit all. Every man is educated, and every man is educated by woman. It may be optional with us whether we will give right and true education to the young, but we have no power, nor has any one, to prevent education being given. Unless we can put a drag upon the ever-active faculties of the human mind, unless we can close up the avenues of communication between it and men and things without, it must learn and form habits. If left to itself, or to those incompetent to its tuition and discipline, it will learn lies and practise vice, but left or not, it will become habituated to thoughts and actions which will constitute the character of the mature man. The question, therefore, is not whether the next or any other generation shall be educated; that question has been already decided by the laws of human nature and human intercourse; but the question is, whether it shall be educated in truth and godliness. And this depends upon the qualifications, mental and moral, of woman. Our earliest and most effective instructors are women. Mothers, nurses, servants, these are the persons that impart our first ideas and produce our first impressions. If they give the curious and wondering faculties of childhood a wrong direction, if they pervert its generous susceptibilities, no subsequent labours can counteract the evil,

the 'child' has been 'trained up in the way it should' *not* 'go, and when it is old it will not' easily 'depart from it.' So that if woman was indebted to man for her existence in the first instance, man is indebted to her for the intellectual character and moral mode of his.

It is a strange fancy that if women were thoroughly educated, they would become unfit for those occupations and duties that are supposed to constitute their appropriate and peculiar province. This objection has been used against the promotion of the general education of either sex, and with the same force. It goes, in all cases, upon a false assumption—namely, that the more the mind is acquainted with its powers and its relations, the more disposed it will be to neglect the offices for the discharge of which it was intended by its merciful Creator. It would be easy, no doubt, to find women who are educated better than others, neglecting their domestic and social obligations; but things which *co-exist* are not always connected together as *cause and effect;* and there are more rational explanations of their neglect than that supplied by their better education. Such women would attend to their proper vocation no better if they were uneducated. It is a fact, the evidence of which may be drawn from general observation, that the women most remarkable for the systematic non-observance of household functions, are the most thoughtless, empty, and ill-disciplined of their sex. There cannot be any real opposition between truth and duty, the right treatment of the mind and the proper fulfilment of its obligations. It would be as wise to say, that to supply the body with suitable food would be to endanger the discharge of its natural functions.

The work of Mr. Parsons is calculated to do much good. It is often written with considerable vigour; it contains, compared with its size, a great deal of fact and sense. And while the author has brought no small amount of knowledge and thought to bear upon a great variety of important topics, he has, by occasional strokes of wit and pungent satire, striking anecdotes, and quotations of appropriate poetry, prevented his book from being wearisome.

We would not be understood, of course, to express an unqualified approbation of the volume. This remark might be stereotyped for reviews, for where is the book likely to commend itself in every respect to that capricious class, the critics? But as it may mean anything, if simply made without explanation, and therefore means nothing, we must say more. We are sorry, then, that the author should have adopted 'a new classification of the faculties of the human mind,' because we are convinced that it is incorrect. If we understand what he means by the 'unity' of

the mind, we cannot but dissent from his view of it, such unity being contradicted by all observation of the peculiar predominant tastes and talents which different individuals display. But our chief objection is to his mode of arranging the different states or exercises of the mind. He divides them into 'inquiry,' 'apprehension,' 'intellect,' 'consciousness,' 'memory,' 'wisdom,' 'emotions,' 'will,' 'conscience.' How some of these came to be dignified as 'powers' at all, we are utterly at a loss to imagine, being nothing more than *effects* or *modes* of the exercise of certain faculties; and the whole appear to us, not to 'simplify,' but to embarrass the work of 'mental tuition.' The original vice of the system is the imagined 'unity' of the mind. It is, however, scarcely necessary to remark, that whatever mental systems men may adopt, or by whatever principles they may form them, the *practical* results are generally much alike.

There are portions of Mr. Parsons' book, which a little more reflection would, we cannot but think, have induced him to omit. There are extravagant assertions; indeed, his mind seems constituted to delight in extreme points. In a treatise containing much that is, of necessity, opposed to prevailing tastes and opinions, any evidence and instances of this must be injurious. This *ultraism* betrays itself sometimes in an extravagance of invective and condemnation which we deeply regret, as being something worse than a violation of good taste.* The style of the book, though, like its author's mind, hard, vigorous, and nervous to no ordinary extent, might have been, and for this very reason, rendered more appropriate to a work having for its object female advancement. A little more gracefulness infused into it would be a great improvement, while freedom from every coarse expression and phrase would be a greater. Our author must add *refinement* to *strength* in his composition, if he would be a popular and useful writer, and especially for the ladies. If a second edition of the present work be called for, we should recommend a careful purgation of it from everything violent in spirit and ungraceful in expression. With these exceptions, we can and do recommend it, as containing much sterling matter, often presented in a new and striking form, and in a clear and pungent style. It is remarkably cheap.

Of the *second* volume at the head of this paper, 'The Daughters of England,' by Mrs. Ellis, the author shall state the plan and purpose in her own words:—

* Thus the author, not content with representing monopolies as unjust, says, 'No monopolist can be a Christian. Like Judas, he sells his soul for mammon; and, without repentance and *restitution*, must go to the same place. I would as soon believe in the salvation of Satan as in the salvation of an impenitent monopolist.'—p. 346.

'As no homage of mere admiration could have been so welcome to the author, as the approval it (the 'Women of England') has met with at many an English hearth, she has been induced to ask the attention of the public again, to a further exemplification of some subjects but slightly touched upon, and a candid examination of others which found no place in that work.

'The more minute the details of individual, domestic, and social duty, to which allusion is made, the more necessary it becomes to make a distinct classification of the different eras in woman's personal experience; the author, therefore, proposes dividing the subject into three parts, in which will be separately considered, the character and situation of the Daughters, Wives, and Mothers of England.

'The Daughters of England only form the subject of the present volume; and as, in a former work, the remarks which were offered to the public upon the social and domestic duties of woman, were expressly limited to the middle ranks of society in Great Britain; so, in the present, it must be clearly understood as the intention of the writer to address herself especially to the same interesting and influential class of her countrywomen.'—Preface.

When Dr. Johnson intimated to George III., in his celebrated interview with that king, that he thought he had written as much as he ought to write, the prompt and graceful answer was, 'I should have thought so too, if you had not written so well.' So we may say of Mrs. Ellis; had her publications been other than they are, we should have been inclined to think that she had fulfilled her 'mission' as an authoress. There are many authors, and popular ones too, whose announcement of an intention to issue three volumes upon one subject, or upon many, would have filled us with consternation and dismay, for critics possess their measure of the common feelings of humanity, and they often suffer at the hands of authors as hard a lot as they inflict. But in the case of Mrs. Ellis we hail the prospect of her continued efforts to raise the moral tone and correct the social errors of her sex. Her works must exert a most important influence in teaching its true function, and developing its proper and peculiar powers.

No one can be acquainted with her writings without perceiving the *moral healthfulness* of their spirit and purpose. This is to us their principal charm. She does not puff up women with any vain conceit of their intellectual equality with men; she does not represent them as having any peculiar licence to be idle and self-indulgent; she does not describe them as objects to be adorned and contemplated by others, rather than as agents of good or evil in themselves; she does not connive at any of their numerous methods of self-deception and self-flattery; and, instead of approving of the false conceptions of morality and refinement which obtain in the world, she is content with nothing

short of the inflexible principles of the Divine law, and the unsophisticated dictates of a sound and healthful understanding. She would make women *real*, and not *artificial; thinking* as well as *feeling* beings; *severely moral*, and not *morbidly sentimental*. We sometimes dissent from her opinions, and feel surprised at her advices; but whatever may be her mistakes, they are those of judgment merely, and relate to matters of secondary moment. As an illustration of our remark respecting the moral healthfulness of Mrs. Ellis's writings, we will give a short quotation, containing a description of *real delicacy*:—

'Above every other feature which adorns the female character, delicacy stands foremost within the province of good taste. Not that delicacy which is perpetually in quest of something to be ashamed of, which makes a merit of a blush, and simpers at the false construction its own ingenuity has put upon an innocent remark; this spurious kind of delicacy is as far removed from good taste, as from good feeling, and good sense; but that high-minded delicacy which maintains its pure and undeviating walk alike amongst women, as in the society of men; which shrinks from no necessary duty, and can speak, when required, with seriousness and kindness of things at which it would be ashamed indeed to smile or to blush—that delicacy which knows how to confer a benefit without wounding the feelings of another, and which understands also how, and when, to receive one—that delicacy which can give alms without display, and advice without assumption; and which pains not the most humble or susceptible being in creation. This is the delicacy which forms so important a part of good taste, that where it does not exist as a natural instinct, it is taught as the first principle of good manners, and considered as the universal passport to good society.'—pp. 140, 141.

But it is not enough to say that Mrs. Ellis is always true and sound in the principles and spirit of her works, she is far more. To confine ourselves to the 'Daughters of England,' it is throughout marked by evidences of a keen observation, a ripe intelligence, and a fine taste. It contains many noble trains of thought, many passages of true pathos and poetry, many bursts of generous sentiment. We could quote, almost without end, shrewd and beautiful remarks, but our limits imperatively forbid. One short passage upon the modern neglect of poetry, will show that in the higher departments of imagination, our authoress is no more deficient, than in the power to appreciate and enforce the more obvious and palpable principles of social obligation:—

'The little encouragement which poetry meets with in the present day, arises, I imagine, out of its supposed opposition to utility; and certainly, if to eat and to drink, to dress as well or better than our neighbours, and to amass a fortune in the shortest possible space of

time, be the highest aim of our existence, then the less we have to do with poetry the better. But may we not be mistaken in the ideas we habitually attach to the word utility? There is a utility of material, and another of immaterial things. There is a utility in calculating our bodily wants, and our resources, and in regulating our personal efforts in proportion to both; but there is a higher utility in sometimes setting the mind free, like a bird that has been caged, to spread its wings, and soar into the ethereal world. There is a higher utility in sometimes pausing to feel the power which is in the immortal spirit to search out the principle of beauty, whether it bursts upon us with the dawn of rosy morning, or walks at gorgeous noon across the hills and valleys, or lies at evening's dewy close, enshrined within a folded flower.

'It is good, and therefore it must be useful, to see and to feel that the all-wise Creator has set the stamp of degradation only upon those *things which perish in the using;* but that all those which enlarge and elevate the soul, all which afford the highest and purest enjoyment, from the loftiest range of sublimity, to the softest emotions of tenderness and love, are, and must be, immortal. Yes, the mountains may be overthrown, and the heavens themselves may melt away, but all the ideas with which they inspired us, their vastness and their grandeur, will remain. Every flower might fade from the garden of earth, but would beauty, as an essence, therefore cease to exist? Even love might fail us here. Alas! how often does it fail us at our utmost need. But the principle of love is the same; and there is no human heart so callous as not to respond to the language of the poet, when he says—

'They sin who tell us love can die,
* * * * *
Its holy flame for ever burneth,
From heaven it came, to heaven returneth;
Too oft on earth a troubled guest,
At times deceived, at times opprest;
It here is tried and purified,
And hath in heaven its perfect rest;
It soweth here with toil and care,
But the harvest-time of love is there.'—pp. 127—129.

The volume treats of a great variety of subjects, indeed we scarcely know what topic is omitted that the 'Daughters of England' ought to take much interest in. The following are the heads of the chapters:—I. Important Inquiries. II. Economy of Time. III. Cleverness, Learning, and Knowledge. IV. Music, Painting, and Poetry. V. Taste, Tact, and Observation. VI. Beauty, Health, and Temper. VII. Society, Fashion, and Love of Distinction. VIII. Gratitude and Affection. IX. Friendship and Flirtation. X. Love and Courtship. XI. Selfishness, Vanity, Artifice, and Integrity. XII. Dedication of Youth. Although the work does not profess to be directly a religious one, it is written throughout with a profound deference to the truth of God, while the last chapter abounds with observations admirably adapted to impress the youthful mind with His sacred claims.

Art. IV. *A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art, comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every branch of Human Knowledge, with the derivations and definitions of all the terms in general use; illustrated by Engravings on wood.* General Editor, W. T. Brande, F.R.S., &c., assisted by other Scientific and Literary Gentlemen. 8vo, double columns.

THIS is an admirable work, and supplies what all scientific and literary men must have long felt to be a desideratum in our literature. He who has no Encyclopædia will find it an excellent succedaneum for one, and he who has, will find it a valuable supplement. While it is sufficiently full and copious to form a tolerable substitute for the more gigantic works of an Encyclopædic character, no mere cyclopædia can supply its place. We predict for it, therefore, an extensive circulation—a circulation at least equal to that of any of the voluminous dictionaries on special subjects, issued by its enterprising publishers; of which series it forms the twelfth.

It might, at first sight, as the editor has remarked in the preface, be thought superfluous to produce a work like the present, at a time when so many encyclopædias of vast extent and of acknowledged merit, are already before the public. But this is easily shown to be a mistake. To one and all of those works, the common objection applies that they are not works of easy and convenient reference. It is true it may not be very difficult to refer to them in our own studies, where the twenty or twenty-five volumes quarto stand in goodly array, close at hand, though even there it will be found of no little convenience to have one small book, (in general answering the same purpose,) on our library tables. But, be the convenience of consulting them in our own studies what it may, it is manifest that they are not *portable* works; they are not amongst the books of which Cicero says, 'pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur;' if it may be affirmed 'delectant domi,' it cannot be affirmed 'non impediunt foris.'—In the next place, it is too often the case, that from the very copiousness, profundity, and extent of the articles in the more voluminous encyclopædias, the reader cannot very easily pick out the limited information he is in immediate search of, and for which, in nine cases out of ten, he consults such works. He requires it may be a concise explanation of some unknown term in science or art, or of certain great principles or facts which are sure from their prominence and importance to be mentioned in any account, however brief. Whatever else is omitted, *they* are not, and these are the things which are generally wanted. He finds them in the encyclopædia it is true, but from the necessity of giving them their due importance, and of

treating them in sufficient detail, he finds them imbedded in a great mass of matter, which, however valuable, is at the moment somewhat in the way, and he often has to read a couple of pages which he does not want, to find a couple of sentences that he does.—In the next place, the compilers of the generality of the more recent, and we may add, the more valuable encyclopædias, actuated by a natural and laudable ambition to provide not only a repository of universal knowledge, but to present it in a systematic shape, have to a certain extent sacrificed, (and unavoidably sacrificed on such a principle,) the *dictionary character* which properly belongs to all such works. Encyclopædias, in many cases, have consisted rather of a *series* of treatises on the various branches of science and art,—often, it is true, of great extent, copiousness, and value,—than of knowledge broken up into those minute fragments in which it is most generally sought in a work of reference—in other words, in a dictionary. They contain knowledge in large *masses*, in which the particular points on which information is needed must be hunted out, rather than knowledge resolved into its constituent elements, and presented in alphabetical order. The consequence is, that if you look for the explanation of a term or a process connected with any large branch of science, you are referred to another volume containing the treatise in question, from which (unless the reference be to a particular paragraph, and not to the treatise in general) you cannot extract what you want without considerable labour; or (as is the case in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and as will be the case in the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana') you have first to consult a quarto volume of index, and then having found a reference to the subject you want, to consult another volume for the required information. Let it not, for a moment, be supposed that we undervalue these great works. They are, in our judgment, far more valuable than any mere dictionary can be; and to those who cannot afford to buy many books, form of themselves no despicable 'library of universal knowledge.' The treatises they contain on the various branches of science and art, though not so full as to supersede the necessity of larger works to him who is professionally studying any one of those branches, are amply sufficient for all who are seeking only that knowledge which may be expected in a liberally cultivated mind. Many of them, indeed, have been from time to time published separately as elementary treatises on the branches of science to which they refer. This has been especially the case with those of the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana,' and 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and we hope that we may still be favoured with more of the elaborate articles contained in these vast compilations.

It will not be supposed, then, that we for a moment wish to

put a mere dictionary, however valuable, in competition with these gigantic works. All we mean is, that they still leave ample room for a dictionary such as that we are now reviewing, and which even he who can afford to purchase them will still find of great value. We heartily subscribe to the judgment of the editor of the present work:—'The supply of that concise and authentic information on the various subjects of science, literature and art, which a book of reference should furnish with the utmost facility to all classes of readers, has been but a secondary object with the compilers of our great Encyclopædias. . . . They are valuable as substitutes for libraries, as repositories of the various knowledge connected with the different departments of which they treat; and being so, they cannot be convenient manuals.'

In the fourth place, it must be acknowledged, that the older cyclopædias (especially that patriarch amongst them, Rees') are not 'manuals of easy and convenient reference,' from a peculiarity the very opposite to that on which we have been animadverting. There the principle of subdivision of topics is carried too far; the subjects are broken up into such minute fragments, that it is difficult to find under any one head as much as we want, and by being referred to several distinct heads under almost every other, we lose the whole advantage of a ready alphabetical arrangement. We have not Rees' by us to enable us to verify and illustrate these observations by particular example; but we well remember in our youth being much annoyed with the want, so to speak, of *centralization*. Nor is this all. So manifold are the references to this and that head under almost every other, that too often the information promised is not forthcoming at last, or at all events, one gets weary of collecting and then piecing together the several shreds and fragments of some one subject by means of ten or twenty different references. Nor, indeed, will such combination of fragmentary information answer the purpose, where the very object is to ascertain the connexion and mutual dependence of the several parts of a subject. The description of each wheel and rod and valve of a steam-engine separately, will not give us an idea of its structure as a whole, or the relation of the several parts. We remember to have sometimes felt, in consulting some of the older cyclopædias, much as one would feel who, desirous of obtaining a general view of the structure of the human body, and of the mutual dependence of its several constituent parts, should find a reference of this kind—'BODY (THE HUMAN), see head, arms, legs, eyes, nose, &c.;' or who, wishing to know something of the construction of a PUMP, should find himself referred to the articles, PISTON, VALVE, SCREW, SPOUT, FLUID, &c. &c.

We are of course aware that the question, how far it is possible to combine the excellences of both kinds of encyclopædias, one of which exhibits knowledge in masses, in the shape rather of extensive treatises than of brief articles, and the other in minute detail under an alphabetical arrangement, is a difficult question of limits. The 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana' may be considered as having most fully exemplified the first plan, and Rees' the second. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' may be considered as occupying a middle position between these two, the plan of the former, however, being nearer that of a collection of treatises, and the latter, that of a dictionary of reference.

Lastly, we may remark, that to whatever extent these voluminous and valuable works may be supposed to fulfil or fail of their professed purposes, their expensive character would alone put them beyond the reach of the generality of purchasers; and we have therefore reason to congratulate all whose means are only moderate, that they can here purchase a book, which in a very great number of cases, perhaps we might say by far the greater number, will give them the information for which they would apply to an encyclopædia if they had it; while even those who *can* afford an encyclopædia, will find this a valuable addition to it, as a portable and convenient manual of reference.

We have said enough to show that such a work as the present was a *desideratum*—that there was ample scope for it, and that without any way interfering with the claims or pretensions of any work already before the public. It is with pleasure we add that the present volume well supplies the need. Of its execution we can conscientiously speak as highly as of its general design.

One of the most formidable difficulties with which the compilers of such a work would necessarily have to contend, is obvious enough. It would be hard in such limited space to secure sufficient minuteness of detail to render the articles really serviceable—to prevent their consisting only of what is vague and general, and therefore of little value. This difficulty would appear at first sight almost insurmountable, when we consider the immense field comprehended in the terms 'Literature, Science, and Art.' It is a most mortifying thing to open a work of this kind, and find only what one knew perfectly well beforehand,—a statement too general to be of any use; to refer to the word 'man' for example, and find that all we are indulged with is the definition that he is a 'reasoning animal;' or to the word 'pump,' and discover little more than that it is a 'machine for raising water;' or to the word 'Manichees,' and find that it was a sect which flourished about such and such a period. What is wanted is

sufficient detail to answer all *ordinary* purposes, great *speciality* of statement, and references to more ample sources of information. The quality we refer to under the word 'speciality,' will itself often make room for considerable detail. For example, dates and names of persons and places ought to be specified. No doubt to secure this precision will involve a great deal of trouble, but let it be recollected, it is the only thing which can render such a work as the present of any value. Now, if it is secured, it will be found, that in many cases at least, it will take up less room than more vague and general statements; and yet the excuse 'that there is not room for details,' is often pleaded for the absence of this speciality.

The more specific statement becomes the briefer. It requires less space to say that this event or that took place in such a precise year, than to say that it occurred towards the beginning, or middle, or end of such and such a century; to say that this man or that founded such a school in such a year, than that it owed its origin to certain scholars who flourished somewhere about such a period. But whether, on the whole, the balance of brevity is in favour of this speciality, or against it, certain it is that it must be secured, if such a work as the present is to be of any real utility at all: that it will involve much more trouble to the compilers, will not, of course, admit of doubt. From that trouble, the editor of this 'dictionary,' and his assistants, have not shrunk. The difficulty of presenting *multum in parvo*, has been met and combated most successfully; in a manner, indeed, which fully illustrates the virtue, first of a small clear type; secondly, of accuracy of knowledge; and thirdly, of precision of expression. It is true that we have here and there been disappointed; but in a vast majority of instances, we believe that sufficient degree of detail and speciality of statement is secured to answer the purpose for which such a work is usually consulted. We look into such a book to learn the meaning of a term of science or art—to get an account of the more important principles (with their application) which lie at the basis of the several sciences—of the construction of the principal machines—or the modes of performing the more remarkable processes in the arts and manufactures—or of the sources from which, when we want more information, we may readily obtain it. Now we believe that in nine cases out of ten, the information sought for will here be obtained.

The requisite speciality would have been impossible, had it not been for the judicious mode of printing. The type, though beautifully clear, is very small, considerably smaller than that employed in some other volumes of the series of 'Dictionaries and Encyclopædias' issuing from the same publishers. In fact,

the reader will in some degree abate his wonder that there has been so much condensed into so small a compass, when we state that, having had the curiosity to examine the quantity of type in a single page, we find that it contains about as much as four pages and a half of 'Lardner's Cyclopædia;' and consequently, that this single volume of fourteen hundred and forty-four pages, contains about as much as sixteen volumes of the above-mentioned work! It may therefore be considered a curiosity in typography.

Considerable, however, as is the space thus secured, there has unquestionably been great condensation, by which alone so much could have been got into the allotted compass.

It will accordingly be found that the articles are anything rather than meagre, vague, or general. Many of the more important subjects have from four to twenty pages allotted to them. Thus, the general article on 'anatomy' extends to four pages; that entitled 'man,' to three pages; that on 'printing,' to five; that on 'political economy,' to eight and a half; that on 'geology,' to more than seventeen; that on 'music,' to eighteen; while the details of these vast subjects are treated in a great variety of separate articles. Now, considering how much each of these pages contains, it will be seen that the above mentioned subjects cannot be very superficially treated. Every term of importance, though not significant of a science or a distinct branch of science, is allotted a space proportionate to it. Thus the word 'arch' has nearly a page; 'prison,' a page; 'probability,' two pages and a half; 'corn,' a page and half; 'compass,' nearly a page; 'refraction,' three and a half; 'resistance of fluids,' one and three quarters; 'bridge,' two pages; 'engraving,' three pages; 'bank,' six pages. The scientific articles generally are admirably done; those on mathematics and physics, though very thorough, are remarkably perspicuous, while the whole volume is largely illustrated by very neat engravings.

On the whole, we think the language of the preface justly descriptive of the work. The editors tell us 'they have endeavoured to produce a condensed and compendious dictionary, of a convenient size, and adapted to the wants and means of all classes, that may be advantageously used as a manual or reference book in every department of science, literature, and art; and they flatter themselves that by rejecting all discussion and details not indispensable to the proper elucidation of the different topics, the work will be found, notwithstanding its comparatively narrow limits, to furnish, in the readiest possible manner, precise and accurate information on the all but infinite variety of subjects which it embraces. Great pains have been taken to make the

definitions and explanations correct, clear, and concise. The principles of the most popular and important departments of science, literature, and art, are also distinctly though briefly explained; and notices are given of their rise, progress, and present state.' We also think the next paragraph, on the whole, fully borne out. 'Neither must it be supposed that, because these articles are, for the most part, brief and compendious, they are either flimsy or superficial. On the contrary, they have been compiled throughout with the greatest care. Popularity has not been sought for at the expense of science, nor brevity by the sacrifice of useful facts or appropriate illustrations. The work contains not a few new and original views; and it is confidently believed that in every department it will be found to embody the latest information, and to be on a level with the most advanced state to which knowledge has attained, not merely in this but also in other countries. No statement has been made as to any unusual or doubtful matter, without referring to the authority whence it has been derived; and when subjects of general interest and importance are noticed, the reader is referred to the works relating to them, in which they are handled with the greatest ability. Not only, therefore, will those who may consult this work have a guarantee for the authenticity of its information, but they will learn the sources to which they may resort with the greatest advantage, should they wish to make further inquiries. Such, in a few words, is the design of this work, and unless its publishers be greatly deceived as to its execution, it can hardly fail to be useful to individuals of all ranks and conditions, to the man of business and the man of pleasure, the student and the superficial reader, the busy and the idle. Every one who takes any share in conversation, or who dips, how cursorily soever, into any newspaper or other publication, will every now and then find the advantage of having access to the DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART.'

We shall furnish the reader with two methods of testing (*quantum valeant*) the justice of our commendations of this work. One is by giving a list of the writers, whose names constitute a guarantee for the ability with which each department has been superintended; the other, by furnishing two or three brief specimens of the work itself. The latter will be difficult; for our space will not permit us to extract any of the longer and more elaborate articles. We must content ourselves, therefore, with citing two or three short articles, which, while interesting to our readers, will serve to show the ability with which the work has been executed. The names of the writers are as follows:—

General Editor—W. T. Brande; assisted by Joseph Cauvin, Esq.

1. Architecture, Music, and the Fine Arts	Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., &c.
2. Botany	J. Lindley, F.R.S., &c.
3. Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Medicine, and the Arts and Sciences depending on Chemical Principles	W. T. Brande.
4. Gardening and Agriculture	T. C. Loudon, F.L.S. H.S., &c.
5. Law	Herman Merivale, A.M.
6. General Literature	T. R. M'Culloch, and Joseph Cauvin.
7. Mathematics, and the Arts and Sciences depending on Mathematical Principles	Thos. Galloway, M.A.F.R.S.
8. Nautical Science	Lieutenant Raper, R.N.
9. Political Economy and Statistics	T. R. M'Culloch.
10. Theology	Rev. Chas. Merivale, A.M.
11. Zoology, Anatomy, and Physiology	Richard Owen, F.R.S.

And now for one or two short specimens. We are convinced that, imperfectly as they represent the work, the reader cannot but be struck with the quantity of facts comprehended in each article, and at the same time with the precision with which each statement is made. Our specimens shall be taken, as far as possible, from the most various departments of the work.

'NEWSPAPER REPORTING.—The name given to that system whereby the parliamentary debates and speeches delivered at public meetings, &c., are promulgated throughout the country. As it is contrary to the rules of both Houses that any stranger should be present, the publication of the debates is held to be a breach of privilege; but this regulation has always been defeated; either, as in former times, by the means adopted by Dr. Johnson and others, of publishing the speeches of the different members under fictitious names, or, as at present, by the Houses themselves tacitly giving their sanction to the practice. The foundation of the present system of parliamentary reporting may be fairly ascribed to the late Mr. William Woodfall, whose retentive memory enabled him, after having listened to the debates, daily to communicate to the public, in what he called 'a hasty sketch of the proceedings in parliament last night,' a full and most accurate account of the different speeches. Secret deliberations, however, have been so long renounced, that the right of the public to be present, through their agents, the reporters, is as clearly established now as if no theoretical privacy had ever existed; but if any member were repeatedly to insist on the exclusion of 'strangers,' as all are called who neither are members nor officers of the house, there can be no doubt that this abuse of the privilege must lead to such a modification of the standing order, as would deprive individual members of any control over a

matter so interesting to the nation. The process of parliamentary reporting, and the qualifications of those by whom the task is performed, cannot be adequately described within the narrow limits of this article; but it is hoped the reader may be enabled to form some idea of both from the following brief outline. Every publication not copying from or abridging any other, but giving original reports, keeps one of a series of reporters constantly in the gallery of the Lords, and another in the Commons. These, like sentinels, are, at stated periods, relieved by their colleagues, when they take advantage of the interval to transcribe their notes, in order to be ready again to resume the duty of note-taking, and afterwards that of transcription for the press. A succession of reporters for each establishment is thus maintained, and the process of writing from their notes never interrupted till an account of the whole debates of the evening has been committed to the hands of the printer. There are only seven publications for which a reporter is constantly in attendance, and these include the London morning newspapers, from which all others that give debates are under the necessity of copying or abridging them. The number of reporters maintained by each, varies from ten or eleven to seventeen or eighteen. They are, for the most part, gentlemen of liberal education, many having graduated at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dublin; and they must all possess a competent knowledge of the multifarious subjects which come under the consideration of parliament. The expedition and ability with which their duties are performed, must be admitted by every one who attends a debate and afterwards reads a newspaper, while the correctness and rapidity with which their manuscript is put in type and printed, has long been a subject of surprise and admiration. See the *Parliamentary Companion*, a valuable brochure.'

'PLATINUM. (So called from the Spanish word *plata*, silver, on account of its colour.)—A metal of a white colour, exceedingly ductile, malleable, and difficult of fusion. It is the heaviest substance known, its specific gravity being 21. 5. It undergoes no change from air or moisture, and is not attacked by any of the pure acids; it is dissolved by chlorine and nitro-muriatic acid, and is oxidised at high temperatures by pure potassa and lithia. It is only found in South America and in the Uralian Mountains; it is usually in small grains of a metallic lustre, associated or combined with palladium, rhodium, iridium, and osmium; and with copper, iron, lead, titanium, chromium, gold and silver; it is also usually mixed with alluvial sand. The particles are seldom so large as a small pea, but sometimes lumps have been found of the size of a hazel nut to that of a pigeon's egg. In 1826 it was first discovered in a vein associated with gold, by Boussingault, in the province of Antioquia, in South America. When a perfectly clean surface of platinum is presented to a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen gas, it has the extraordinary property of causing them to combine so as to form water, and often with such rapidity as to render the metal red hot; *spongy platinum*, as it is usually called, obtained by heating the ammonio-muriate of platinum, is most effective in producing this extra-

ordinary result; and a jet of hydrogen directed upon it may be inflamed by the metal thus ignited, a property which has been applied to the construction of convenient instruments for procuring a light. The equivalent of platinum is about 98. It is precipitated from its nitro-muriatic solution by sal ammoniac, which throws it down in the form of a yellow powder, composed of bichloride of platinum, and sal ammoniac.'

'MEGATHERIUM, (Gr. *μεγας* and *θηριον* beast.)—The name given by Cuvier to a genus of extinct edentate quadrupeds, including and represented by one of the most gigantic of terrestrial mammalia. The haunches of the *Megatherium Cuvieri* were more than five feet wide, and its body twelve feet long and eight feet high; its feet were a yard in length, and terminated by formidable compressed claws of immense size; its tail was of great length, and probably much larger than that of any other extinct or living terrestrial mammal. The head of the megatherium was relatively small: the cranium presents many of the peculiarities of that of the sloth. The upper jaw was armed with five teeth on each side, the lower jaw with four on each side; all the eighteen teeth belong to the molar series. They were perpetually growing, like the incisors of the Rodents, but had their grinding surface traversed by two transverse ridges, and their texture composed, as in the teeth of the sloth, of a central body of coarse ivory, a thick outer coating of cæmentum, and a thin intermediate layer of fine and dense ivory, which forms the prominent terminating ridges of the crown. Nothing certain is known of the nature of the integuments of this singular and enormous animal; but the fossil bony armour which has been conjectured to have appertained to the megatherium, unquestionably belongs to another species of gigantic edentate, more nearly allied to the armadillo.'

'OLIVE. (Lat. *olea.*)—A genus of trees belonging to the diandria monagynia class of plants. The *Olea Europea* has an upright stem, with numerous branches, grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, and differs from most trees in yielding a fixed oil from the pericarp, instead of from the seed. The olive-tree has, in all ages, been held in peculiar estimation; and some authors have styled it 'a mine upon earth.' It was sacred to Minerva. Olive-wreaths were used by the Greeks and Romans to crown the brows of victors; and it is still universally regarded as emblematic of peace. The olive flourishes only in warm and comparatively dry parts of the world, as the south of France and Spain, in Italy, Syria, and the north of Africa; and though it has been raised in the open air in this country, its fruit did not ripen. The fruit is a smooth oval plum, about three quarters of an inch in length, and half an inch in diameter; of a deep violet colour when ripe; whitish and fleshy within; bitter and nauseous, but replete with a bland oil. Olives intended for preservation are gathered before they are ripe. In pickling, the object is to remove and to preserve them green, by impregnating them with a brine of aromatized sea-salt; and for this purpose various methods are employed. But it is chiefly for the sake of its oil that the olive tree is cultivated. Olive oil is pale yellow, its density is ·910. When fresh, and of fine quality,

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it is almost tasteless, having only a very slight and agreeable nutty flavour. It is less apt than most other fixed oils to become viscid by exposure, and hence is preferred for greasing clock and watch work. It is largely used as an article of food. It is the principal article of export from the kingdom of Naples. Of 2,791,057 gallons imported in 1830; 2,034,237 were from Italy; 639,468 from Spain, 52,004 from Malta; 21,467 from Turkey; 11,300 from the Ionian Islands, and about 30,000 (at second-hand) from Germany and the Netherlands. There is a duty of eight guineas a ton on olive-oil.—(See *Dictionary of Commerce*, &c.)'

We should have been pleased to extract a specimen or two from the articles on subjects connected with polite literature, the fine arts, ethics, or theology, but our limits forbid. In the last mentioned department, the articles are generally written in a vein of commendable liberality, though we have noticed two or three strange blunders. Thus, for example, it is stated that the 'mode of church government' recognised by the Baptists, both particular and general, 'acknowledges three orders of ministers; of whom the messengers correspond to the bishops, the elders to priests, and the ministering brethren to deacons!' Verily, the reverend compiler of this department must have been oblivious when he penned the above sentence. We also see that under the article 'Jubilee of the Reformation,' 1835, that festivity is represented as celebrating the 'two hundredth' (instead of three hundredth) anniversary of the Reformation. A few similar inaccuracies may perhaps be found in other departments; but upon the whole, we believe that they are as few and as unimportant as were ever found in any work of equal extent and multifariousness.

Art. V. *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, now first published from official records and other authentic documents, private as well as public.* By Agnes Strickland. Vol. V. London: Henry Colburn. 1842.

A GREAT improvement has recently been effected in our historical literature. Works belonging to this department have till lately partaken of the character of party manifestoes, rather than of impartial and veracious records, while the paucity of their facts, and the mendacious character of many of their assertions, have been poorly atoned for by the stateliness or elegance of their style. From the time of Heylin to a recent date, there are few writers whose pages do not bespeak the partisan rather than the historian,—the sworn advocate of a faction, rather than the impartial and veracious annalist. We are not of course now referring to such works as those of Whitelocke, Rushworth, and

Nalson, though even here our charge may to some extent be maintained; but to those which assume the character of general or specific history, the authors of which have undertaken to work up into a continuous and veritable form the documents preserved by the diligence and care of our predecessors. The most popular of these writers, those whose productions have obtained the largest circulation, and have exerted the widest influence, have been the greatest transgressors in this matter. To such an extent has this been the case, that, without denying them the possession of some admirable qualities, it may be affirmed that their popularity has been based upon their defects, has mainly resulted from their addressing the bad passions, and serving the party interests of their readers. Whatever may be the excellences of such writers as Clarendon and Hume, it is impossible for an impartial mind to avoid the conviction that their celebrity would have been far less, had their impartiality been greater. The simple fact of their having written for a party, and that party the dominant one, has done more than all their excellences to secure the rank they have held amongst English historians. Had Clarendon executed a faithful portraiture of the great actors of his day, doing equal justice to friend and foe, admitting alike the errors of the former and the virtues of the latter, *the History of the Rebellion* would not have been honoured with the patronage of Oxford, nor been the text-book of every tory writer who undertook to describe the times of Charles and Cromwell. A better order of things is now happily arising, full of promise to political science and practical good government. We hail its dawn, and shall gladly contribute our aid to its advancement.

One of the first things to be done is to unlearn much which we have been taught. This, perhaps, is the most difficult part of our duty, since it requires an exercise of self-control, a triumph over long cherished prepossessions, and an honest adherence to truth, which are seldom to be met with. Its necessity, however, is absolute, and no difficulty must discourage our efforts. The volume before us affords an illustration of what we mean, and will severely test the patience and historical fidelity of many of its readers. The last of the two *Lives* which it contains, is that of Mary, daughter of Henry the Eighth, by Katharine of Arragon, and the views broached respecting her character and policy, as they are directly opposed to those which are current, so they will be met with strong incredulity, if they are not denounced as ecclesiastical and political heresies of no mean order. But we must briefly detain our readers with the account furnished of Henry's last wife, before we enter on an examination of any of the interesting points which occur in the biography of his eldest daughter.

Katharine Parr, the sixth wife of Henry, was the first protestant queen of England. The political connexions of some of her predecessors had disposed them to extend a questionable aid to the reformed party, but Katharine Parr 'was the only one among the consorts of Henry who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the reformation, and imperilled her crown and life in support of her principles.' Her birth is usually assigned to the year 1510, but the correspondence of her mother with Lord Dacre in the fifteenth year of Henry VIII., in which she is said to be *under twelve*, proves that it could not have occurred till 1513. Her father, who was master of the wards, and comptroller of the royal household, died in 1517, leaving the guardianship of three infant children to his widow, 'a lady of great prudence and wisdom, with a discreet care for the main chance.' Katharine early exhibited superior talents, which were cultivated to the utmost by the assiduous care of her mother. She read and wrote Latin with facility, had some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in several modern languages. She was twice married before her union with the king, first, to Lord Borough, and secondly, to Lord Latimer, both of whom were mature widowers. At the time of her second marriage she was probably under twenty years of age, and was a member of the papal church, in which she continued up to the death of Lord Latimer. During her second widowhood, her hand was sought by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of Jane Seymour, and uncle to the infant prince, Edward. Seymour was gay, magnificent, and brave, with more ambition than consisted with his safety, and as little moral principle as permitted the maintenance of a fair exterior. Katharine, however strange it may appear, returned his attachment, and, according to her own statement, 'had determined to become his wife,' when another suitor interposed, before whom Seymour deemed it prudent to retire.

'Love was for awhile victorious over ambition in the heart of Katharine. Her affection for Seymour rendered her very listless about the royal match at first; but her favoured lover presumed not to contest the prize with his all-powerful brother-in-law and sovereign. A rival of Henry's temper, who held the heads of wives, kinsmen, and favourites, as cheaply as tennis balls, was not to be withstood. The Adonis of the court vanished from the scene, and the bride-elect, accommodating her mind to the change of bridegroom, as she might, prepared to assume the glittering fetters of a queenly slave with a good grace. The arrangements for the royal nuptials were made with a celerity truly astonishing; barely three months intervened between the proving of Lord Latimer's will and the day on which Cranmer grants a licence 'for the marriage of his sovereign lord, King Henry,

with Katharine Latymer, late the wife of the Lord de Latymer, deceased, in whatever church, chapel, or oratory he may please, without publication of banns, dispensing with all ordinances to the contrary, for reasons concerning the honour and advancement of the whole realm.' Dated July 10th, 1543.'—pp. 31, 32.

The maternal duties of her new position were discharged with exemplary diligence. The princesses Mary and Elizabeth were restored by her influence to their proper rank at court, and continued to receive, up to the death of their father, daily proofs of her kindness.

'Notwithstanding the great difference in their religious tenets, a firm friendship ever subsisted between Katharine Parr and Mary. They were near enough in age to have been sisters, they excelled in the same accomplishments, and the great learning and studious pursuits of these royal ladies rendered them suitable companions for each other. The more brilliant talents of the young Elizabeth were drawn forth and fostered under the auspices of her highly-gifted step-mother. Katharine Parr took also an active part in directing the studies of the heir of England, and her approbation appears to have been the greatest encouragement the prince could receive.

'In a letter, written in French, to Queen Katharine, Edward notices the beauty of her penmanship. 'I thank you,' says he, 'most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me; not only for their beauty, but for their imagination. For when I see your *belle ecriture* (fair writing), and the excellence of your genius, greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But then, I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and will, will be acceptable, and so I write you this letter.'

'A modern author has noticed the great similarity between the handwriting of Edward VI. and Katharine Parr, and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that Katharine superintended the education of one or other of the juvenile members of the royal family previous to her marriage with King Henry. No official evidence of her appointment to any office of the kind has been discovered, but her great reputation for wisdom and learning renders the tradition not improbable. Certain it is, that after she became queen, she took great delight in directing the studies of her royal step-children. It is evident that Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and their youthful cousins, Lady Jane and Lady Katharine Gray, all imbibed her taste for classic literature, and her attachment to the principles of the Reformation. She induced not only Elizabeth, but Mary, to translate passages from the Scriptures. Each of these princesses compiled a little manual of devotions in Latin, French, and English, dedicated to their accomplished step-mother.'—pp. 39, 40.

The wayward mind of Henry continued for some time to yield to her influence, which being perfectly free from all malignant taint, contributed at once to the happiness of the monarch, and

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threatened with imminent peril. She was hated by the Catholic party, who regarded her as a mainstay of the reformation, and watched their opportunity to effect her ruin. Human life was little thought of in those days, and the men who had been trained in the court of Henry were not likely to be very scrupulous about the means employed to effect the removal of an obnoxious personage from the path of their ambition. They knew the waywardness of the king, his suspicious and fretful temper, the fearful gusts of his passion, and the more than ordinary sensitiveness with which he recoiled from anything that threatened to touch his spiritual supremacy. They knew all this, and they calculated accordingly, and there was good reason to conclude that their calculations would prove true.

The very virtues of the queen afforded at length the opportunity for which her enemies looked. She was accustomed, in their hours of domestic privacy, to engage in theological discussions with the king, and maintained her opinions, which frequently differed from his, with much eloquence and wit. This was no very prudent thing in the wife of Henry the Eighth, and Katharine soon experienced its danger. An absolute king was not likely to be long pleased with the contradiction of his views, and his displeasure was not lessened by the obvious superiority of those of his wife. On one occasion, she ventured to remonstrate with him on a proclamation recently issued, forbidding the use of an English version of the Scriptures which he had previously sanctioned. The pain of an ulcerated leg inflamed at the time the constitutional irascibility of Henry, who showed symptoms of displeasure, and remarked, on Katharine's leaving the room, 'A good hearing it is when women become such clerks; and much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife.' Gardiner was present, and instantly took advantage of the wounded pride of his master. Now was his hour, and he was not the man to let it escape him. Artfully adapting himself to the present humour of Henry, he declared 'that his majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed doctors of divinity, insomuch that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his counsellors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words, would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience;' adding, 'that he could make great discoveries if he were not deterred by the queen's powerful faction.' Henry's pride was flattered by the address of his minister, and poor Katharine, little dreaming of the danger which threatened her, was committed to the tender mercies of the council. Providence,

however, interposed to baffle their designs, as the following brief extract will show :—

'At this momentous crisis, when the life of the queen might be said to hang on a balance so fearfully poised that the descent of a feather would have given it a fatal turn, the bill of articles that had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, were dropped by Wriothesley from his bosom, in the gallery at Whitehall, after the royal signature of the king had been affixed. Fortunately, it happened that it was picked up by one of the attendants of the queen, and instantly conveyed to her majesty, whose sweetness of temper and gracious demeanour had endeared her to all her household.' —p. 78.

On discovering the plot formed against her, the queen was deeply affected. The fate of her predecessors could not but recur to her, and she gave vent to her feelings in agonizing shrieks which reached the royal invalid, who fortunately occupied an adjoining apartment. 'Incommoded by the noise,' as Lingard conjectures, 'Henry sent to inquire the cause of the disturbance, and was informed by his physician that the queen 'was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind.' This intelligence touched his brutal heart, and probably awakened a deeper sense than he had previously entertained of the value of her services. He was carried into her apartment, and found her 'heavy and melancholy.' 'Katharine Parr,' as Miss Strickland shrewdly remarks, 'had been twice married before, and being a woman of great sense and observation, had acquired greater experience in adapting herself to the humour of her froward lord, than either the gay, reckless coquette, Anne Boleyn, or the young unlettered Howard.' With that skill of which her sex are pre-eminently masters, the queen adapted herself to the humour of the king, and evidently succeeded in mollifying his displeasure, and in restoring much of the good understanding which previously existed.

'The next evening the queen found herself well enough to return the king's visit in his bedchamber. She came attended by her sister, Lady Herbert, and the king's young niece, Lady Jane Gray, who carried the candles before her majesty. Henry welcomed her very courteously, and appeared to take her attention in good part; but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine wittily excused herself from the snare by observing, that she was but a woman, accompanied with all the imperfections natural to the weakness of her sex; therefore, in all matters of doubt and difficulty, she must refer herself to his majesty's better judgment, as to her lord and head; 'for so God hath appointed you,' continued she, 'as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn.'

'' Not so, by St. Mary,' said the king; 'ye are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oftentime we have seen.' 'Indeed,' replied the queen, 'if your majesty have so conceived, my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived, that in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting withal by your majesty's learned discourse.' 'And is it so, sweetheart!' replied the king; 'then are we perfect friends.' He then kissed her with much tenderness, and gave her leave to depart.

'On the day appointed for her arrest, the king, being convalescent, sent for the queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended as before, by her sister, Lady Jane Gray, and Lady Tyrwhit. Presently, the lord chancellor Wriothesley, with forty of the guard, entered the garden, with the expectation of carrying off the queen to the Tower, for he had not received the slightest intimation of the change in the royal caprice. The king received him with a burst of indignation, saluted him with the unexpected address of 'Beast, fool, and knave,' and sternly withdrawing him from the vicinity of the queen, he bade him 'avaunt from his presence.' Katharine, when she saw the king so greatly incensed with the chancellor, had the magnanimity to intercede for her foe, saying, 'she would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake.'

'' Ah! poor soul,' said the king, 'thou little knowest, Kate, how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!''—pp. 81, 82.

We need not pursue the narrative of Katharine's subsequent life, but must hasten on to notice the other biography contained in this volume.

Mary was born at Greenwich Palace, February 18, 1516, under circumstances which promised an entire exemption from those painful vicissitudes which marked her life. Negotiations for her marriage with the heir of Francis I. were carried on while she was yet in her cradle, and on the failure of these, a treaty with the Emperor Charles V., then in his twenty-third year, was actually signed at Windsor in 1522. The subsequent course of Henry's domestic policy was alleged by the emperor as the ground of his breaking this contract of betrothal, though other considerations undoubtedly influenced his decision. The education of the princess, after the fashion of the times, taxed her strength beyond the prudent point, and probably laid the foundation for that melancholy temperament and broken health which beclouded her after days. Whilst the marriage of her mother was undisputed, the highest honours of the state were conferred upon Mary, and visions of future power rose up to delude and

flatter her youthful mind. Her father appears to have loved her as warmly as his base nature permitted. He was yet unsteeped in crime, and there is good reason to believe that the parental feeling was strongly developed. His affection for his daughter at first embarrassed him in the course of his nefarious policy against her mother, but soon gave way to the stronger and more selfish passions which had attained the ascendancy. Mary's sympathies were naturally with her mother, which could not but enrage the brutal mind of Henry, who knew no mercy where his policy or his passions were concerned. Destitute himself of all the better feelings of our nature, he cared not about those of others. The mother and the daughter were therefore separated from each other, and no attention was paid to the frequent and urgent entreaties of the former, when, conscious of her approaching death, she eagerly sought permission to see her child.

The birth of the Princess Elizabeth exercised for a time a disastrous influence on the fortunes of Mary. The crown was settled by Act of Parliament on the children of Anne Boleyn, in consequence of which, Mary's princely establishment at Beaulieu was broken up, and she herself was transferred to Hunsdon, where the infant Elizabeth resided in royal state. 'The two melancholy years,' remarks Miss Strickland, 'which Mary spent at Hunsdon, under the surveillance of her step-mother, were passed in sorrow and suffering.' The king endeavoured to extort from her an admission of her own illegitimacy, which the princess, —more from regard to her mother's honour than to her own interests—firmly refused. Murderous threats were in consequence uttered against her, which the base sycophants of Henry's court re-echoed with applause. 'If she will not be obedient to his grace,' said the treasurer, Fitz William, 'I would that her head was from her shoulders, that I might toss it here with my foot.' Years passed on without bringing to the youthful princess relief from present insult, or hope of future redress. She had but few friends about her to counsel her inexperience, or to forewarn her of the snares by which the tortuous and wicked policy of her father encompassed her. The infant Elizabeth was in her turn illegitimated like herself, for Jane Seymour had become the reigning beauty, and a supple parliament substituted her offspring for those of Anne Boleyn. Mary was required to sign a document, declaring her mother's marriage to be incestuous and illegal, her own birth illegitimate, and her father's supremacy over the church absolute. She demurred to these articles, and received from Cromwell, who had succeeded to Wolsey's power, an insolent letter, which might well fill her with dread.

'Wherefore, madam,' said the unscrupulous minister, 'to be plain with you, as God is my witness, I think you the most

obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was, and one that is so persevering, deserveth the extremity of mischief.' Mary was terrified by this letter into signing the articles which she had previously rejected. Her conduct in doing so has been severely censured, and is clearly incapable of vindication; but the circumstances of the case, her youth, inexperience, and solitariness, may well be admitted to plead on her behalf, and to extenuate somewhat the insincerity of her conduct. During the remainder of her father's life, Mary conformed to his ecclesiastical measures. Her attachment to the papacy was well known; yet like most of the ecclesiastics of her day, she practically deemed the will of the monarch absolute in matters of religion.

On the accession of her brother, Edward VI., a brighter prospect opened upon her, which, however, was destined to be beclouded by religious controversies and intolerance. The princess was invited to court by the young king, and the royal family passed some time together on the most affectionate terms. The views of Mary and her brother were, however, too much opposed, and the spirit of the age was too narrow and intolerant to permit a continuance of this intimacy. Refusing to adopt the new service book in 1549, she appealed to the Emperor Charles V. for protection from the constraint which the council threatened. His interposition was successful, and Mary for a time was permitted to remain at peace. Two years afterwards, however, she was called before her brother to answer for contumacy, to whom she replied, 'That her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings.' It was strange that the remembrance of this interview, and of her own noble avowal, did not recur to her in subsequent times, when her protestant subjects were required to adopt her papal creed. But so it is. Let princes and priests combine together, and the result has ever been a forgetfulness of the lessons which adversity teaches, and a practical exercise of coercion and wrong. A state church has always been a persecuting church to the full extent that public opinion permitted, and it would be unnatural were it not so. The alliance is itself unholy, and its fruits are bitter and calamitous.

The ambassador of Charles V. threatened war if the princess were not permitted to maintain the forms of her own worship. The king, however, was obstinate, and the mode adopted by the council to induce his acquiescence, is strikingly illustrative of the miserable shifts to which good men are sometimes reduced by an erroneous theory. Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, were deputed by the council to wait upon Edward. 'They told him,' says Burnet, 'that it was always a sin in a prince to permit any sin;

but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin, since sometimes a lesser evil connived at, might easily prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so easily but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship as he esteemed the mass.'* This connivance was but short lived, for a few months afterwards the celebration of mass in her household was prohibited, and some of her officers, together with her chaplain, were sent to the Tower for disobedience to the mandate of the council. These circumstances must, in fairness, be borne in mind, when a judgment is pronounced on the unhappy and disastrous reign of Mary. They soured her temper, estranged her from the charities of life, and prepared her to be the ready instrument of an intolerant and unrelenting party when the day of its ascendancy came round. That day was much nearer than her persecutors imagined, for the death of her brother, which occurred in 1553, opened the way for Mary's accession, and another change instantly passed upon the spirit of the nation. Her professions were at first mild and tolerant, and though Miss Strickland endeavours to vindicate her from the charge of insincerity arising from them, her defence is by no means satisfactory. The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which rallied early round her standard, and in reality placed her on the throne, were chiefly protestant, and to them assurances were given, which were afterwards but poorly kept. Her position was critical, and she acted with consummate art. Some of her protestant subjects saw through the disguise, and anticipated what followed, but others were imposed on by the fair semblance of the young princess. On arriving at the Tower she assured the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London 'that though her own conscience was staid in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth.'† It may be that in the first flush of her gratitude she intended much of this. We need not recur to the supposition—for the honour of human nature we are unwilling to do so—that her words were feigned, and her professions but a farce. It is enough that her promises were not kept, that her professions were openly and cruelly belied. Her reign was emphatically a reign of blood. Many of the best men of England yielded up their lives in discharge of their religious obligations, and Mary is stamped in English history with a character the most unfeminine and repulsive.

We are willing to believe that this state of things resulted

* History of Reformation, ii., 275. † Ibid. iii., 331.

rather from a vicious theory and the bad spirit of her advisers, than from her personal qualities, but cannot hold her to be so guiltless as our author contends. All her designs and hopes were, from the moment of her accession, centred in the restoration of the papal faith, and the moderation observed was only maintained so long as was necessary to prepare measures for the persecution which followed. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Coverdale of Exeter, Bradford, Rogers the proto-martyr, and other eminent protestants, were committed to prison during the first month of the queen's residence in London; and shortly afterwards Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were sent to the Tower. The part taken on behalf of Lady Jane Gray was alleged as the ground of some of these imprisonments; but the proceedings subsequently taken against the parties, proved that the zeal exhibited on behalf of the Reformation was the real cause of their arrest. In the month of October parliament assembled to react the obsequious part of their predecessors, and King Edward's laws respecting religion were, as a matter of course, annulled, and ecclesiastical affairs were restored to the condition in which Henry left them.

The ill-conducted revolt of Sir Thomas Wyatt afforded the pretext which Mary's counsellers desired for resorting to severer measures. Wyatt was undoubtedly a catholic, though it is exceedingly difficult to determine whether he belonged to the anti-papal party of Henry, or to the adherents of the papacy. The avowed ground of his revolt was the projected marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, which Wyatt, together with the great body of the English nation, regarded with alarm and detestation. The papal party, however, availed themselves of the opportunity which the insurrection furnished, to charge the protestants with disloyalty, and Gardiner was foremost in urging the necessity of adopting severer measures against them. The execution of Lady Jane Gray, and the arrest of the princess Elizabeth, followed the suppression of the revolt, and betokened, especially the former, the sanguinary counsels which prevailed. A visitation of the clergy was also appointed, and vast numbers were ejected, some on the ground of their marriage, and others for their known attachment to the protestant doctrines. Burnet calculates the number of the ejected clergy to have been somewhat below three thousand, but Lingard contends that it did not exceed fifteen hundred. The way having been thus prepared, Cardinal Pole arrived in England in November 1554, on a special embassy from the Pope, to reconcile the nation to the papal see; immediately after which a bill was passed through both houses, for reviving the statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., against heretics. The work of persecution now proceeded with murderous rapidity, and the common sense and

humanity of the nation were outraged by the spectacles daily exhibited. Miss Strickland, who takes on every point, the ultra-favourable view of Mary's character, attributes the whole blame of this persecution to the violence of her counsellors, and the sanguinary temper of Philip. To a considerable extent we concur with her in the line of her argumentation, though compelled to stop short of the conclusion at which she arrives. Mary was not naturally cruel, and would probably have been contented, had her inclination alone been followed, with less sanguinary measures. Yet it is impossible to free her from the charge of readily yielding to the violent counsels of her advisers. Her creed was intolerant, and her bigotry had been fomented by the scenes through which she had passed. So early as November 1554, she returned the following answer to a communication from her council, who had addressed her on the subject of inflicting the extreme penalty of the law on heretics. 'We think it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean time to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none to be burnt without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time."* In May of the following year, even Bonner was reprimanded in the name of the king and queen for want of diligence in enforcing the persecuting statutes. 'The delay of its commencement,' remarks Sir James Mackintosh, when referring to this persecution, 'is imputable to no cause but the impossibility of adopting it, till the formalities of the national reconciliation with Rome were completed.'†

The persecution continued with unabated severity to the close of Mary's life in 1558, and the whole number burnt during that period, is stated by Strype, whose calculation differs very slightly from that of Fox and Burnet, to have been two hundred and eighty-eight. Lord Burleigh, who had the best means of informing himself accurately on this subject, states the number who died during this reign by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, to be near four hundred. Dr. Lingard, indeed, whose able volumes are disgraced by a blind spirit of partizanship, endeavours to reduce the number of the sufferers, and thus to lessen our abhorrence of the spirit which actuated the policy of his church. His reasoning, however, is wholly unsatisfactory, and has availed but little for the party on whose behalf it is urged. The main instruments of the persecution

* Lingard, vol. vii., p. 260. † History of England, vol. ii., p. 329.

were Gardiner and Bonner, whose proceedings betokened the mixture of personal animosity with religious rancour. They had both suffered deprivation and imprisonment during the reign of Edward, and now evinced the bitterness of revenge, as well as the ferocious and blood thirsty propensities of the bigot. The former was an able but unscrupulous courtier; the latter, 'whom all generations,' says Fuller, 'shall call bloody,' was of a nature so detestable as to have found his happiness in inflicting upon others the bitterest pangs of which their nature was susceptible. Their measures recoiled upon themselves, and rendered utterly hopeless the permanent triumph of their church. 'It was an unusual and ungrateful thing,' says Burnet, 'to the English nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen, burning in one fire, and the sparing neither sex nor age, nor blind nor lame, but making havoc of all equally; but above all, the barbarity of Guernsey raised that horror in the whole nation, that there seems, ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that religion to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does, upon every new provocation, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms.'

Of the personal character of the queen it is not necessary that we should say anything; and of her foreign policy it is sufficient to remark, that it was as short-sighted and inglorious as her ecclesiastical administration was sanguinary. Some few points, however, of her administration are entitled to praise, in justice to which we transfer the following extract to our pages:—

'Although every generous feeling is naturally roused against the horrid cruelties perpetrated in her name, yet it is unjust and ungrateful to mention her maiden reign with unqualified abhorrence; for if the tyrannical laws instituted by her father had remained a few years more in force, the representative government of England would gradually have withered under the terrors of imprisonments and executions without impartial trial, and regal despotism would have been as successfully established here as it was in France and Spain by the descendants of Henry VIII.'s associates, Francis I. and Charles V. This change arose from the queen's own ideas of rectitude; for the majority of her councillors, judges, and aristocracy, had as strong a tendency to corrupt and slavish principles as the worst enemy to national freedom could wish.

'Many wholesome laws were made or revived by her; among others, justices of the peace were enjoined to take the examination of felons in writing, at the same time binding witnesses over to prosecute; without these regulations, a moment's reflection will shew, that much malignant accusation might take place in a justice room, unless witnesses were bound to prove their words. All landholders and householders were made proportionably chargeable to the repair of roads. The gaols were

in a respectable state: since Fox allows, that the persons imprisoned for conscience sake were treated humanely in the prisons under royal authority, while the persecuting bishops made noisome confinement part of the tortures of the unhappy protestants.

'Queen Mary is commended for the merciful provision she made for the poor; there is, however, no trace of poor-rates, levied from the community at large, like those established by her sister Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. But that the poor were relieved by Mary is evident, by the entire cessation of those insurrections, on account of utter destitution, which took place in her father's and brother's reigns, and now and then under the sway of Elizabeth. This is more singular, since corn was at famine price throughout the chief part of Mary's reign, owing to a series of inclement years and wet harvests. It seems likely that part of the church lands she restored, were devoted to the relief of the destitute, since very few monasteries were re-founded. In her reign was altered that mysterious law, called benefit of clergy. It had originated in the earliest dawn of civilization, when the church snatched from the tyranny of barbarous and ignorant chiefs all prisoners or victims who could read, and claiming them as her own, asserted the privilege of bringing them to trial. Thus were the learned judged by the learned, and the ignorant left to the mercies of those savage as themselves. The law tended wonderfully to the encouragement of learning, in times when not one out of two thousand laymen knew a letter in the book. Since the comparative cessation from civil war, after the accession of Queen Mary's grandfather, general knowledge had surged forward in such mighty waves, that the law of benefit of clergy, with many others of high utility, five centuries before, were left without an object, their actual purposes having ebbed away in the transitions of the times. The law of sanctuary was one of these. Mary wished, when she re-founded the monastery of Westminster, for the privileges of its sanctuary to be abolished; but sergeant Plowden made a stand for them, on legal grounds.'—pp. 421—423.

It is common with Catholic writers to urge, in extenuation of the enormities of Mary's reign, that she lived 'in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine, was inculcated as a duty no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted the papal authority.'* There is some force in this plea, yet not to the extent that the catholic advocate alleges. The clergy of Edward VI. had deeply criminated themselves by urging forward the burning of Joan Bocher and Van Paré, and it is folly to attempt to extenuate their guilt. Their creed was as intolerant as that of their papal opponents, but their hearts were too humane, their spirit partook too much of the temper of the gospel, to permit them to exult in legal butcheries as did their successors. 'Truth and justice,' remarks one of the most candid of our historians, 'require it to be positively pronounced that

* Lingard, vol. viii., p. 207.

Gardiner and Bonner cannot plead the example of Cranmer and Latimer, for the bloody persecution which involved in its course the destruction of the protestant prelates. The anti-trinitarian, and the ana-baptist, if they had regained power, might indeed have urged such a mitigation, but the Roman-catholic had not even the odious excuse of retaliation.'* It is in vain to attempt the vindication of Cranmer and his brethren. Their conduct was clearly indefensible, and ought to be condemned. They knew as little about religious liberty as their opponents, but their hearts were better than their creed, and hence it was that they shrunk from what Gardiner and Bonner exulted in. It is injustice to the living to bepraise the dead for virtues which they did not possess; and we shall act a better part, one in stricter keeping with the truth of history, if we admit the faults of both, and learn from the mischiefs which flowed from their errors, the folly and the crime of permitting fallible men to enforce their dogmas by the pains and penalties of this world.

Art. VI. *The Reconciler: An Attempt to Exhibit in a somewhat New Light, the Harmony and Glory of the Divine Government, and of the Divine Sovereignty.* By a Quadragenarian in the Ministry. 8vo. London: Jackson and Walford.

THE law which regulates the fluctuations and oscillations of human minds, in the reception or rejection of systems and theories, or in the predilection which one age shows for speculation and another for action, is as curious, perhaps we might say as mysterious and inexplicable, as any that is disclosed in the history of nations and ages.

None can deny the fact, that systems of human opinions wax and wane; nor that this is as apparent in reference to theories of religious sentiment, as in those which pertain to purely human science. The doctrines, for instance, of the Millennarians have almost regularly appeard eand disappeared in Christendom once or twice in every century since the apostolic age. The theological systems known by the names of Calvinism and Arminianism, as well before as since the times of the two authors whose names have bequeathed a cognomen to their respective theories, have witnessed, in nearly all the christianized nations, alternate eras of triumph and decadence. That system of ecclesiastical usurpation and high-churchmanship, known by the name of Popery, once universally dominant, was supposed to have received its death blow at the Reformation. But the wound of the beast has been

* Mackintosh, vol. iii., p. 319.

healed, at least in part and for a season. Its vigour has for some time been returning. A large body of the recreant sons of the reformation have already, in heart, made their peace with the apostasy, and seem only awaiting a more favourable conjuncture of affairs, to harmonize their interests with their convictions. Although we may hope that this can only prove a temporary resuscitation—a mere prelude, intended by Providence to give impression and effect to that final overthrow which is obviously foreshown in prophetic vision—yet it is a signally instructive memento of the vicissitudes of religious opinion. Fifty years ago popery seemed rapidly declining, and had become the least likely of all systems to regain a complete and extensive ascendancy over the minds of men. Through nearly the whole of this period the speedy downfall and disappearance of the system might have been confidently augured. The portents thickened around its head, while destruction, like the earthquake, passed under its feet and muttered from beneath. But in the midst of a blazing era of biblical light, when the British and Foreign Bible Society had been pouring forth in every direction the beams of celestial radiance, who could have expected so sudden, so extensive a revulsion of opinion? Who could have anticipated that so dark and threatening a cloud would arise and spread over that very land which had been as the morning to all the other nations of the earth? In a similar manner we have seen, in the course of the seventeenth century, first a period of cold and heartless speculation in religion following an age of libertinism, and succeeded by one of dry and fruitless formality. Then burst forth the happy revival, under Whitefield and Wesley, from that very university which is now, at scarce the distance of a century, producing anti-reformers in an abundance and efficiency beyond all former precedent.

The evangelical reformation under the Methodists, Calvinistic and Arminian, proceeded with difficulty; the laughing world and the sanctimonious church were both opposed to it. Yet it effected glorious and blessed changes both in the religion and morality of the nation. Its career was in some measure impeded by the opposition of the higher classes and the influence of the bishops. But it was too strong to be put down by authority, or materially retarded by either reasoning or ridicule. Yet even this season of apostolic zeal and activity was followed by one of sharp controversy upon the Arminian and Calvinistic theories, which, in some measure repressed or diverted its energies, until that controversy, having exhausted itself, or being subdued by the glowing and ardent spirit of evangelical zeal, was again succeeded by a still more remarkable and general awakening of all the orthodox Christian bodies to the generous work of spreading

the knowledge of the gospel to those heathen nations which had hitherto engaged but little attention or pity in the protestant church.

This era has now been advancing for more than forty years, and the rising symptoms and prognostications of the church are at present evidently changing. Different Christian communities are assuming a more warlike character than may seem favourable to the prosecution of those noble plans which embrace the conversion of the world and the advent of the Millennium. The convulsed and transitive state of the presbyterian establishment of Scotland, the rise and prevalence in it of a more spiritual and efficient theology, as well as its struggles for ecclesiastical independence, augur an important and extensive change. The fearful decline of the church of England towards the vortex of all corruptions, is another symptom of a momentous revolution of opinion. Both these unexpected and astounding facts, illustrating generally the variations of human systems of opinion, and particularly the mischiefs of religious establishments, and their needless encumbrance and annoyance to the civil state and its ministers, ought to convince thoughtful men of all parties, of the absurdity of connecting the state with any church, and of the extensive mischiefs which invariably befal Christianity itself in all such connexions. Its injury is the natural and necessary result; its advantage and success are only accidents that may possibly, in a very partial and limited manner, accompany such an alliance.

But one other important lesson is to be derived from the present condition of our two national churches—pointing as these now do in opposite directions—the one to more liberty, the other to less—the one to evangelical piety, and the other to formalism and superstition. They serve, in some respects, to neutralize each other; but above all, they illustrate, by contrast, the beauty, peacefulness, and energy of pure and simple Christianity, left to work out its own ends by its own authenticated means, unsupplemented by human laws and civil power. If men were now at length wise, surely they might learn to attach less importance to human legislation in the affairs of Christ's kingdom, seeing that both established churches are convulsed and weakened by fierce controversies, almost to ecclesiastical revolution, from their centre to their circumference. Every zealous Christian who pants to behold and to accelerate the conversion of the world, might fairly learn from these events to attach far higher importance than ever to those spiritual and evangelical energies, which, being happily unshackled by state-alliances, and girt with the purely apostolic panoply, stand forth in the might and majesty of the simple truth of God, ready to accomplish the high behest of their

divine and almighty Sovereign, in conveying the gospel to the world.

But we must recall our thoughts from the general and boundless subject of the mental and religious vicissitudes of nations and masses of men, to a limited section—that which relates to the Calvinistic and Arminian systems.

And here we may be permitted to observe that, with but very partial exceptions, of an occasional explosion, a skirmish here, or a sally there, the world has latterly seen comparatively little fighting between these two great sections of the Christian body. What there has been, we are gratified to observe, wears a character on both sides of a vastly improved description. But the age of missionary and biblical enterprise has monopolized the zeal and talent of the respective parties, and brought with it an indisposition for controversy and speculation. We are all, or nearly all, practical men, and have little time and less inclination for refined or erudite, or metaphysical argumentation. Action is the character of the age we live in, and everything now is valued by its results. The inquiry of the church, as well as the world, is after the *useful* rather than the *exact*. Such is the feeling, if not the language, of the men who are leading Israel's hosts. The battle has been long turned, not indeed by very harmonious or combined efforts, but at least by simultaneous ones, from all the tribes against the powers of darkness. We have sympathized heartily in the general and generous movement, and could have been well content that it should proceed without diversion or division. But it is evident either that interruption in the great work is about to take place, or that some sharp and important controversies must proceed at the same time with it; probably these are required to prepare the way for ushering in that blessed era of the world's renovation, which all are anticipating, though with very different views and feelings, and in connexion with theories that stand at the antipodes to each other.

It is evident that some old controversies must be extensively renewed, and some new ones commenced. The conflict with the avowed and the concealed spirit of popery is daily becoming more determined, more serious, and more extensive. The leaven of Rome is proceeding not only unchecked by the authorities of the English church, but emboldened by the timid and partial rebukes that have been administered. There has been no combined or authoritative check given to it. It has now 'leavened' *nearly* 'the whole lump.' Sound protestants will soon have to make common cause against a foe that never moves but with the terrible force of a giant, and never has made, and never will make scruple of any measures to effect his object.

The establishment controversy, with the popish and semi-

popish, must proceed; and it is not improbable that other controversies of a less momentous character will be revived in the coming times, and be conducted by the smaller bands and parties of the religious community. If these are unavoidable, all we can desire and recommend is, that they be conducted in a spirit of candour and fairness; with the consciousness, notwithstanding the character of opponents, which the respective parties feel themselves constrained to assume, that, nevertheless, *they are brethren.*

We cannot affect any displacency at such calm and dignified publications as have tended latterly to recall attention to the doctrines of Calvinism, modified and explained, harmonized and guarded, as it has been by modern divines of different protestant denominations. Our suspicion is that, among the rising ministry there has been felt, or there is commencing, a distaste for the divinity of Howe, Leighton, and Doddridge, and that a tinge of Arminian sentiment is becoming visible, not so much in any open attacks upon the characteristic doctrines of our churches, as in a partial exclusion of them, and substitution of others which are valued for the sake of their supposed greater practical efficiency. It is not for us to insinuate doubts or charges, neither would we whisper a word of alarm; yet with our eyes and our ears open to what is passing in the church as well as in the world, we should not be faithful to our office, as in some sense conservators of religious truth, and pledged to those views of it held sacred by the evangelical dissenting bodies, if we did not candidly say that there is quite room now for a careful revision of the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy. Rationalism from Germany has assuredly made us very little wiser, and certainly none the better; while *practicalism*, (so to call it for want of a better term) from America, has induced some men to decline from the humbling doctrines of Scripture towards theories, which, according to our view, are neither consistent with themselves, nor with that supreme standard to which they ought to be accurately conformed.

It will do the church of Christ, at the present moment, no injury to have its attention directed to some of these theories of doctrine, and to try them again by the unerring test. It is quite true, and we subscribe to it cheerfully, that practical and experimental religion constitute the use and end, and entire value of all religion; and that, apart from these, speculation and theory are worthless. Yet at the same time, the principles or truths of religion stand in the same relation to practice and experience that the root or stock of a tree bears to its foliage and fruit. These may cover and in part conceal the rough trunk and stem, but it is that trunk or stem which bears and ministers life to that foliage and fruit. The efficiency of the Christian ministry is not

to be sustained without clear and comprehensive views of divine truth. Nothing but the sentiments of God's own word, impressed upon the human mind, can ever produce a healthful piety, or build up the church upon the rock that never can be moved. Let the skin and the flesh cover the unsightly bones, but let it not be forgotten that those bones give support and strength to the whole body.

Such writers as Fuller, Wardlaw, Russell, and Payne, have done eminent service by their clear and scriptural expositions of doctrine. It is, however, undeniable, that they, as well as all their predecessors, have left many deep theological problems unsolved. The Bible has left them so, at least as far as human exposition can determine; for though age after age has grappled with them, they remain much as they were in the days of Augustine and Pelagius. We are quite willing calmly to hear and candidly to weigh whatever can be advanced towards their elucidation. But we cannot say that we are much more hopeful of their complete solution than of the discovery of the philosopher's stone or the perpetual motion; both of which, if the trumpet of fame did but always speak truth, or did not frequently contradict itself, have been discovered more than once.

The learned and very able controversy which was carried on some five and thirty years ago, principally by several of the tutors of the dissenting colleges, and which commenced with Dr. Edward Williams, of Rotherham, seems to have produced a general and almost settled conviction, that we must just take up the moral government of God and the condition of human nature where they are taken up, and as they are taken up, in the Scriptures. We may, if we are so disposed, indulge in excursive reasonings, and disport our intellect and our imagination in subtle, or, as we may deem them, sublime and useful speculations. But we believe we express the opinion of the most candid and capable judges when we say, that faint indeed is the light that has been struck out by the labours of metaphysical divines and philosophers; and that no addition to our stock of important truth, appreciable at least by common minds, has been made by all the theories which have been broached with a view to explain the origin of evil, or to reconcile it with moral government, beyond the plain statement of facts contained in the holy Scriptures. There are various questions of this nature to which it seems no satisfactory answer can be given in the present state of human knowledge. Perhaps they are placed in that region of darkness which everywhere surrounds and presses upon the little sphere of human intellect, both as a punishment for primeval apostasy, and as a perpetual check to the pride of human reason. They serve at least to remind the most prying and adventurous

minds, that there are some thoughts and some proceedings of the Almighty that refuse to disclose their reasons at our bidding, and decline to offer their defence before our judgment seat. Of such the exposition may very reasonably be deferred until the Day shall declare it, upon the credit of that maxim, 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?'

The devout and modest investigation, however, of all that is revealed, belongs to us and to our children. Yet it behoves us to remember, that the legitimate sphere of moral and religious truth, within which our understandings may be profitably engaged, seems to be limited to the Bible: and with that all minds that know themselves, and wish devoutly and humbly to know their God, will be content. But in saying this we distinctly intend to admit the legitimacy of all modest efforts to harmonize the ascertained truths of revelation with human reason; as well as of all questions directed to the ascertainment of the truths themselves, which are ostensibly conveyed to us by revelation. Inspiration itself presupposes the exercise of such reason, although at the same time it alleges the perversion of the mind and heart through the influence of inordinate affection, and brings supreme authority to control and regulate reason, by restoring to it its proper dominion in the soul. *Right* reason, therefore, can be guilty of no hostility against the *dicta* of revelation. The eye might as well quarrel with the light. Reason must itself become the avenue through which the light of divine truth essays to pass, in order to fill and irradiate the mind. The province of reason, therefore, is, in reference to this subject, certainly not to set up its own standard and explain revelation by what is conceived to be reasonable, excepting so far as to predetermine that nothing directly and strictly contrary to reason can be a dictate of revelation; but to employ its utmost vigour in ascertaining, according to the most fair and candid exegesis, the sense of the inspired documents, and to afford such assistance in evincing the harmony of revelation with itself, and with the admitted principles of human nature, as may lie within the compass and reach of finite faculties. It may be wisely and graciously ordained, that some truths of revelation shall not lie upon the surface, or that their supports and connecting links and joints shall be hidden from superficial attention; just as the laws and many of the more important phenomena of the physical universe are concealed under a surface of external beauty and order, to awaken curiosity, to reward inquiry, and to delight the modest and diligent student of nature. Something is thus left for every age to do; something for every mind to work out for itself, whereby a charm and an attraction will be perpetually attached to the study of revealed religion, which it could not have exerted, had the whole

theory of moral and religious truth appeared before us stereotyped from the first, and bequeathed from generation to generation, with nothing for the intellect to do but acquiesce directly in statements as clear and definite as those conveyed by numbers, or exhibited in geometrical demonstrations. If the possibility, therefore, of entertaining different views of particular statements, and of the bearing of one statement upon another, in the harmony of the entire scheme of revelation with itself and with human reason, is attended with the inconvenience of perpetual controversy, it yet amply counterbalances and repays the inconvenience by the excitement—the salutary and noble excitement—which it affords to human intellect; the test it supplies of the devout affections; and the constant pleasure it ministers to the mind in the pursuits of sacred science, and gradual discovery of the benevolent counsels of the Deity. It is, no doubt, in one view to be deplored, that any pious and upright mind should feel constrained to take opposite views of divine truth from another mind equally pious and conscientious; but we have never been able to conceive how this should be avoided, under the present disordered state of human nature, without destroying our mental idiosyncrasy, reducing all intellects to one standard, and presenting divine truth to them in one invariable shape or determinate quantity. In such a case, the human mind would stagnate, would cease to be conscious of progression, and would discover nothing to gratify its curiosity or awaken its energies.

Supposing this to have been the case with religion alone, and every other department of thought to have been left open to inquiry and advancement, religion would have become the least interesting, the most distasteful of our mental occupations—if, indeed, it could at all have deserved the name of a mental occupation. Happily, it is far otherwise, and every thoughtful person must assent to the proposition that, all things considered, it is better and wiser that we should suffer the inconveniences of religious controversy, than that it should have been prevented at such a cost as we have supposed.

The amiable and venerable author of the work before us has thought it desirable at the present time to publish a defence of moderate Calvinism, and, in particular, to show that this is in the main the system taught by God in the Holy Scriptures. The general character of the work is that of a strictly scriptural argument. He enters little into the philosophy of the system; nor does he much concern himself with the harmony which it would be desirable to illustrate between human ideas of moral government and the doctrines of revealed religion. His chief effort throughout is to bring forward and array, in the most clear and forcible manner, the testimony of revelation. His own theory

appears to be what is generally denominated, modern Calvinism, symbolizing in the main with the late Andrew Fuller and other divines of his class.

We have felt much pleasure in the perusal of the work, though we have not in all points felt satisfied with the issue of several arguments. It is not that we demur to the use the author has made of sacred scripture, for in the general, his quotations are forcible, satisfactory, and well selected; but we could have wished him to have done more in rebutting objections and removing difficulties. His design, however, appears to have restricted his investigation to the sense of Scripture, regardless of the points in which that might prove offensive to reason.

It cannot be expected that we should follow the author through the different stages of his argument. It will be sufficient that we express general approbation, especially as there is comparatively little with which any candid student of Scripture can quarrel. The great excellence of the book, next to its adherence to divine authority, is the amiable spirit in which the whole is written. Different readers may dissent from some statements, but the most determined enemy of the *Reconciler's* system will find nothing offensive in his manner of defending his own opinions, nor in the temper and spirit with which opposing sentiments are treated. If Calvinism, as here represented, cannot in all points be made harmonious with those views which reason suggests, it possesses at least the important recommendation, that it is incomparably more consonant with the testimony of Scripture than the contrary system of Arminianism.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers the plan of the work. After a general introduction, the author treats in preliminary dissertations—the universal and particular aspect of the gospel—the human will—the divine will—human agency and divine agency—the connexion between the universal and particular aspect of the gospel, with answers to objections—the advantages of the scheme—the nature of probationary government. We then arrive at Part I., which proposes to treat 'on the equitable and beneficent, but probationary government of God:' or 'a view of the divine government as designed for a testimony between God and man, and therefore necessarily probationary and conditional in its administration. A view of the basis and bearings of the plan here exhibited.' This part of the work is divided into seven chapters, in the following order:—On God's character and government—On man as a subject—On the probationary government designed for a testimony under its different successive administrations—Man's conduct a provocation of God's anger and condemnable—The inexcusableness of man, whether a heathen, Jew, or Christian—A guard set against evasions by a

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to prefigure him, and priests appointed to intercede for me; and a distinction is made between clean and unclean animals, to instruct me in morals: and I am, moreover, taught by a most expressive event, even that of the translation of Enoch, that there is another and a better world, and, together with it, that there will be a final day of judgment, when 'the Lord will come with ten thousand of his saints' to judge the world. Moreover, the Spirit of God, by the word of the prophets, in connexion with his power upon my conscience and my thoughts, strives with me. Thus a fallen world was favoured.

'I will next suppose myself a *post-diluvian*, or one living from the time of the flood to that of Moses. And here I find things remaining as before, nothing withdrawn but the additional lesson of the flood, which, together with the disorders occasioned on the earth's surface, furnish me with a constant demonstration of God's abhorrence of sin, and his righteous vengeance on sinners. I find Noah's burnt offering, and the still continued practice of sacrificing proves to me a permanent memorial of the original promise, and the division of time into weeks, at the end of which, the Sabbath of the Lord, I find so observed as to maintain the true religion in the world. Hence, proceeding on to the time of Abraham, I see a Melchisedec, priest of the most high God: and soon afterwards, a Lot, offering up sacrifices, as also his friends living in his days. I see the rite of purification for sin at the sight of the 'Leviathan,' or in times of alarm and danger, at occurring events. There are those that 'go by the way' for instructing, and 'the commandment of God's mouth,' and 'the law of God's mouth' to be regarded. I hear Job speaking of a Redeemer living, and his resurrection—of 'day and night coming to an end'—of the 'day of wrath'—of the resurrection of the dead, and of the annihilation of the heavens. These, then, are the means of religion that I have, even irrespective of those granted to the visible church in Abraham and his family and posterity. And, surely then, I cannot say that God had abandoned the world at this period, however they might abandon him. Nor is that all. Where have we a more striking illustration of the doctrine of mediation, than that we have in the first and last chapters of the book of Job?

'Thus, then, we find that from the flood to the time of Moses, a period of eight or nine hundred years, the world was not destitute of means of information as to gospel truths; and from the time of Moses until Christ, they had their sacrifices, altars, priests, purifications, &c. Indeed, nothing was withdrawn from them; but they neglected and perverted what had been given to them. And although, after the lapse of 2500 years, an inclosure was made, called by the apostles a 'middle wall of partition,' yet that was not an inclosure of EXCLUSION, so much as an inclosure of *preservation*. For why did God make that inclosure? In other words, why did he establish a visible church in the posterity of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob? Not that the true religion might be *limited*, but that it might not be wholly *lost* in the world. Hence, the door was open for proselytes from any quarter of the world. The

who can say, that such characters might not believe the original promise; and who can say, that it might not produce in them, as with us, a God-fearing life, though they knew not the identical person, or when or where he should come? We admit, also, that the apostle informs us that God 'left all nations to walk in their own ways;' but his saying so, in reference to later times—'times past'—does not prove that he considered him as having thus left them, ever since the fall. It was not so during that period of 1656 years before the flood; for we read of God's 'holy prophets since the world began;' and not only so, but of his Spirit striving with them. Nor was it so during that subsequent period of near one thousand years after the flood to Moses; for not only did the Lord 'smell a sweet savour' in Noah's burnt offering for the world,—not only did he promise not to drown it again, and give a token of mercy in the rainbow, and in the regular succession of seasons for man's good, but God *blessed* Noah and his sons as the new progenitors of the human race, and '*established his covenant*' with Noah and his sons, '*and their seed after them.*' Nor, in any period, or in any respect, did he abandon the world till they abandoned him, nor even then; for though Israel were separated as a *peculiar* people *above* all other nations, yet all the rest were people under his equitable and benevolent government still. It was not until the heathen failed to 'glorify God as God'—'became vain in their imaginations'—'changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things,' that 'God gave them up to uncleanness and vile affections:' it was not until they did not like to retain God in their knowledge that he 'gave them over to a reprobate mind.' It was not, in fact, from any unwillingness in God to bless them, but it was because, as the same apostle intimates, that they were disobedient or impersuadable to God,—first, as to the 'work of the law written by him in their heart;' and secondly, as to the knowledge they had of God from the 'things that are seen;' and thirdly, as to faith in the promised Redeemer, handed down to them by tradition. Then, and as such, they were 'left to walk in their own ways.' We observe, then,—

(1.) As to the *means of information in general,* fallen men and the nations were not wholly abandoned.

So far from it, God made the first overtures after the fall. Our parents fled from him, but he called them; and though he judged them, yet he promised them a Saviour, and clothed them, thus presenting the antidote as soon as the poison was received. For the sake of giving the subject clearness and interest, I will then suppose myself an 'antediluvian,' living during the 1656 years that elapsed before the flood, a period in which, from the longevity of man, tradition would be certain. Thus circumstanced, I have a day of rest sanctified and blessed by my Maker, in which I am led to meditate on him and his works, with places of assembly where I have the 'presence of the Lord.' I have a prophet or prophets, by whose mouth I hear truths and promises concerning the coming Redeemer—sacrifices are offered

Art. VII *Poems, chiefly of early and late years; including 'The Borderers,' a tragedy.* By William Wordsworth. 12mo. pp. 405. London: Moxon.

It would be very superfluous to occupy much space in critical disquisition on the merits of the great poet who has thus, at a very advanced period of life, once more appealed to the judgment of the public. His rank and place are already assigned him by the general voice, and that voice has assuredly given no hasty utterance. Slowly achieving fame, gaining every step of the hard and toilsome ascent in the face of difficulties, which, we must say, were often of his own creating, he has at length been placed, as it were by acclamation, far at the head of all living bards, and at an equal elevation, to say the least, with any of those illustrious contemporaries whom he has survived—Byron, Scott, Coleridge, and Shelley. The danger, in truth, is not lest he should be estimated below his deserts, it is rather the other way; lest the capricious and wayward public, which is often as thoughtless in its praises as in its censure, as boundless in its admiration as unreasonable in its contempt, should convert rational homage into idolatry, and for the sake of the great and, at last, recognised excellences of the poet, not only tolerate, but commend even his infirmities and foibles.

We have said that, in our judgment, Wordsworth's fame was needlessly deferred by difficulties and obstacles which he threw in his own path. We refer to the excess to which he carried, in practice, his own early and strongly conceived theory of poetry. Justly ashamed of the artificial and conventional character of the poetry of the eighteenth century, (equally narrow in its range of subjects, and unnatural in its manner of treating them,) he felt that there were in external nature, and in the world of thought and feeling within, boundless regions of the purest poetry, which during that period had been utterly and unaccountably neglected. He felt, also, that during that long reign of commonplace and conventionality, the poetic diction was as essentially vicious, as the subjects to which it almost exclusively confined itself were vulgar and limited; that the body of poetry was as diseased as its spirit. Its prosaic tameness and insipidity, not less tame and insipid because sometimes tawdrily fine and glittering; its redundant epithets, its formal metres, its sameness of phrase, its artificial vocabulary, its mechanical character altogether, were utterly at variance with that simple, energetic, free and varied manner which true poetry ever demands, and in which true poetry will ever express itself.

While we not only admit but maintain that our poetical literature is under great obligations to Wordsworth for the part he

gospel promise was given first to Adam, then to Noah. It was not taken away, but *secured* in the line of Shem; then again it was secured in the line of Abraham, afterwards of Isaac, and lastly, of Jacob; as if God should say, 'though men reject me, yet will I have a remnant —a church and people in the world.'—p. 143—148.

In closing our observations, we may be permitted to say, that the 'Reconciler' has endeavoured, with the best intentions, and we may add, with the most devout reverence for the authority of revelation, to justify the ways of God with men. He has done perhaps as much as in the present state of human knowledge is to be expected. We cannot say that we have met with anything particularly new, nor have we been quite satisfied with his arrangement and division of his subject. There is a want of clear analysis and order throughout the whole plan, and in a few instances, as we have thought, a misapplication of authorities. The discussion is sometimes needlessly incumbered, and the real points of difficulty, upon the Calvinistic hypothesis, are scarcely admitted as we think they ought to have been, and might have been, without prejudice to the general scheme. The bearing of scriptural authority, or its seeming hostility in some places to the system of our author, is not so fully and fairly met as we should have approved. Yet, upon the whole, the work will be read with advantage by men of all parties, principally for its exhibition of scriptural truth. For if the bearing of that testimony is not in all instances shown to comport with the deductions of natural reason, it is undoubtedly the part of sanctified reason rather to submit to the decisions of divine authority, and wait in faith for more instruction, than, by adhering to the inferences of reason, seem to treat with irreverence, or pervert by sophistry and subtlety, the dictates which cannot err and ought not to be impeached.

There are a few typographical and verbal inaccuracies which we should be glad to hear the author had obtained the opportunity of correcting in another edition. Young ministers and students of the denominations professing moderate Calvinism would probably find the perusal of this volume useful, and to such we cordially recommend it; for if the author cannot be said to treat the subject in a strictly philosophical manner, he yet treats it scripturally, which, with all who assent to that supreme authority as the final appeal, ought to be the chief point in every theological argument. Our ratiocination, when we think it clearest and strongest, may contain lapses, or be deficient in its grounds of induction, but the mind which possesses all the truth can never form, nor lead us to form, any wrong conclusion.

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took in the revolution which has been effected, and the purer and more rational poetic taste which has been diffused amongst us, we think that his merits, in this respect, have been somewhat overrated; at all events, they have been so exclusively asserted as almost to shut out remembrance of earlier bards who had already given the initiative in this great revolution, and who had gone far to reclaim the degenerate poetry of our country to a healthful condition. In the next place, it is not to be forgotten that Wordsworth, by the extent to which he acted on his system, the excess to which he carried its doctrines, the almost exclusive prominence which he gave to certain classes of subjects in his earliest poems, actually impeded for a time the progress of his own opinions, deferred their adoption by the public, and placed an obstacle in the way of his own reputation, which it required a quarter of a century wholly to remove. On both these points we shall offer a few observations.

The conventional and artificial character of the poetry of the latter part of the seventeenth, and nearly the whole of the eighteenth, century is justly described by a recent writer, from whom we shall cite a few detached sentences.

'The spirit of English poetry, with a few bright exceptions, presents a singularly faded and exhausted appearance during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Poetry, indeed, had almost dwindled into a mere mechanical process of versification. If the lines were of a certain specified length, if the rhymes accorded, if the pause of each line rested upon a certain foot, and if each idea was comprised within a couplet, the poem was complete. . . . As might have been expected from such a mechanical state of poetry, a set of conventional phrases was formed, by which the process of verse making was rendered still more easy and unintellectual. Thus, if the poet wished to write a pastoral, the 'snowy fleeces,' the 'verdant lawns,' and 'purling streams,' were all at hand and might be arranged without effort. . . . If he commenced a production of some length, it was necessary, in the first place, to invoke his muse, without which the poem would have looked like a sermon without a text. . . . The figments of the classical mythology, which had no meaning but in the classical ages, were also as sedulously pressed into the service of the poet, as if they were still matters of public faith; and passions were attempted to be excited, and sympathies moved, by continual appeals to Jove, Mars, Apollo, the Fates, and the Furies, Venus, Cupid, and Minerva. A mere noun substantive made a pitiful figure by itself in orthodox verse, and required to be propped by an adjective, and therefore the rhymer was supplied with some epithet for every object in nature; a mead was invariably a 'flowery mead,' the rose must always be 'blushing,' and the

Art. VII. *Poems, chiefly of early and late years; including 'The Borderers,' a tragedy.* By William Wordsworth. 12mo. pp. 405. London: Moxon.

It would be very superfluous to occupy much space in critical disquisition on the merits of the great poet who has thus, at a very advanced period of life, once more appealed to the judgment of the public. His rank and place are already assigned him by the general voice, and that voice has assuredly given no hasty utterance. Slowly achieving fame, gaining every step of the hard and toilsome ascent in the face of difficulties, which, we must say, were often of his own creating, he has at length been placed, as it were by acclamation, far at the head of all living bards, and at an equal elevation, to say the least, with any of those illustrious contemporaries whom he has survived—Byron, Scott, Coleridge, and Shelley. The danger, in truth, is not lest he should be estimated below his deserts, it is rather the other way; lest the capricious and wayward public, which is often as thoughtless in its praises as in its censure, as boundless in its admiration as unreasonable in its contempt, should convert rational homage into idolatry, and for the sake of the great and, at last, recognised excellences of the poet, not only tolerate, but commend even his infirmities and foibles.

We have said that, in our judgment, Wordsworth's fame was needlessly deferred by difficulties and obstacles which he threw in his own path. We refer to the excess to which he carried, in practice, his own early and strongly conceived theory of poetry. Justly ashamed of the artificial and conventional character of the poetry of the eighteenth century, (equally narrow in its range of subjects, and unnatural in its manner of treating them,) he felt that there were in external nature, and in the world of thought and feeling within, boundless regions of the purest poetry, which during that period had been utterly and unaccountably neglected. He felt, also, that during that long reign of commonplace and conventionality, the poetic diction was as essentially vicious, as the subjects to which it almost exclusively confined itself were vulgar and limited; that the body of poetry was as diseased as its spirit. Its prosaic tameness and insipidity, not less tame and insipid because sometimes tawdrily fine and glittering; its redundant epithets, its formal metres, its sameness of phrase, its artificial vocabulary, its mechanical character altogether, were utterly at variance with that simple, energetic, free and varied manner which true poetry ever demands, and in which true poetry will ever express itself.

While we not only admit but maintain that our poetical literature is under great obligations to Wordsworth for the part he

more complete theory, and consistently carried it out, while they wrought in harmony with an unconscious impulse, and in compliance with the spirit inspired by the influential examples of Cowper and Burns. We are not quite sure that these poets were not thus quite as favourably circumstanced as Wordsworth, for one danger of an *hypothesis* is, that of carrying it to excess; one mischief of having a hobby-horse, that we are likely to ride it to death. And this leads us to the second point on which we proposed to offer a remark or two.

Wordsworth, in our judgment, erred in two ways in the application of his theory. He attempted to make some things yield poetry which never can or will yield it; and he employed to excess elements which, in moderation, and mingled with other and higher elements, are admissible enough. He saw clearly that all that is true poetry must be founded in nature; but it by no means follows that all that is natural can be made the element of true poetry. He saw that there were vast departments both of the external and the internal world lying waste, barren, and neglected; but it by no means follows that all the objects they contain, and the scenes they present, can be made available to the poet. There are themes which no genius, however great, can sublime into poetry; which no powers can dignify; which are so hopelessly incrusted over with the leprosy of mean, trivial, or revolting associations, that they cannot be made attractive to the imagination; themes which will inevitably drag down the genius which strives to exalt them to their own level, but cannot be raised to his. Productions, in which figure such characters as Betty Foy, Peter Bell, and Harry Gill, in spite of occasional flashes of genius, will never be regarded as otherwise than egregious failures.

But not only did Wordsworth attempt to dignify some hopelessly mean and trivial themes, but topics such as are rightfully admissible in poetry, when combined with other and more important ones, when transiently and gracefully touched and dismissed again, as in a long poem like the 'Task,' or the 'Excursion,' (and no man knows better how to do this, when he pleases, than Wordsworth,) were, in his resolute adherence to his theory, made almost the staple of his earliest productions, and gave to his 'Lyrical Ballads' (a juvenile and most injudicious production) their whole character. It looked as though he had concluded not only that many things ought to be admitted elements of true poetry which had been conventionally excluded, but as though poetry ought to renounce her rightful and more glorious domains in exclusive favour of them.

Wordsworth has since done amply sufficient to vindicate his genius, and to entitle himself to the place and the fame his

country has awarded to him. For descriptions of external nature, for sagacious and accurate observation of her ever changeful aspects, whether on the vast or the minute scale; for enthusiastic love and veneration of all the varying forms of the sublime or the beautiful; for profound and accurate analysis of thought and feeling; for original and powerful imagery; for purity and chastened elegance of diction; and for a most various mastery of metre, he has certainly not often been rivalled. Not but what even his higher efforts have been disfigured by some gross defects. In our judgment, he is still misled by his early habitudes of thought, into what (with reverence be it spoken) may be almost called childish admiration of what is trivial. He is often in raptures, one cannot tell why; and breaks out into sentimental ecstacies at objects, sights, sounds,—a flower, a weed, an insect,—with which our mere humanity cannot deeply sympathize, and expresses himself in a manner which, to all but a pantheist, must be considered altogether inexplicable. Far be it from us to depreciate that enthusiasm which a deep and honest love of nature must inspire for all the forms of external beauty, but there is still a certain proportion to be maintained in our emotions, according to the intrinsic value or relative importance of the objects; for it is ever the characteristic of a well-ordered intellect to be '*comparatively* little moved with things which have *comparatively* little in them.' At all events, it would assuredly be difficult to parallel from Shakspere or Milton (whose intense love of nature will not be disputed), such paroxysms of sentimental wonder or delight as those in which Wordsworth not seldom indulges. In most cases, such emotion would be pronounced exaggerated and affected.

Another and opposite defect occasionally exhibited by this poet is, in our judgment, the want of that thorough abandonment of himself to his own emotions, which is so singularly characteristic of the highest genius. He is still too often at leisure to turn aside to interpolate a justification of this sentiment or that emotion, or to anticipate a supposed criticism, or to retaliate the scorn and the sneer which he is pleased to suppose some objector may indulge in. It is difficult to suppose either time or inclination for these reflex operations,—these oblique references to the world's opinions, in a mind thoroughly absorbed, intent only on its own creations, and deeming them not only its sufficient occupation, but, whatever others may think of them, its sufficient recompence also.—Yet another defect in Wordsworth, whether resulting from sole companionship with his own thoughts, which may have led to an over-estimate of their value, we know not—is that, to our judgment, he has not been sufficiently scrupulous in selecting his pieces for publication. Not a few

nzas—not a few whole poems might be named, which might be ısed from his works without the slightest diminution of aught t their bulk; many which we see no reason to consider either ›re or less prosaic than those of the humblest versifier.

But perhaps the most singular defect of Wordsworth's mind, d from which his longer poems have most suffered, though could not, and cannot impair the magnificent descriptions, e profound reflections, the glorious imagery with which they e fraught, is his apparently total inability to construct a ›bable, well-arranged, well-connected narrative. His genius, leed, is essentially descriptive and meditative, and neither ic nor dramatic; and we cannot but think it a pity that he s ever attempted anything unfit for it. His machinery is ually of the absurdest and meanest kind; the incidents so v, meagre, and unconnected, that the only regret is, that the ıole is not narrated in the poet's own person, as in the case of the 'ask.' The characters into whose mouths he puts his poetry, e often either devoid of individuality, or have an individuality as note as possible from that of the class to which they professedly long. To take the Excursion, for example; who can fail to ›nder that the most beautiful poetry, and even the most subtle etaphysics, should be represented as flowing from the lips of a 'edlar'?

The little tale entitled 'Guilt and Sorrow,' in the present ume (though containing many beautiful stanzas), is not, in judgment, any exception to these remarks. It appears to e been, however, a very early production; at least, a very ıiderable portion appeared as far back as 1798.

is certainly no discredit to any poet (eminent in any one ince of that wide art) that he is not very successful in npting an intertexture of well-conceived incidents, or well-loped characters; it is only a pity that he should attempt it nature consents not. The dramatic genius is distinguished uliarities almost as strong as those which separate the poet ral from other men. Now Wordsworth's genius, we take already said descriptive and meditative, not dramatic. resent volume, however, he has given us a tragedy, so early as the years 1795-6. We do not think that tifies the belief that its author would ever succeed in nent of poetical composition, or falsifies the expecta- would be formed of his powers in this respect from empts at narrative. It is of course impossible that a that of Mr. Wordsworth, could write an hundred and without giving us some beautiful lines, but as a tragedy will never rank high. It is entitled the 'Borderers,' to the reign of Henry III.; but the characters and

the sentiments are as little like what may be conceived to belong to that period as to almost any other; the dialogue is, as might be expected, very sufficiently calm and unimpassioned; the plot meagre and unexciting. In a word, we think the author's reputation is best consulted by forgetting that he has published it.

As for the rest of this volume, it exhibits all the writer's characteristic excellences and defects; of the latter, we shall not curiously search for specimens, but devote our little remaining space to the more welcome object of exhibiting some instances of the former. The following address to the 'Clouds' is really a magnificent production, and deserves to rank with some of our poet's highest efforts. It vies with the well known chorus in the 'Nubes' of the versatile Aristophanes:—

ADDRESS TO THE CLOUDS.

'Army of Clouds! ye winged Host in troops
Ascending from behind the motionless brow
Of that tall rock, as from a hidden world,
O! whither with such eagerness of speed?
What seek ye, or what shun ye? Of the gale
Companions, fear ye to be left behind,
Or racing o'er your blue ethereal field
Contend ye with each other? Of the sea
Children, thus post ye over vale and height
To sink upon your mother's lap—and rest?
Or were ye rightlier hailed, when first mine eyes
Beheld in your impetuous march the likeness
Of a wide army pressing on to meet
Or overtake some unknown enemy?—
But your smooth motions suit a peaceful aim;
And Fancy, not less aptly pleased, compares
Your squadrons to an endless flight of birds
Aerial, upon due migration bound
To milder climes; or rather do ye urge
In caravan your hasty pilgrimage,
To pause at last on more aspiring heights
Than these, and utter your devotion there
With thunderous voice? Or are ye jubilant,
And would ye, tracking your proud lord the Sun,
Be present at his setting; or the pomp
Of Persian mornings would ye fill, and stand
Poising your splendours high above the heads
Of worshippers kneeling to their uprisen God?
Whence, whence, ye clouds! this eagerness of speed?
Speak, silent creatures. They are gone, are fled,
Buried together in yon gloomy mass
That loads the middle heaven; and clear and bright
And vacant doth the region which they throng'd

Appear; a calm descent of sky conducting
Down to the unapproachable abyss,
Down to that hidden gulf from which they rose
To vanish—fleet as days and months and years,
Fleet as the generations of mankind,
Power, glory, empire, as the world itself,
The lingering world when time hath ceased to be.
But the winds roar, shaking the rooted trees,
And see! a bright precursor to a train
Perchance as numerous, overpeers the rock
That sullenly refuses to partake
Of the wild impulse. From a fount of life
Invisible, the long procession moves
Luminous or gloomy, welcome to the vale
Which they are entering, welcome to mine eye
That sees them, to my soul that owns in them,
And in the bosom of the firmament
O'er which they move, wherein they are contained,
A type of her capacious self and all
Her restless progeny.

An humble walk
Here is my body doomed to tread, this path,
A little hoary line and faintly traced,
Work shall we call it of the shepherd's foot
Or of his flock?—Joint vestige of them both.
I pace it unrepining, for my thoughts
Admit no bondage, and my words have wings.
Where is the Orphean lyre, or Druid harp,
To accompany the verse? The mountain blast
Shall be our *hand* of music; he shall sweep
The rocks, and quivering trees, and billowy lake,
And search the fibres of the caves, and they
Shall answer, for our song is of the clouds,
And the wind loves them; and the gentle gales—
Which by their aid re-clothe the naked lawn
With annual verdure, and revive the woods,
And moisten the parched lips of thirsty flowers—
Love them; and every idle breeze of air
Bends to the favourite burthen. Moon and stars
Keep their most solemn vigils when the clouds
Watch also, shifting peaceably their place
Like bands of ministering spirits, or when they lie,
As if some Protean art the change had wrought,
In listless quiet o'er the ethereal deep
Scattered, a Cyclades of various shapes
And all degrees of beauty. O ye Lightnings!
Ye are their perilous offspring; and the Sun—
Source inexhaustible of life and joy,
And type of man's far darting reason, therefore

In old time worshipped as the God of verse,
A blazing intellectual deity—
Loves his own glory in their looks, and showers
Upon that unsubstantial brotherhood
Visions with all but beatific light
Enriched—too transient were they not renewed
From age to age, and did not while we gaze
In silent rapture, credulous desire
Nourish the hope that memory lacks not power
To keep the treasure unimpaired. Vain thought!
Yet why repine, created as we are
For joy and rest, albeit to find them only
Lodged in the bosom of eternal things?

The following lines, composed at 'Vallombrosa,' are also eminently beautiful, and not unworthy of the great bard whose genius it celebrates, and to whom, as the 'genius loci,' our poet seems to owe his inspiration:—

AT VALLOMBROSA.

'Vallombrosa—I longed in thy shadiest wood
To slumber, reclined on the moss-covered floor!'
Fond wish that was granted at last, and the flood,
That lulled me asleep, bids me listen once more.
Its murmur how soft! as it falls down the steep,
Near that cell—yon sequestered retreat high in air—
Where our Milton was wont lonely vigils to keep,
For converse with God, sought through study and prayer.

The monks still repeat the tradition with pride,
And its truth who shall doubt? for his spirit is here;
In the cloud piercing rocks doth her grandeur abide,
In the pines pointing heavenward her beauty austere;
In the flower-besprent meadows his genius we trace,
Turned to humbler delights in which youth might confide,
That would yield him fit help while prefiguring that place,
Where, if sin had not entered, love never had died.

When with life lengthened out came a desolate time,
And darkness and danger had compassed him round;
With a thought he might flee to these haunts of his prime,
And here once again a kind shelter be found.
And let me believe that when nightly the muse
Would waft him to Sion, the glorified hill,
Here also, on some favoured height they would choose
To wander and drink inspiration at will.

Vallombrosa, of thee I first heard in the page
Of that holiest of bards; and the name for my mind
Had a musical charm, which the winter of age
And the changes it brings had no power to unbind.

And now, ye Miltonian shades! under you
I repose, nor am forced from sweet fancy to part,
While your leaves I behold, and the brooks they will strew,
And the realized vision is clasped to my heart.

Even so, and unblamed, we rejoice as we may,
In forms that must perish, frail objects of sense;
Unblamed—if the soul be intent on the day,
When the Being of beings shall summon her hence.
For he, and he only, with wisdom is blest,
Who gathering true pleasures wherever they grow,
Looks up in all places, for joy or for rest,
To the Fountain whence time and eternity flow.'

Mr. Wordsworth is well known to be one of the greatest masters, if we might not rather say, the greatest master in modern times, of the sonnet. The present volume contains many, some of no more than ordinary merit; others not unworthy of comparison with any he has produced. The following, recording his feelings on visiting the 'favourite seat' of Dante, is very beautiful:—

AT FLORENCE.

'Under the shadow of a stately pile,
The dome of Florence, pensive and alone,
Nor giving heed to aught that passed the while,
I stood and gazed upon a marble stone,
The laurell'd Dante's favourite seat. A throne
In just esteem it rivals; though no style
Be there of decoration to beguile
The mind, depressed by thought of greatness flown.
As a true man who long had served the lyre,
I gazed with earnestness, and dared no more.
But in his breast the mighty poet bore
A patriot's heart, warm with undying fire.
Bold with the thought, in reverence I sate down,
And for a moment filled that empty throne.'

The following contains a striking description of a fact more familiar than thought of; which all can *recognise* when pointed out, but which few have noticed for themselves. The application also is eminently beautiful:—

AT DOVER.

'From the pier's head, musing, and with increase
Of wonder long I watched this sea-side town,
Under the white cliffs' battlemented crown,
Hushed to a depth of more than Sabbath peace:

The streets, the quays, are thronged; but why disown
Their natural voices? whence this strange release
From social noise—silence elsewhere unknown?
A spirit whispered, 'Let all wonder cease;
Ocean's o'erpowering murmurs have set free
Thy sense from pressure of life's common din;
As the dread voice that speaks from out the sea
Of God's eternal word, the voice of time
Deadens the shocks of tumult, shrieks of crime,
The shouts of folly, and the groans of sin.'

We must content ourselves with one more, and it is, in our opinion, extremely beautiful. Its truth and fidelity to nature there are few who cannot feel. The picture of a mind spell-bound by care and anxiety, and buried in fitful musing, suddenly finding the whole train of thought and emotion changed and dissolved by some familiar sight or sound, and all at once attuned, as by that key note, to joy and harmony, is extremely forcible and striking:—

SONNET.

'Hark! 'tis the thrush, undaunted, undeprest,
By twilight premature of cloud and rain;
Nor does that roaring wind deaden his strain,
Who carols thinking of his love and nest,
And seems, as more incited, still more blest.
Thanks; thou hast snapped a fire-side prisoner's chain,
Exulting warbler! eased a fretted brain,
And in a moment charmed my cares to rest.
Yes, I will forth, bold bird, and front the blast,
That we may sing together, if thou wilt,
So loud, so clear, my partner through life's day,
Mute in her nest love-chosen, if not love-built,
Like thine, shall gladden, as in seasons past,
Thrilled by loose snatches of the social lay.'

We would fain prolong our extracts, but space forbids. We can only say, that of the remaining poems, the reader will find many which will not disgrace the writer's previous reputation, and would particularly recommend to his perusal the 'Memorials of a Tour in Italy,' and the spirited modern renderings of certain fragments of 'Chaucer.'

We cannot discharge our consciences without saying one word more. We certainly do not look to the poet for our lessons in theology; yet when we consider how fair and plausible any error appears when recommended by such a teacher, and seen through such a medium as that he presents, we do not think the reader can be too strongly warned against it when so associated.

Not obscurely has Mr. Wordsworth in his earlier works expressed his approbation of some of the most pernicious doctrines (as we deem them) of the school now unhappily dominant in the English church, and similar tendencies are but too visible in many parts of the present volume. Take, for example, the following sonnet. What is its tendency, if not to sanctify the grossest superstition by representing it as flowing from the same principle as enlightened faith, and to invite the conclusion that the darkest ignorance and delusion, if but founded on a religious element, cease to have their proper nature?

AT ALBANO.

Days passed, and Monte Calvo would not clear
His head from mist; and as the wind sobbed through
Albano's dripping Ilex avenue,
My dull forebodings in a peasant's ear
Found casual vent. She said, 'Be of good cheer;
Our yesterday's procession did not sue
In vain; the sky will change to sunny blue,
Thanks to our Lady's grace.' I smiled to hear,
But not in scorn: the matron's faith may lack
The heavenly sanction needed to insure
Its own fulfilment; but her upward track
Stops not at this low point, nor wants the lure
Of flowers the Virgin without fear may own,
For by her Son's blest hand the seed was sown.

Such perverted *sentimentality* as this is not unfrequent in the strains of our poet, and we should not be doing our duty if we did not enter our protest against it.

Art. VIII. *Speech by Lord Viscount Palmerston, on the State of Public Affairs, in the House of Commons on Wednesday the 10th of August*, 1842. London: Ridgway. Second Edition.

We scarcely ever remember seeing the story of the Castle of Otranto so nearly realized as during the late commotions in our manufacturing districts. Horace Walpole, the author of that romance, has imagined a noble and antiquated castle, the scene of revel, oppression, and intrigue; such as now bear sway, upon a national scale, throughout the institutions of our country. But meanwhile, the gigantic phantom of a departed hero grows larger and more powerful, under the very foundations of the building. An enormous helmet falls down from the clouds, in readiness for the colossal warrior, when he shall have burst his cerements. The castellans are every now and then startled out

of their senses, by the apparition, in secret chambers, or under lone staircases, of a mailed hand clenched in anger, of some Titanic limb turning in torment, from the heaving struggles of their owner to escape from such a sepulchre. Yet augury, prodigy, and even earthquake, all prove in vain, until the catastrophe arrives. Then are the ramparts cloven asunder, and the liberated spectre ascends, in all his irresistible and unearthly dimensions, upon piles of melancholy ruin. So may come forth, at no distant day, *sed omen Deus avertat!* that spirit which is now gathering up its might under the very pillars of our prosperity, amidst preparatory throes, afforded without success, to a government that has no eyes! The entire framework of society seems to tremble in vain. Insurrection goes on hollowing out the ground below, whilst princes, courtiers, and nobles, are feasting above, with as much carelessness as the Babylonian banqueters in the palace of Belshazzar. Will no characters of fire convey alarm to ministers, who could arrange a festival for the King of Prussia, where the tables groaned under three waggon-loads of gold plate, and a peacock blazed in the midst with thirty thousand pounds worth of diamonds in its tail, whilst millions of operatives, with their wives and wailing children, had not a morsel of bread to eat? Can no prophet rise from our bench of prelates, so prompt as they are against vulgar delinquencies, to denounce the hard-heartedness and recklessness of our aristocracy and rich men, who have grown fat upon war rentals, and reared the Corinthian columns of the state upon a monopoly of provisions? Upon the transactions of the last year alone an impeachment may be supported against conservatism, such as its followers will never be able to repel, nor history ever suffer to pass away. We wage no war against individuals, in their proper persons, but only against systems, and the intentional obstinacy or wilfulness connected with them. Our legislators have now chosen to disperse to their several pursuits and amusements, as though peril were an idle dream. When on the 21st of last July, Lord Palmerston ventured to propose a re-assemblage of parliament in October, for giving some semblance of relief to the lower classes, by releasing bonded corn, our Home Secretary answered from his seat, 'You know we shall be then pheasant shooting!' an answer, by the way, heartless enough, yet in most perfect keeping with the genius of that political school to which the once radical baronet has recently apostatized. Toryism now in authority, under the full flush of its victorious ascendancy, may shake its finger at us as scornfully as it pleases. We will only reply, with becoming humility and calmness, that its hour must shortly be over; that its race of iniquity is nearly run; that even its wicked game laws, in which it is at present so ruthlessly expatiating, will not

last for ever; that bad government has a mark of doom upon its forehead; that the aggrieved are getting morally, as well as physically, stronger than their aggressors; that, ere long, the arm of public opinion will drag on oligarchy to its bar; and that the vaunted administration of Sir Robert Peel already breaks down under its own weight of failure. We propose, however, reviewing it very briefly, under the threefold character, of its domestic legislation, its foreign policy, and its general conduct.

Now, with regard to the first, there is no point upon which more was promised than in reference to our finances. Posterity will hardly credit the boldness with which honourable and right honourable senators emptied upon the floors of their respective houses, what Latin authors have styled *plaustra mendaciorum*, or in plain homely English, cartloads of lies upon this subject. Even the premier himself, the Coryphæus of conservatism, and so far superior to the *canaille* of his party, stands convicted of no little tergiversation, to give it no severer name, in his financial statements. The *omissio veri*, and the *commissio falsi*, must have sorely harassed him throughout the session. When parading his income tax before his adherents and opponents, he gravely assured both, that onerous as the impost might appear, there was another felicitous measure in store, which would so reduce every commodity in price, that the middle and lower orders might almost consider themselves benefited by the burden. But when the tariff came forward in its turn, with here and there such reductions of duty as would admit foreign pork or live cattle from the continent, Sir Robert Peel assumed another tone, and endeavoured to hush his bawling squirearchy with a thousand assurances that they were crying out before they were hurt; that his recent declarations must be read *cum grano salis*, and understood, as Satan is said sometimes to repeat the Pater Noster; that the Holstein ox might prove a golden calf after all, to the landlords themselves; that the landed interest lay as close to his heart on one side, as manufacturers lay upon the other; whilst, unhappily, the main misfortune to the nation was, that truth and justice got positively smothered between the deceptive adjustment of these two feather beds. However, 'the finances, the state of the finances,' always constituted his clenching argument. His predecessors had left him an empty treasury, and what could he do? There appeared an accumulative and prospective deficiency, upon paper, of ten millions; as to which, Lord Monteagle justly observed, 'It was a mere bubble, about which, however, much might be said in the course of debate.' The fact was slurred over, that, allowing for the transmutation of perpetual into terminable annuities, whereby the nation will gain immensely in the end, *the increased charge of the debt annually is only* 29,000*l. in the*

year 1841, as compared with 1831; even after including the sum of 20,000,000*l.*, and the interest upon it, which Lord Stanley and the West India planters contrived to screw out of the philanthropy of Great Britain as the price for extinguishing slavery. The new terminable annuities alone, the honourable achievement of liberal chancellors of the exchequer, having the sanction of the late Lord Congleton, and the most eminent financiers in the world, cost us per annum, at present, nearly an additional 909,000*l.* sterling. But then a correspondent portion of our debt expires at the end of a certain period; so that in reality it constitutes the least exceptionable form of a sinking fund, which will relieve the country, probably, just when it will most want it. Neither Peel nor Goulburn had the manliness or candour to state this, and allow for it, although the statement was admitted to be undeniable when made. Neither would they mention the vast falling off in our unfunded debt, simply because any comprehensive exposition of the entire case would have broken the frightful 'bubble,' and taken out all the sting of 'the much that might be said about it in the debate!' It can be now demonstrated, that throughout the ten years of liberal administration, five were those in which, from 1832 to 1836, there was a surplus of income over expenditure, amounting collectively to about 7,485,000*l.*, whilst the other years, being those of deficiency, presented an aggregate of deficit considerably under seven millions; so that, after all, the real, genuine, bonâ-fide falling short, was merely for 1841-2. All allowance for a positive annual reduction of taxation, effected by the liberals, to the extent of from five to six millions in the clear, was, of course, omitted by the premier and his satellites; since an avowal of such honest truth would have been far from answering the sinister purpose of toryism. Conservative country gentlemen would, in such case, have laughed on the wrong corner of their mouths, a week or so sooner than was necessary. Sir Robert Peel had climbed into power on the back of fools, and therefore he treated them as such. The lords of acres are remarkably dull at figures, and so he first addressed himself to their prejudices, which process, he felt well aware, would rapidly lengthen their ears, and proportionably diminish their very small amount of understanding. Let any one ask these sulky fellows themselves, as to how lovingly their once idolized leader has of late treated them, and we shall be content to abide by their replies.

The premier, we repeat it, began his parliamentary campaign with mystifying the finances of his country, exaggerating their embarrassment for his own purposes, and making light of the danger incurred by sundry absurd declarations, that he was driven to an income tax, because all other sources of taxation

had become exhausted. Lord Monteagle might well exclaim, 'Let not that sound go forth amongst our foreign enemies!' Two short twelvemonths ago, in 1840, the member for Tamworth, then heading the opposition, openly avowed, that to 'attempt to raise the small sum of 2,500,000*l.* by a property tax, would not be advisable;' yet once fairly seated in power, matters wore a new aspect, and he therefore devoured his leek on this, as well as on former occasions, with as few wry faces as might be. He possesses marvellous faculties for illustrating the *Levius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas.* The speech from the throne, at the commencement of the late session, announced that excess of expenditure over income, which was to pave the way for a subtraction of sevenpence in the pound from all the lieges of her Majesty possessing revenues above a certain slender and specified amount. Now, not only did ministers catch up this affair of deficiency, and magnify it, and prophesy, and dilate upon it, just as the philosopher in the fable did about the fly which had got into his telescope, and which he fancied some monster in the sun, but they forthwith aggravated it by an unnecessary sacrifice of a large portion of the duty on timber. The whig measures would have augmented the revenue by lowering the duties upon three grand articles of life. Sir Robert chiefly wanted to make out a case, and therefore timber furnished him with convenient materials. In this way were we saddled with an impost which may bring large returns to the treasury, but which will scatter throughout the land a crop of heart-burning, discontent, deception, and disunion. What did Lord Ashburton say in 1816, but that 'all the good he could discern in the property tax was, that it was dead; for all the opprobrious epithets heaped upon it seemed hardly to come up to its deserts. He would rather be summoned before a bench of bishops to be questioned on points of doctrine, than appear before the tax commissioners to give an account of his goods and chattels.' We are amongst those who look forward with dismay to the effects likely to be produced by it to our various religious societies; and therefore, through their diminished means of operation, to our fellow-creatures at large, both at home and abroad. Few, but those who have experienced it, can be aware, with how much difficulty, yet with how much cheerfulness, the guinea or half sovereign is surrendered from a till, which declining profits and contracting trade are every day leaving less and less furnished for even the necessaries of domestic life. Hearts may enlarge, and often do so, as mere gold and silver flow towards them in a narrower stream. But in a country like our own, as indeed everywhere else, men must be just before they are generous; and we deem it more than probable, that in numerous instances, our middle classes will be sorely pressed

upon. Aristocratic legislation abhors the voluntary principle, or else it would surely have contrived some plan whereby funds set apart for charitable and religious objects should have escaped, either altogether or partially, the fangs of fiscal exaction.

But to glance for a moment at their commercial measures, let us call to mind upon what pleas they (by whom we mean ministers and their supporters,) appealed to sundry constituencies when parliament was dissolved. The Melbourne administration offered to retain office upon principles of anti-monopoly; and as specimens of their intentions, they proposed the substitution of a fixed duty instead of the sliding scale, as to the corn laws; together with such modifications of the sugar and timber duties as would cheapen both those articles to the consumer, and at the same time render to the revenue an increase of about 1,500,000*l.* per annum. All these ameliorations were opposed with a virulence and outcry greater than when Luther three hundred years ago ventured, as Erasmus quaintly observed, 'to touch the pope on his crown, and the monks on their bellies.' The church hurled her anathemas upon those who would dare to lower the prices of grain, and thereby affect the recent tithe commutation. West Indian planters, who used to account the cause of anti-slavery execrable, now suddenly melted into such warm sympathizers with oppressed negroes, that the venerable Clarkson and Sir Thomas Buxton seemed icicles compared to them. They would, if one might believe them, sooner forfeit their estates than use slave-grown produce, except, indeed, in the shape of Havannah cigars, the cotton that covered their own proper persons, and various other articles, which fashion had sanctioned, as either ornamental or useful to the upper classes. In one word, the bulk of conservatism stood upon the hustings avowedly as friends of restriction, under the name and title of Necessary Protection. As such, by the help of the most atrocious bribery, intimidation, and deception ever known, they achieved a triumph, and reaped a harvest, which the noble orator, whose address we have placed at the head of this article, and which will not soon be forgotten, thus admirably describes:—

'The last session of the late parliament brought matters to a crisis. Those great measures of reform, some of which we were enabled to bring forward, shewed that the time had at length arrived when they must give us battle, and they prepared vigorously for the fight. They fought the battle in this house, and in the country. Their victory was undoubtedly complete; and our defeat, I am ready to acknowledge, amounted almost to a rout. Surely, when we delivered up the seals of office, and power was placed in the hands of the right honourable gentlemen opposite, surely that was a day which secured for many years to come the maintenance of that system to which the party was

attached,—of that system, which they had so long upheld, and which they considered no less essential to the interests of the country than conformable to their own peculiar wants. Great was the triumph, loud was the note of exultation; but alas! how vain is human wisdom, —how short the foresight of even the wisest men! But a few months passed over their heads before the songs of triumph were changed into the cries of lamentation. The very parties whom they had selected to be their chosen champions,—the very guardians whom they had armed with power for their defence, turned their weapons upon them, and most inhumanly, with unrelenting cruelty, struck blows, which, if they have not already proved fatal, must in all probability lead sooner or later to their utter extinction. Of course, I am now only speaking in a moral and political sense. But great was their disappointment, loud were their lamentations, and deep their expressions of complaint! We have not, to be sure, heard much of it in this house, because there are reasons for that: but if much has not been said in this house, a great deal has been said in every other house in London. At all the clubs, in every street, we heard ringing in our ears the loudest and bitterest complaints that honourable gentlemen, who occupy the benches behind ministers, had been the victims of the grossest deception. I say, they were grossly deceived; but by whom? They have themselves to blame for any disappointment which they sustained in consequence of the course pursued by her Majesty's government. Why did they not in the course of the ten long years, during which they were following their present leaders, take due pains to ascertain what the opinions of those leaders were upon those important points which they conceived to be vital questions to the country. If they did not do so, they ought to blame only themselves for the disappointment they experienced, when the real opinions of their leaders necessarily came to be disclosed. What those opinions are, we have heard during the present session; and I am bound to say, that more liberal doctrines, more enlightened views, sounder or juster principles than I have heard propounded by those members of the government who have been called upon to take a prominent part in the debates, could not have proceeded from the most enthusiastic advocate of free trade. But it may be said that these doctrines and opinions were inherited by right honourable gentlemen opposite, together with our offices. It cannot, however, be imagined that they found them in the red boxes which we left upon the table in our offices. It is not to be supposed that we so impregnated the air of Downing-street with free trade principles, that when our successors entered it, they caught the infection as they would an epidemic. (Immense laughter.) It would be childish to believe that. Still less can it be supposed that these recently propounded doctrines and opinions are the result of their studies since ministers have been in office. We know what are the labours of official men; we know that the stream of business comes flowing in every hour of every day, like the current of the Thames, and that, if not dispatched instantly, it will accumulate, and soon overflow. None know better than we do the magnitude of the weight which bears upon the shoulders of an

administration. Their labour, immense at all times, is infinitely greater during the first few months of their official existence. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that her Majesty's ministers applied themselves between the 3rd of September, when they entered office, and the 3rd of February, when parliament met, to the study of Ricardo, Adam Smith, Macculloch, Senior, Mill, or other writers of the same kind. No; it is clear that the opinions which they have so well expounded in the present session must be the result of long meditation, of studies deliberately pursued during the ten years of comparative leisure, which even the most active opposition affords; and that they must have come into power fully imbued with all those principles, the enunciation of which has excited so much admiration on this side the house. I think that the party opposite, who find so much fault with the government, do so without cause; though at the same time I must candidly confess, in one respect, the conduct of right honourable gentlemen opposite is open to animadversion. I complain of their over-modesty; in that, upon many occasions, when, they being out of power, matters came under discussion in this house, to which the principles they have lately avowed were fully and plainly applicable, their over-modesty,—for no doubt it was that,—I say, their over-modesty prevented them from doing themselves full justice; inasmuch, as by practising an over-scrupulous reserve, *they really concealed from the public the progress they had made in their politico-economical studies!*'

Never was fair raillery applied to parliamentary opponents with greater felicity or delicacy. Like the sword of Saladin, in the Crusaders of Sir Walter Scott, his lordship severed in twain that fine flimsy veil with which Sir Robert and his colleagues attempted to conceal their hypocrisy. The nakedness of their cause has no escape, it being clearly that of the most greedy and inveterate place-hunters. Either they were free traders, and therefore bound as consistent men, at least not to oppose, much less throw out the Melbourne administration; or else, they were not so, but have since seen the necessity of bending to circumstances, so that their offices and consciences are now paved with broken pledges. They bitterly accused their predecessors of tenacity in adhering to office; but does not every shell of reproach which they have ever thrown, now burst with tenfold violence in their own camp? Where, too, is the valid difference between a ministry incapacitated through a factious opposition from passing its measures, and an administration failing to act out its own recently avowed principles? Sir Robert Peel pompously and indignantly announces himself a genuine free-trader of as long standing as the days of Mr. Huskisson. Why, then, with a majority of ninety members at his back, does he not put the staff of life, free and unincumbered, into the crippled hand of industrial manufacture? Why is sugar to be doled out at double the price at which it might be sold, and *is sold*, in some of

the smaller dependencies of the British crown? The premier, nevertheless, appears on the best terms with himself on all these subjects. His reply to the onslaught of his antagonist, and a very able off-hand reply it was, contains the following:—'During the ten years previous to the Reform Bill, there was a greater application of commercial reform, and a much larger abolition of monopolies, than took place during the eight years succeeding it!' Then how was it, we would ask, that Sir Robert contrived to let the fact of his liberalism on these matters escape the notice of his supporters; whilst upon the hypothesis, that commercial restriction really has an enemy in him, one can only say that *Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ celata virtus!* He has in a thousand ways sounded the trumpet of his own praise, as he imagines, but of his own condemnation, as all others perceive, with respect both to his corn bill and tariff. Where a person stedfastly adheres to what he knows, and admits to be wrong, less indulgence will hereafter be shown than to the dullness and pig-headedness of ignorance or bigotry. The opposition have won many laurels since they have breathed a more wholesome and popular atmosphere, than formerly. Ever and anon, they have nobly rescued a very slippery, and not a very grateful minister, from being ridden over by his own heavy cavalry. On one occasion, Somersetshire beeves and Essex calves would have trampled him in the mire, had Lord John Russell copied the example of those who excluded him from power. The vice-president of the Board of Trade must have winced in his seat, when, after proposing a plan, 'a small one to be sure,—a plan for exchanging a little flour for a little biscuit in bond, to the extent only of 100,000 quarters within the year,' the eloquent and noble member for Tiverton came to his aid, assuring him that his timid faltering step was in a right direction,—that although on comparing his professions with his practice, he might say, *Ex ore tuo condemnavi*,—yet all the past should be forgotten, if he would but be consistent, and advance further. Lord Palmerston then showed him that the doctrines adduced from his own lips were neither more nor less than those which whiggery and radicalism were now contending for, 'not in opposition to *oratorical displays*, but against silent and unwilling hearers, whom no fair arguments might at present convince, but who would perhaps be convinced, when the same opinions are not only broached by those whom they respect and follow, but when measures founded on those opinions in their largest and most comprehensive sense shall be proposed by their leaders to this house; and when those leaders, going out into the lobby, followed by their nominal adversaries, shall triumph in the success of free trade principles against their own supporters, and through the honour-

able and independent succour of those who in politics had been opposed to them!'

But if their commercial measures must cover our present ministers with merited confusion, let us see whether they have done much better with regard to their boasted Bankruptcy Laws. There is so much chaff about all their proceedings, that they require a great deal of sifting. It will be found, we believe, that even in minor affairs, their propositions have fallen far short of the necessities of the country. Their remedies, improvements, or even their good intentions, can only be called such by courtesy. They are nothing either in size or figure, except in the shadow which they project from an altitude which is not their own. In other words, the tories of our time are neither more nor less than pigmies of class legislation, mounted for the current hour, and to suit some specific purpose, upon the Alps of liberty. When forced to descend from such summits into the arena of close parliamentary conflict, they still look upon their enemies from the shoulders of other men, whereby they delude themselves into the hallucination that they are as tall as the children of Anak. Their characteristics are pusillanimity, lubricity, fearfulness, covetousness, and cunning. Take as an example their course about a bankruptcy code. Her Majesty had alluded to it on the 3rd of February. That reform is imperatively required, almost all men admit. Some tub, therefore, or other, must be thrown out to the popular whale. The present government found the scheme of a bill on the subject prepared by the late lord-chancellor, so that there could be little more to do than to ascertain whether they generally approved of its principles, and then it might be brought forward immediately. Omitting some of its best portions, this was accordingly done on the 18th of February, when the attention of the peers was requested to a measure, cut down indeed, but still containing between ninety and one hundred clauses. Now we appeal to our readers, whether one of the heaviest complaints made by conservatism against the Melbourne administration, was not, that it failed to make sufficient use of 'the legislative power of the House of Lords'? It was perpetually said that bills of the utmost importance were sent up in a heap from the Commons to their lordships, toward the termination of a session, when it was impossible to bestow due deliberation upon them. Now the Bankruptcy Bill, affecting as it did the middle and lower classes to an extent infinitely beyond the apprehension of an aristocratic chamber, dragged its slow length along for five months before it came down to the Lower House, on the 18th of July! At this season, in order to give it decent consideration, the House of Commons felt obliged to sit at noon, just when gentlemen of the long robe are necessarily

absent; and indeed, had it not been for Sir Thomas Wilde, lawyers would have been scarcely able to know, discuss, or propose modifications of a matter falling peculiarly within their province. But 'what is all this to me?' says Sir Robert Peel. 'We have at length carried the Bankruptcy Bill, and the Lunacy Bill, and above all, the Ecclesiastical Leases Bill, a bill for the improvement of property, and for contributing to the good effects of the established church!' And then, whilst admitting the notorious delay of the first, and by far the most important measure in the Upper House, with no other palpable reason for it than the *sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas* of an oligarchy all dominant there, he shortly turns round to Sir Robert Inglis, with an account of what he has done to aggrandize an already opulent establishment; adding, moreover, that in the next session, he will feel ready to take by the hand some plan of church extension, such as will no doubt prove agreeable to that virtuous, but most narrow-minded senator, the member for the University of Oxford.

But wretched as may have been the domestic legislation proposed to parliament by the cabinet, we must look abroad, as well as at home, and shortly examine its foreign policy. England, in fact, exists for the whole civilized world, as well as for herself. France may sometimes bring greater influences to bear upon mere continental Europe, but Great Britain holds in her hand, under Divine Providence, the destinies of half the globe. What we mean is, that her conduct, as a mighty maritime and colonial power, must always tell for weal or woe, in the current state of circumstances, upon the millions of our fellow creatures, from Malta and Gibraltar to Formosa and Canton, as also from Canada and Labrador to New Zealand and Australia. The *Times* may rave as it pleases; but from 1830 to 1840, the bright star of our national influence culminated in the social firmament. Now Lord Stanley, of whom Tacitus would say in one of his terse, but emphatic descriptions, *nec sermonibus temperabat, immodicus linguâ, et obsequii insolens*, had dared to assert, that 'the late government had created for himself and colleagues such foreign embarrassments, both political and commercial, that they found themselves beset with difficulties in every part of the world!' To which unceremonious charge Lord Palmerston thus rejoins:—

'The attack of the noble lord upon us is not only an instance of want of information, but of the grossest ingratitude. I had indeed hoped, that in respect to foreign affairs, it would be admitted that we had only left facilities to our successors. (A laugh from the ministerial benches.) What! do you laugh at that? Why you have been absolutely living upon our leavings. You have been subsisting on the broken victuals left upon our table. Gentlemen opposite remind me

of nothing more than a pack of people who have made a forcible entry into a dwelling-house, and sat down to carouse upon the leavings in the larder. Hardly a month, nay, hardly a week has passed since the beginning of the session, without ministers bringing in some measure, which they have acknowledged was proposed by their predecessors, but which they considered to be very worthy of being adopted by this house. This has been the case, not only with respect to the principles of measures, but even with respect to details. The noble lord, the member for North Lancashire, found in the larder an article which he once thought very injurious, but which, when he came to taste, he ascertained to be wholesome food. I allude to the clause about Hill Coolies in the Colonial Passengers Bill. Then again, the right honourable vice-president of the Board of Trade used to fancy, when he saw it at a distance, that bonded corn was a bad thing, very unpleasant and pernicious; but when he came into office and had a better opportunity of observing the article, he gulped it down like a man, and found it to be most agreeable! (Immense laughter.) I repeat it, that as regards foreign affairs, it really did astonish me, and does still, that honourable gentlemen on the other side should attempt to represent that we left them embarrassments. The whole of the royal speech, with a single exception,—the birth of the Prince of Wales,—was a record of what had been done by their predecessors, and that too, although the notice of foreign affairs occupies one half of the document. It contained only expressions of satisfaction as to what had passed, and happy anticipations of what might be regarded as the future!'

Now these anticipations may be classified under the four heads of Continental, Syrian, Indian, and American policy; with respect to all which, a few plain facts will go further than volumes of words in the minds of sensible observers.

1. *Continental policy.* When the whigs and radicals abandoned office, they left the temple of Janus shut, as regarded all our European neighbours. All the great powers of the world were at peace with us, without an iota of thanks being due to conservatism, which would so gladly have blown up a war with France, or Russia, or the United States, about Antwerp, a chapel in Cuba, a port or hospital in Minorca, a pilot taken out of a ship in the Gulf of Mexico, an impertinence in the Isle of Bourbon, or the establishment of a blockade at Buenos Ayres. With what diligence, in every one of these instances, did conservative patriotism, and the infernalism of its corrupted press, blow the coals of a quarrel, which might in its consequences have shed blood like water from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, and extinguished every spark of liberty, both at Paris and Madrid. Who were the friends of Don Carlos in Spain, prompt and eloquent to denounce our gallant countrymen under Sir De Lacy Evans, and thwart the return of the Peninsula to order and prosperity? Lord Palmerston, we must admit, was enabled to avert the con-

flagration, and maintain European tranquillity, without any derogation of national character. Nor was this all. Great Britain, on several most important occasions, acted as general mediatrix, towards France and the United States, between whom disputes of the gravest character had been fomented. She took fair advantage of this nobly earned influence, both as regarded herself and others. The Reform ministries concluded no less than fourteen treaties between ourselves and foreign nations, for the promotion of our commercial advancement; those with Austria and Turkey, more particularly, which have secured to us fresh channels of trade with the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Adriatic. The declared value of our exports in 1831 was 37,000,000*l.*, to all the various countries of the world. It rose gradually and annually to 38,000,000*l.*, 39,000,000*l.*, 41,000,000*l.*, 47,000,000*l.*, 53,000,000*l.*, and then fluctuating to 50,000,000*l.*, 53,000,000*l.* again, and to 102,000,000*l.* for the two years 1840 and 1841, as being exactly equal and taken together. Therefore, in the ten years of reform, from 1831 to 1841, the value of our exports augmented from 37,000,000*l.* to 51,000,000*l.*, presenting an increase of no less than 14,000,000*l.* in amount, the consequence of our foreign commercial policy! With regard, moreover, to France, it is well known that serious disputes, attended with collision, had continued almost ever since the treaty of Vienna, touching the right of fishing between Jersey and Normandy. This question was at length settled last year. A convention was arranged, with a proper definition of boundaries, so as to prevent in future these dangerous misunderstandings, just as Lord Melbourne retired. One point alone had been left open. The French commissioner was very anxious to obtain permission for fishing boats from his country to anchor and station themselves within three miles of our sea coasts, in order that they might be prepared to start and pursue their occupation inside the allowed limits. It was discovered that his real motive was, that the French fishery on the shores of England might become a nursery of seamen, with a view to manning the French navy. Lord Palmerston most wisely and justly demurred to that concession, for obvious reasons, in which our future maritime ascendancy may be involved; and whilst battling the question, had to retire from the Foreign Office. Now there is strong reason for supposing that the tories have given way to M. Guizot in this apparently trifling, but really most important matter. Specious pretences to amity between the two tory administrations at Paris and in London, are supposed (we would yet hope erroneously) to have dusted the eyes of Lord Aberdeen, so willing are conservative statesmen to indulge any royal predilections, when strengthened or supported by political sympa-

thies and affinities. With regard also to treaties on the slave trade, it ought to be known that there were but ten when the liberals came into office. They concluded fifteen additional ones, most of them containing stipulations not found in former compacts. Four of these were laid upon the table of the House of Commons by the hands of the tories themselves, besides five commercial, and two political ones, about all of which it literally could be remarked, that their predecessors had laboured, but that they had entered into their labours. So truly might even the ill temper of Lord Stanley have allowed the illustration of *Sic vos non vobis*, in the 'facilities' rather than the 'embarrassments,' which had fallen to his share, since Sir Robert Peel and his followers invaded the citadels of Downing-street.

We may fairly refer to the agreement between Lord Palmerston and the minister of Denmark, respecting an abatement of the Sound duties, as compared with the respective conduct of the liberals and tories towards the King of Hanover, touching the Stade dues, to illustrate the inherent tendencies of the Melbourne and Peel administrations. The treaties of Christianstadt, in 1645 and 1701, secured for the Danish crown such unreasonable advantages, that for generations they were disputed, and even resisted, whenever an opportunity offered of doing so with impunity. At length Denmark consented to a convention at Elsineur, with England, through the reiterated exertions of our liberal government, under which the tolls of the Sound are to be regulated upon the terms of ancient instead of modern treaties, and are in no case to exceed one per cent. upon the value of the cargo. Looking upon this narrow strait as the great water-gate of the Baltic, the entire commercial world are under no slight obligations to Great Britain for the settlement of an impost, so long a fruitful source of trouble and negotiation. And now what is the state of the case between ourselves and Hanover, touching a not dissimilar affair? Ernest, who receives from this country a pension of 21,000*l.* annually, also levies upon all vessels passing up the Elbe, far higher rates than can be claimed under any existing recognised compact; and these rates are not only larger in amount than they ought to be, but are aggravated through 'the most vexatious diversity and capricious uncertainty.' Lord Palmerston contended, and proved, that the sovereign of the Stade dues is not entitled to more than one-sixteenth per cent. upon the value of commodities; and Hanover consented, as Denmark had previously done, to appoint a commissioner to meet one to be sent from this country. His lordship must now be permitted to tell his own tale—

'We thought that the government of Hanover, like that of Denmark, would have instructed its commissioner to revise the tariff, in order to

make it conform with the provisions of ancient treaties; but we found that he was instructed to do no such thing, but to make a new Tariff, neither founded upon the old treaty of 1692, nor upon the existing Tariff. That at once brought the matter to a stand, and we urged the Hanoverian government to enter into a negotiation upon the only basis we could admit; and we gave it fairly to understand, that we would not allow it to levy those exorbitant duties which it had hitherto exacted. What have her Majesty's present ministers done upon that question? What do they mean to do? I will tell them what I think, and what I am informed, they mean to do. I believe *they are about to yield to Hanover what that government is not entitled to exact.* I believe they have actually offered to allow the Hanoverian government twice as much as it has by treaty a right to claim. If that be so, the course we pursued with regard to Denmark is likely to be a source of considerable embarrassment to them. If they mean to sacrifice the rights of Englishmen out of deference to, or *personal regard for the sovereign of Hanover, I do say, that they will find considerable embarrassment arising out of our former acts;* and I trust that we shall be able to give them still further and more effectual embarrassment, when they are hereafter called upon to defend their measures. (Cheers from all sides.) If the negotiations have ended in such an arrangement, it will be a great misfortune, and an abandonment of duty on the part of those who are specially bound to protect British interests, and extend British commerce.'

Sir Robert, as might naturally have been expected, fired up at this attack, pouring forth a flood of anti-Hanoverian patriotism, with precisely that temper which a man falls into when the cap is put indisputably on the right head. That, in this instance, it fitted to a nicety, cannot now be denied. The premier attempted to crush his assailant, by reading a document found in the foreign office, to the effect that Lord Palmerston had tried to get rid of the Stade Dues altogether, by some pecuniary arrangement. But the conclusion of the whole question came precisely to what the noble orator had asserted; namely, that with regard to these infamous exactions, made upon our commerce by a royal pensioner of our own, the whigs had resisted them to the last hour of their official existence, whilst their successors had surrendered the whole ground in dispute to the mercy of his electoral majesty. Our readers have only to look on this picture, and on that, to learn the true tendencies of conservative continental policy. We are ready to stand or fall by the comparison. Spain, Naples, Portugal, and the Brazils, will one and all tell a similar story.

2. So again with respect to Syria, or what is now generally termed the Eastern Question. The royal speech in February mentioned, with great congratulation, that the Five Powers had settled all their matters with his highness the Sultan, for opening the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Our new administration here

again verified what the late secretary for foreign affairs endeavoured to bring home to their consciences, that they were banqueting upon 'the broken victuals,' which their predecessors had left them on the table. Sir Robert Peel usurped no little credit for this convention, describing it from the mouth of her Majesty, 'as having for its object the security of the Turkish empire, and the maintenance of general tranquillity.' That was just admitting, in other words, that the liberal cabinet had succeeded in steadying the balance of European power; for neither the right honourable baronet, nor Lord Aberdeen, had any more to do with the credit of the treaty, than the monkey had a right to the roasted chesnut, which, with the paw of the cat he had contrived to extract from the fire. Who, let us ask, were the genuine negotiators in the Levantine dilemma? Whose policy won the laurels at Acre, and set bounds to the ambition of Mehemet Ali; besides securing the Nile, Suez, and Aden, as so many connected links in our now rapid communications with India? Our exports to Turkey, Syria, and Palestine, in 1831, were 838,000*l.*, in 1841, they were 1,461,000*l.*; being almost doubled through the operations of an anti-restrictive administration; although that administration was thwarted, and embarrassed at every turn, by the scions of aristocratic diplomacy, which swarm along the Mediterranean shores, like the foul and hungry harpies of ancient mythology. About the same period, and altogether without any conservative aid, diplomatic intercourse revived between Great Britain and Persia. The Shah, some months before, had insulted an English mission, and proceeded to conquer, as an agent of Russia, the northern provinces of Affghanistan. We succeeded in both points. Reparation was made by the court of Teheraun, and the siege of Herat was abandoned. It is clear, from the admissions of Sir Robert Peel himself, which are now on record, that the restoration of amicable intercourse in these quarters has proved exceedingly beneficial to our Asiatic influence, and our commercial welfare. Lord Melbourne's government managed to conclude a compact with Persia, on terms which place our commerce with that country upon the footing of the most favoured nations. Our present premier condescended to be merry 'about appointing a consul here, and patching up a treaty there;' but meanwhile, the fact stares us in the face, that from Constantinople to Bagdad, and from Cairo to Trebizond, liberal diplomacy lays itself out to enlarge the demand for our manufactures. Conservative oriental policy, on the other hand, throws all such matters into the back ground. To form a field of patronage for the younger sons of the nobility is the main point; to baffle and embarrass popular measures is the second; and just so far to befriend the vulgar interests of trade,

that tories shall not be openly put to shame in the House of Commons, is the third. What are the results of all the marvels, which were to have astonished the world, through the embassy of Sir Stratford Canning? Let it be borne in mind, that at all events, under Lord Ponsonby, England possessed influence at Stamboul. Now it would appear as though she can barely obtain an audience at the Sublime Porte; nor even, after she has procured it, are the consequences aught else than disappointment and mortification. Russia sits quietly behind the curtain, and plays the part of an ever-active Penelope towards the most skilfully-wrought web of conservative policy.

3. But to proceed a step further, let us only catch a glimpse if we can of India and China. The object of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, as the liberal President of the Board of Control, was doubtless twofold; to counteract Russian intrigues, and open the Indus to our merchants. The tories *in parliament* laughed heartily at both these matters, until Lord Palmerston informed them, that to treat such subjects in any other way than as being of great importance, was the habit *out of parliament* of no rational man, 'who possessed any other attribute, that distinguishes human beings, except laughter.' Our recent disasters in Affghanistan had nothing to do with the original plan, or with the adaptation of the means to an end. Of that plan, in its moral aspects, it is not our province at present to speak. Were we to do so, our language would be strongly condemnatory; for we believe the contest now raging to the north-west of the Indus to be as vicious in principle as it is of questionable expediency. The present cabinet, however, cannot avail themselves of this ground of objection, and their tactics must consequently be judged by a much lower standard. In the end contemplated, Lord Keane succeeded, to the dismay of thoughtless scoffers, 'who, till they read the dispatches, had never heard of Cabul or Candahar, nor could have told, whether Ghiznee was an inland fortification, or a sea-port town!' Our losses subsequently arose from the gross neglect of ordinary precautions. The lesson taught us may be most beneficial in future, both to the victors and the vanquished. Generals Sale and Pollock were engaged in repairing what had been amiss, and in re-erecting more permanently than ever, our barriers of empire in the north-west of India, and our influence thereby in Central Asia. The Peel administration, feeling that no real blame could attach to Lord Auckland, courteously requested him to remain at Calcutta; but on his declining to do so, dispatched Lord Ellenborough to mend, what conservatism now most inconsistently says, 'the Earl of Auckland had marred!' Who was not disgusted at the adulation with which this new Prætorian prefect of

the East was wafted from his native island? The Baroness de Stäel used to say of this self-same most conceited minister, 'that the very sight of him was enough to produce a revolution!' However, for the Hoogly he sailed, full of the mighty plans whereby he was to prop up our tottering empire in Hindostan. Their main feature was evidently to be moderation; but his lordship, unhappily, was no Fabius Maximus, but rather like another of that name, Fabius Valens, an officer of more degenerate days: *Dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis, nec providit!* His error was as great and fatal as that of Sir George Barlow. Lord Palmerston extracted from the premier the admission, that the Governor-General had, in reality, ordered the evacuation, of the countries westward of the Indus. Sir Robert Peel, however, had been previously compelled, through the force of public opinion, to pledge himself to a bolder plan, and should success crown the measures which have been adopted, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and not Lord Ellenborough, or Sir Robert Peel, will be considered in history as entitled to the honour of having secured the free navigation of the Indus. British manufactures may, at a future day, be poured through it into those regions which Alexander conquered; and we may be permitted again and again perhaps to repeat, that unless our trade and commerce can be enlarged, we may as well write at once Ichabod upon all our most precious institutions. They are gone for ever, if the grasp of aristocratic monopoly be not loosened from the throat of this nation, and our colossal colonies. Our oligarchy is the Old Man of the Sea, in the Arabian travels of Sindbad the Sailor! Conservatism is the monster's near relation and best friend; liberalism is his mortal foe! Now the trade with India and China amounted, in declared value, to 3,377,000*l.* in 1830; in 1840, it had risen to no less than 6,547,000*l.* per annum; owing chiefly, we presume, to the new Charter granted under the auspices of Earl Grey. We say, let that document be contrasted with the previous one, conceded by Lord Castlereagh, and then we shall have some idea how tories and liberals respectively would fain promote British and European interests generally throughout the oriental world. The close of Lord Palmerston's address should not here be omitted; it was loudly cheered throughout.

'As to foreign affairs, I look with considerable apprehension and fear to a government acting upon a system of timidity, apathy, and compromise. Whether it be in reference to the King of Hanover, or to the French Fishery Commissioners, or to the United States, or to Achbar Khan, they seem to be prepared to act on principles of submission; principles which I know will be as fatal to the best interests of the country, as they are inconsistent with, and derogatory to our

honour. If there be an opposition willing to support the government, heartily and effectually, whenever it shall proceed to the improvement of our internal system, it is also an opposition prepared to watch jealously all those symptoms of a course of proceeding which will affect the stability and honour of this country. Although we are about to enter upon a long interval, during which all the affairs of the country, and more particularly the foreign affairs, are left to the discretion of government, let them not think, because they come down next session, and tell us that they have done something, however badly it may have been done, that we will accept it. Let them be sure, that if they lower the position of this country; if they sacrifice the interests which have been maintained, by the restless activity and perpetual meddling, as they term it, of which we have been accused; if they let opportunities pass,—and when events once get the start, there is never any possibility of catching them—if they have not well considered the truth, that by taking a stand upon our rights, we shall best preserve ourselves from improper demands; if they do not act upon the principle that England will ask nothing which is unjust, of any country, and will not grant to any other that which she would deem it an injustice herself to demand; if they do not act upon the principle, that we will encroach upon none, and permit none to encroach upon us; let them be sure that they will create insurmountable difficulties for themselves, and in the end inflict irretrievable injuries on the country.'

4. These remarks of Lord Palmerston will be found especially applicable to what is going forward in America; and for that reason indeed, as well as for their intrinsic soundness, we have transcribed them, as an introduction to our own. The Boundary Question grew up with the treaty of 1783; from which year, with very slight intermission, toryism held the helm of affairs down to 1830, a period little short of half a century. From twelvemonth to twelvemonth nothing effectual was done; nor would anything have been done now, had not liberalism laid such trains for an ultimate arrangement, that some such embassy as that of Lord Ashburton could no longer be postponed. After the peace of Ghent, made in 1812, by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the whole affair was referred to the King of the Netherlands, who is reported, in a fit of Dutch sulkiness, to have conceived offence at both parties; and so, sagaciously taking into his royal hands a ruler, he drew a line 'over the mountains and over the moors,' which apportioned into something like equal divisions, one slice of the territory to Great Britain, and the other to the United States. The latter, on the look out for better terms, rejected such an arbitration, although we were disposed to accede to it. England did not then know the merits of her own case; for the words of the treaty were that 'from a line drawn due north, you are to draw a line westward, to end in the source of the Connecticut river;' which expressions, through disgraceful

ignorance, were supposed to be incompatible with the natural features of the country. Our government then offered again to share the territory, and make the river St. John the boundary: which liberal offer was also refused. It then occurred to the whigs to do that which, strange to say, no previous cabinet ever dreamed of doing—namely, to send out an exploratory commission. Messrs. Mudge and Featherstonagh, of whom it consisted, then ascertained that the limit we claimed was perfectly consistent with both the terms of the treaty, and the entire face of the province. A second commission, sent out for the purpose of examining the American line, to ascertain whether that might happen to fulfil the same conditions, recently returned home, with a report strongly corroborative of the first, by demonstrating that the Yankees were altogether wrong, and ourselves altogether right. These two reports, as Lord Palmerston observes, ought materially to have accelerated a righteous and final adjustment. His lordship, however, intimated, upon the authority of New York and Pennsylvania journals, that we were about to be greatly overreached in the bargain. Of this our readers will probably be able to form their own conclusions, before these sheets come under their eye: as also with regard to the invasion of Maine, the cases of the Creole and the Caroline, and the right of search generally. Now there can be but one sentiment, throughout the three kingdoms, that peace upon terms not positively dishonourable, is almost worth any price that can be paid for it; whilst, at the same time, our ablest jurisconsults and best statesmen have always held, that in making with any government an arrangement which wears the character of being the last that can be entered into, it may be correct to submit to enormous sacrifices. But when we foresee that question after question must arise; that each surrender will be followed by a further demand, when the next occasion comes,—the relief from real difficulty is then only for a moment, and is certain to involve us in fresh, and perhaps greater embarrassments, as the stream of events rolls on. We heartily wish that far different indeed may be the termination of the new American treaty. Yet, looking at the United States, as an immense slave-holding country; calling to mind the bitterness of their prejudices, with respect to colour, from New Orleans up to Penobscot itself; reflecting upon certain doctrines lately broached as to the repudiation of pecuniary obligations; perceiving the extreme weakness of the American executive in avoiding multifarious causes of collision on its almost boundless frontiers and seaboard; having known, moreover, the utter hollowness of conservatism in the anti-slavery struggle, as contrasted with the sincerity and energy of liberalism in befriending the negro; we repeat it, that reviewing calmly all these matters,

we cannot help sympathizing cordially with the noble member for Tiverton, and conceiving that even the ark of Christian philanthropy may be in no inconsiderable peril. At all events, we feel satisfied that a retrospect of our late foreign policy reflects neither honour on our tory ministry, nor credit upon the besotted majority which maintains it so unfortunately in power.

But if there be ground for triumph, neither in their domestic legislation, nor their foreign policy, what shall we say to their general conduct? They christened their predecessors as the 'shabby administration;' but where, we would inquire, are the vestiges of disinterestedness or generosity in Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues? Take the instance of Lord Ashley's most humane measure, for alleviating the crushing labours of children and young persons in our coal-mines. Pledges were given on the part of government, that its assistance should be honestly afforded; whereupon, a large load of praise and popularity, which, as affairs turned out, it little deserved, fell at once to its share. In the House of Lords, however, several noble colliers chose to imagine that their pecuniary interests might be affected by such political benevolence. Even the Duke of Wellington, as it struck our minds, and that with deep regret, betrayed the iciness and selfishness of old age, as though power, and honours, and grey hairs, had 'frozen the genial current of his soul.' Their lordships extracted from the bill nearly nineteen-twentieths of its pith and marrow; so that, although the ministerial promises were perhaps kept, and barely and meagrely kept to the ear, to the eye and in the letter they became almost emptiness itself, for all practical purposes! Crooked operatives, buried in coal-pits during more than a moiety of their existence, were beneath the regard of those who could enhance the prices of the prime necessaries of life, in order to reap harvests of a thousand sovereigns from corn farms, where seven hundred would be an ample rental. Does Sir James Graham, who first originated the soubriquet just mentioned, call such conduct shabby, or honourable? Or, mark the behaviour of the premier himself, in the very act of proroguing parliament. Well knowing the precise moment at which the Usher of the Black Rod would appear, he postponed rising in the house, until he felt certain that his address must extend to the last seconds of the session. This gave him the opportunity of saying the last word, of leaving, as he fancied, the last impression in his own favour; of casting a slur over the Anti-Corn-Law League, which Mr. Villiers would have disposed of in five minutes, could but that brief interval of justice have been allowed him. But it could not, for the official apparition tapped at the door, and waved his wand; the Speaker rose and proceeded to the bar of the Upper House; the first lord of the

treasury had gained what he wanted; and the blight of his insinuations would remain, like mildew, where he intended they should fall, for at least some days. Last, as well as first impressions, may go for a good deal; but we would ask the eloquent representative for Stockport, whether such a proceeding was shabby or honourable? This nickname, therefore, after a long aerial voyage from the mouth of the member for Dorchester, at length returns, and settles upon his own forehead, and that of his coadjutors! Nor will he ever rid himself or them of it, even after he has been long gathered to his fathers. Posterity will pronounce it through the old halls of Netherby; that there once lived in them a lofty, haughty, senator—the most flaming radical of his time, for a certain number of months and years; but who, in deserting his old friends, and heaping upon them odium and opprobrium, was deemed so thoroughly shabby, that those, with whom he finally wormed himself once more into office, became, and were justly called *shabby* also! The tongue of one man may taint an age; *behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!* Sir James must evidently have often uttered more than his principal wished; witness his fond doctrines about constabulary power. Such sparks of folly as these seem almost to have a natural affinity with gunpowder; but thus it is, the lips of violence and oppression open, and the mischief is done. Sir Robert Peel, in his insinuations about machinery; the hot-headed member for Knaresborough, in his assault upon the manufacturers; the frequent intemperance of Lord Stanley, although for an interval he seemed silence itself, have accumulated more materials for future troubles, than a multitude of bad laws. For the sake of producing effect in debate, some persons are willing to run any hazards. Lord Palmerston tells a story of an eminent foreign minister, who was giving instructions to an agent touching the acts of another government, in the middle of the last century. The agent venturing to observe, that the language he was ordered to hold, appeared at variance with facts, received for reply, 'Oh! what in the world does it signify; never mind that—it is a very good thing to say, and mind that you say it!' We agree with the noble lord, that in a very peculiar sense, the minister so delivering himself might have made a good off-hand debater.

Another charge perpetually made against their predecessors, by the present cabinet was, that they were no men of business. Their talents for talking, as they were scornfully described, might pass muster; but for the diurnal details of dry, practical, official duty, there was neither heart nor ability. Here again, public opinion makes toryism a present of its own accusation; as, for instance, in the entire business of the forged Exchequer Bills. The fraud occurred, we admit, under the presidency of

Lord Monteagle, acting out the antiquated customs, and wooden tallies of the good old times. Wherever improvements had been introduced, so imperfectly were these managed, or so successfully were they counteracted by the rottenness of toryism, not as yet exorcised from the Exchequer, that it was like sewing a piece of new cloth upon an old garment. The rent became worse; and an enormous evil ensued. But the remedy, we were assured, about to be administered by the practised hands of the conservative physician, would set everything into order presently. Yet can any affair have been more blundering and incomplete than the proposed settlement of Mr. Goulbourn? Are not nine people out of ten groaning and wailing at the tediousness of the whole investigation? Has not the minimum of justice been compounded with the maximum of inconvenience? Or let us glance at the misery and robbery inflicted upon the humbler classes, by calling in suddenly, and we must say most carelessly, the gold coinage. Whatever men of business the old officials may have been, the new ones understand giving all possible trouble, and tumbling headlong into all conceivable mistakes, to perfection. The abominable Corn Law was checked in its operation for a week or fortnight, by an oversight of these new and able men of business; able, we mean, in their own way,—as arch a set of bunglers as the Exchange, and forum, and senate, and metropolis, ever saw! In collecting the Income Tax, errors will have to be reckoned by millions. The Tariff, which came under discussion for no less than sixteen nights successively, had to be followed by a Supplemental Act. With regard to the attacks upon the Queen, where were the senses of seeing or hearing in the heads of these incomparable men of business? The ministry had premonitions afforded them on a Sunday, that her Majesty would be shot at on the Monday. A young man, cognizant of such an expressed intention, could hardly get at Sir James Graham; and at Windsor, the necessary interview with an officer of the palace was delayed, because the latter had sat down to his dinner. Men of business, indeed! We appeal to those gentlemen who have been at the labour and expense of procuring audiences, upon commercial matters, with these incomparable men of business. Did they, or their predecessors, display the most practical acquaintance with trade and manufactures? Did they, or their predecessors, best preserve their tempers; exhibit the deepest sympathy with national suffering; sneer at statistical or arithmetical statements as 'oratorical displays,' or manifest themselves as being able to throw a masterly survey over what might happen to be laid before them? Or with respect to election committees, and the successful efforts of Mr. Roebuck to unearth a system of iniquity, which must henceforward become

part of our parliamentary records and archives; who were the genuine men of business? The premier oscillated, like the pendulum of a clock, now on this side, now on that, apparently to get rid of inconvenient moments, during which, transitory popularity was to be snatched from the radicals, without giving more than a certain tolerable amount of offence to the conservatives. Meanwhile, another Bribery Bill has been added to the anomalies of our legislation; as though the growing cancer of the constitution could be charmed away with quackeries no better than Morrison's Pills, or Ching's Worm Lozenges! The ballot must operate as the real knife of excision; if, indeed, that remedy can be brought to bear before an impending dissolution of the patient.

Now, what, after all,—to revert to that goal from whence we started,—is the actual state of affairs? An abundant harvest may, through the bountiful mercy of Providence, postpone the catastrophe; but have our sapient legislators, in the remotest degree, struck at the root of the evil, or even attempted it? Why, these incomparable men of business, the present conservative cabinet, dispersed their own parliament at the commencement of an insurrection. The news from Manchester appeared in the papers of that very morning upon which her Majesty was compelled by her advisers to declare the session terminated. And so men went their several ways, after warnings had been given in vain, and their realization was already begun in the destruction of order in Lancashire, and of property in the Potteries. Even whilst bayonets were gleaming in the streets of Preston, Lord Stanley and Major Graham were reported in the public journals as having bagged larger quantities of grouse upon the Moors than had been in their power for several seasons before. Alas! for both conservatism and whiggery. Can we wonder that chartism is gaining ground? that it polled at Ipswich four hundred votes, at Southampton five hundred, at Nottingham eighteen hundred, all within the last few weeks? Have our operatives returned to work in good or ill humour? Is their organization less or more powerful, from the partially effective and frightfully extended movements just recently made? It is a most melancholy fact, that chasms are opening in every direction between the upper and lower classes of society; that conservatism has succeeded in engendering all manner of animosities betwixt operatives and their employers; that the object in doing so has been to prevent an union between the two divisions of the industrial masses against the provision laws; and that if the entire course of events does not alter shortly, revolution will be thundering at our gates. It is our honest conviction that matters will have to be worse before they are better. The cellars of our

social fabric, if we may so express ourselves, are night and day getting fuller of the most explosive materials. Our labourers want to have a rate of wages settled by legislation, which to those who can count ten upon their fingers, is a self-evident absurdity. Our manufacturers and capitalists only require to be let alone, which, although proved to be the essence of secular wisdom, an aristocracy will never, until it be forced, allow. This last section of society, consisting of magnates and all kinds of monopolists, wish that high price of corn and meat secured to the produce of their soils, which will leave them in the undisturbed possession of their war rental; and albeit this is demonstrated to be one of the most palpable pieces of injustice under the sun, they have succeeded in retaining it so long, that they will throw the country into convulsions, rather than disgorge. Some are even vain enough to fancy that their usurpation, from its protracted existence, may assume the character of a vested right. We talk about educating the lower orders; and most true it is that they stand in need of it: but who shall educate the upper classes? Skill and perseverance may cultivate the slopes of the mountain; yet who can melt the gathered 'winters of a thousand years,' or dissolve those glaciers of prejudice and cold hard-hearted ignorance, which come down upon the valleys of industry, from the proud snow-clad summits of oligarchy and opulence, with a pressure destructive to civilization? Poverty, and even pauperism, will listen to the voice of instruction, if its matter be sound, and its manners conciliatory. But those who have drank deeply from the fountains of feudalism, from that poisonous stream flowing down the channels of time since the reign of Charlemagne; who conceive the world made for them, and not themselves for the world; whose very cradles were rocked within the gilded pale of privilege and subserviency; who have grown up, fattened with the spoils of oppression, and the marrow of their humbler fellow-men; such, we sincerely believe, will be slow beyond description to learn: *ita formatis auribus, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quidquam nisi jucundum et lœsurum acciperent.* Now, until these come to be themselves taught, how can we hope or expect that they, holding the reins in their hands, will teach others; ay, or even permit them to acquire knowledge, wherever they can hinder it, from other masters? When the middle classes have ever kindly endeavoured to instruct the lower ones, for their own sake, conservatism hurries directly to the rescue. It either assures the children, and their parents or guardians, that the establishment alone has a right to teach; or where religion is not to be mentioned for a moment, it will then pet, and stroke, and even HIRE Chartism to bark at and

devour honest men; although nothing short of Bæotian dullness can prevent itself from perceiving, that when Republicanism shall have ruined the millocrat—patrimonial estates, baronial residences, ecclesiastical patronage, and hereditary immunities, will cease to be worth an hour's purchase!

Literary Intelligence.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1842.

Art. I. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Michael Thomas Sadler, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., &c.* London: Seeleys and Burnside. 1842.

THIS work, after having been expected for years, has at length made its appearance, in the shape of a very ponderous and handsome octavo volume, with no less than six hundred and eighty pages. The beautiful portrait of its subject at once attracts the eye; so beautiful indeed, that one is perpetually turning back to it for refreshment, amidst the inanity, dulness, and insolence, with which the biographer has disgraced his labours. Had the author been but equal to the artist; or had the pen been guided by an ability worthy of the taste and expense which the booksellers have lavished upon the publication, these memoirs would not have borne too high a price; however we might have differed from them in the opinions they advocate, or the practical conclusions at which they arrive. But as matters are, the features of any candid reader are continually kept on the verge either of a smile, a yawn, or a frown. The intellectual stature of Mr. Sadler, to whatever dimensions it may have attained, or whatever vigour and excellence it may once have possessed, can hardly be discerned, through the emptiness and impertinence of the individual, who seems to have idolized, and who professes to describe him. Somewhat sensible of this himself, he fills his preface with apologies for having composed his chapters by piecemeal; for having allowed more than six years to elapse from the moment when he first conceived the cloudy idea of embalming his friend for posterity, and at length laying upon the literary tables of London an expensive mummy for their admiration. Six veritable months only formed the precise and actual

period of *positive gestation*, declares one of the most self-satisfied writers who has come across us for many a summer, 'after evincing repeatedly his conviction, that the lapse of years would scarcely *affect the worth of the book, or its just claims to popularity.* He has still further exhibited this confidence, by permitting the work to incur the injury necessarily attendant on such an unusual and disadvantageous mode of composition.'—p. vii. The same ideas, 'he apprehends, and probably in the same words, are repeated again and again, and equally probable is it, that important points of an argument, sometimes supposed by him to have been premised, are no where to be seen'!! In other terms, it is utterly impossible even to conceal from himself that he is an ignoramus as to what he undertakes, which is neither more nor less than a sort of holy war against liberals and political economists. We need not add how heinous an offence nonconformity must constitute in his eyes. Nevertheless, he condescends to assure us, that he anticipates misrepresentation, vehement abuse, and affected contempt, 'with the most entire equanimity. He humbly trusts, that the volume now offered to the public owes its formation, in a very small degree indeed, to any motives personal to the writer.' The whole combination of coolness and fervour, of conceit and humility, of weakness and abusiveness, of hollowness and sincerity, might employ the attention of a Cervantes. But it is not our object to favour this gentleman with the flagellation which he is so evidently courting. We shall not attempt to soothe his ill-concealed rage for notoriety, by any approaches to critical persecution. Our duty will be simply to set before our readers, in its fair lights and shadows, the character of the late Michael Thomas Sadler, whom we consider to have been, what he really thought himself, an impersonation of Modern Toryism.

Never was the life of any senator so like the explosion of a cannon, since the days of that remarkable individual denominated in parliament, Single-Speech Hamilton. The walls of St. Stephen, for many long sessions, had re-echoed with little eloquence that attracted public notice; when all at once they were stunned with the fame and prowess of the new member for Newark in 1829, amidst the most agitating debates on the Catholic Relief Bill. Another Demosthenes, it was said, had come down, or at least another Edmund Burke, to rescue these nations from the vials of the Apocalypse; it having literally been announced, to our own personal knowledge, in certain religious coteries, that the Duke of Wellington's name might be deciphered or tortured into the number 666, the mystical characteristic of the Beast! We shall never forget the chuckling and somewhat indecorous congratulations between church and state, on that interesting oc-

casion. The advent of the unapproachable orator was to make up for the tergiversation of the cabinet, the paltry treachery of Peel, and the apostasy of about three-fourths of the bishops. Charlotte Elizabeth had then just recorded upon paper her modest and feminine prediction, that the pious and amiable Dr. Ryder could but be barely saved! Bigotry itself, therefore, turned its back on mitres to listen to a Leeds manufacturer worth all the prelates in the world. This person had been born at Snelston, in Derbyshire, in 1780, where he continued to reside, as well as occasionally in the neighbouring village of Doveridge, until the year 1800, when he removed to Leeds, and there entered into partnership with the widow of the late Samuel Fenton, Esq., whose eldest daughter he married in 1816. Few and almost trivial were the incidents of the first five-sixths of his existence. He was the youngest son of his father, who at the time of his birth resided upon and cultivated his freehold and copyhold estate; not regarding at the value of a rush an idle, or at least unimportant tradition, that he was descended from the celebrated Sir Ralph Sadler, of the sixteenth century. Our worthy biographer has devoted both text and appendix to investigations relative to this vain shadow of a possibility. His hero saw the light on the third of January, the youngest of four surviving children, all and each very good in their way; but the last of them developing his faculties at an early age. We commiserate the author of this heavy work on finding himself utterly at a loss in raking up antiquated traditions. What would he not have given for some old soothsayer at Doveridge, who could have deposed to an ως φασι, that a swarm of bees hovered round the cradle, or even made honey on the lips of the marvellous infant, whose future destiny was to overthrow the vagaries of Professor Malthus, and scatter to the four winds of heaven the errors of radicalism, as well as the rights of conscience. As it was, however, the tender Michael proved no ordinary boy. Taste both for drawing and music, manifested itself before he had completed his fourth year. Specimens of precocious talent in sketching, made about this period of his childhood, have been preserved in the family ever since; and at the same age he was accustomed to find out a tune on the harpsichord, after having heard it played or sung, without the assistance of the printed notes. Between five and six he was placed under the care of Mr. Harrison, a neighbouring pedagogue of reputation, under whom he acquired a competent knowledge of Latin and Greek, a good acquaintance with French, besides the rudiments of Italian and German. In mathematics he did still better; 'by the time young Sadler had completed his eleventh year, he had gone through Saunderson's Algebra,

calculated eclipses, found logarithms, and become conversant with the most abstruse problems in pure and practical geometry.'

At this period he became a correspondent of the chief scientific magazine of his day; answering most of the mathematical questions proposed through that channel. 'Such indeed was his proficiency, that at this early age, his tutor felt no hesitation in giving him the charge of a pupil of adult years, and who has since gained a distinguished reputation, but who was then passing the college vacation at Doveridge for the benefit of advice and direction.' It soon become a very natural intention, on the part of his father, to send such a promising prodigy to some public school; and we may be allowed to express regret that this was not done. The youth would thereby have experienced the wholesome shock of early collision with his equals or superiors; instead of which, paternal good-sense having been overruled, he remained with his rural preceptor, caressed and marvelled at by the bumpkins at Doveridge; precursors, as these were, to a later generation of simpletons, sympathizing with his biographer. Only let us fancy the happy little astronomer, *natus duodecim annis,* expounding the philosophy of shadows, and the various planetary motions, to an audience of his playfellows along the lovely margin of the sweetest river of the Peak,—

> 'All wondering at the wisdom of his lips,
> Dispersing ev'n the clouds of an eclipse;
> Till gaping mouths forgot where he was bred,—
> Such words,—such wit,—and such a learned head!'

Through follies like these, the fondness of flattery, and even of well-meaning friends, has often marred many a future harvest of permanent or substantial usefulness, by letting the spring of development glide into sickliness and sentimentalism under the influence of too much or too exciting sunshine. At fourteen he returned home, without any settled plan as to his further education or course of life. The parental library, happening to be rich in sound literature, therefore employed him for one or two, or two or three more years; for the narrative is of course far too sublime to be accurate in dates, and such minor circumstantials. Meanwhile, thinking as Foster says, that 'he had been invested with a diploma from Apollo,' he began to indulge in poetic composition to a considerable extent. Several of the psalms were versified under his ambitious hands. He produced a series of Spenserian stanzas on the scenery of the river Dove. The feast of Darius, as described in Esdras, was doomed to the drowsiness or bombast of heroics and Alexandrines, which would have seen the face of day had not Southey anticipated him in the subject. Yet his eighteenth year found him still better

engaged; namely, in publishing a small pamphlet, on behalf of the Wesleyan Methodists; being an answer to a public attack made upon that body from the pulpit, by the vicar of the parish where he resided. It must be, nevertheless, borne in mind, that these respectable revivalists of true religion were *not deemed dissenters* by a large class of persons connected with the establishment, who attended their ministrations as the mother of young Sadler did, without in the slightest degree 'throwing off her allegiance to the Church of England, or discontinuing her attendance on its services; and her family followed with her.' She appears to have been both truly pious and intelligent; but whether she at all moulded at this crisis the spiritual views of her son, we are not informed. One of the best incidents mentioned in the memoir is perhaps the following, which at all events shews some admirable tendencies :—

'An idea of the inveteracy of feeling against the Methodists may be gained from a trifling circumstance, while Michael Thomas was yet at school. He was going one day from Doveridge to a town at a short distance, and his road lay across a bridge which was thrown over the Dove, at a spot where the water was very deep. At this spot he met one of the most profligate characters in the village, and who was, very naturally, amongst the foremost in the opposition to the Methodists. After a few words of abuse, this man seized hold of young Sadler, and suspending him over the parapet of the bridge, swore that he would instantly drop him into the water if he did not forthwith *curse the Methodists*. 'Never! never!' said the boy, 'you may kill me, if you choose, but I never will!' The wretch held him for several minutes, endeavouring to terrify him by threats and imprecations, but not succeeding, his fears of the consequences prevailed, and he released the youth. A neighbouring magistrate urged a prosecution of the offender, but before any resolve was taken, he had abruptly quitted the neighbourhood. This occurrence took place when Michael was about twelve years of age.'—p. 11.

Of his tract in favour of the Wesleyans we should have been glad to have seen a copy, or at least some account of its arguments and remonstrances. In writing biography, the art lies in opening every surrounding window and skylight, however small, so as that each lineament of personal character may be surveyed and detected, from the commencement to the close of its career; or else, as in the volume before us, a mere congeries of dates, circumstances, extracts from speeches, and discursive lucubrations is presented to the observer. The parents of Michael Sadler died somewhere about 1798, so far as we can collect the time, not very long before the lad was settled in business with his uncle at Leeds; or rather, when arrangements were made for his destiny in this direction, accomplished as it was in 1800. It

would have been instructive probably, could we but have perceived how his mind bore the change of engagement, in passing from literature to commerce. His habits hitherto had been sufficiently vague and desultory, nor is it difficult to infer from some significant hints, which are now and then given, that slight improvement in these respects ever took place afterwards. Many have pored over Algebra or Physical Astronomy, or lost their common sense amidst the flowery fields about Helicon and Parnassus, whose talents have never told, for want of that force of mind which, in overcoming selfishness, grasps and wields the real sceptre of influence and power. This young man was already imbibing his earliest lessons in practical conservatism; that is to say, in the mystery of pleasing himself. Under the guise of unworldliness, and distaste for useful occupation in that sphere of duty to which he was called, he was insensibly learning to revolve alone upon his own centre. Frequently we are assured, he would get so absorbed in his own books and thoughts, as to forget the importation of Irish linens altogether. We venture to mark this principle of selfishness thus early, because it furnishes a key to subsequent passages in his history; for when afterwards genuine intentions of benevolence were calling out all his powers, the eye of his soul, through never having been accustomed to go beyond a certain narrow horizon, proved unable to take in the real dimensions of those evils which he was sincerely anxious to alleviate. The fact is, that in many respects he was a good man, although quite failing to be a great one; in the sense we mean usually attached to this phrase in political annals. Of his fits of abstraction, it is intimated there are some amusing anecdotes extant, a few of which, judiciously interwoven, might have afforded a reviewer vast relief. Weeds may almost pass for garden-flowers amidst the sands of an uncultivated wilderness. His devotions to the muses seem, nevertheless, not to have evinced 'a sufficiently sustained character. He had the failing, a considerable, but not an uncommon one, of leaving many things incomplete and unfinished, in the hope of a happier hour for adding the last touches. A habit, too, of writing down his thoughts on loose scraps of paper, and not always transferring them to a more permanent receptacle, necessarily occasioned the loss of many portions of his writings. Still our regrets need not exceed the limits of moderation on this score. He was enabled, in a later period of his life, to perform various labours of such solid and substantial value, as to leave all poetic fame, but that of the very first order, far behind, and to that first order we cannot affect to believe that he would have reached.' He was certainly no Milton, although his chief work was an epic, involving the achievements of Alfred. What he hated was the

monotony of the counting-house, where his elder brother, preferring the 'solid pudding to the empty praise,' duly attended to the ledgers, and staved off bankruptcy from their concern.

Our future senator, meanwhile, could display considerable perseverance, when inclination and principle between them assumed the helm of his mind. The germ of weakness lay in his requiring a combination of these for whatever purpose he might have to achieve. *Trahit sua quemque voluptas* forms a motto for the most ordinary men; nor was the subject of this paper an exception to the aphorism. His *voluptas* indeed happened to assume a very amiable aspect, in many respects, before his race was over; but in his being a slave to it at all, we perceive at once the rank of honour in which posterity will not fail to place him. Amidst the anathemas of his admirers, he will be considered, and most justly considered by reasonable people, merely as an able, excellent, third-rate, member of society. He quickly avowed himself a thorough-going tory, frequently contributing to the Leeds Intelligencer, and circulating its maxims of tyranny, professing to proceed as they always do, from the very mint of moderation. In a regiment of Yorkshire Volunteers, which was then in vogue, he commanded a company, and is said to have brought it into a high state of discipline. He aimed also at far nobler employments than mere political partizanship could offer, whether in the columns of a provincial journal, or the military excitements of parade. He already burned with sacred ardour to confer real benefits upon his fellow-creatures. In connexion with the Strangers' Friend Society, he became an active visitor of the sick and destitute; besides superintending, for several years, an enormous Sunday-school, and bearing his full share of parochial burthens. As treasurer of the poor he received the unanimous thanks of a densely populated district, where his office also secured him full acquaintance with the wants, wishes, sympathies, and sufferings of the lower classes. The celebrated county election of 1807, when Mr. Wilberforce triumphed over inhumanity, of course enlisted all his energies. In 1812 and 1813, he made his first attempts as a public speaker, chiefly against Catholic Emancipation. In 1814 appeared symptoms of the malady which in about twenty years terminated his life; shewing themselves in severe pains of the heart and the most distressing palpitations. His subsequent marriage with Miss Fenton, in 1816, afforded him much domestic happiness, and effected no slight change in his general conduct; which till now, 'though wholly free from vice, had been marked by an abundant portion of the eccentricities of genius.' These nuptials also led him into closer adherence to the Established Church, and the acceptance of a

seat in the Leeds corporation. Before another twelvemonth had elapsed, his pamphlet on Parliamentary Reform appeared, which passed through two editions; strongly maintaining that very proposition which afterwards helped to introduce the opponents of the Duke of Wellington into power; his Grace venturing to pronounce, as Mr. Sadler had done before him, that 'at no former period were the people so fully and justly represented in the House of Commons as at the existing moment.'

Henceforward, therefore, we may consider the subject of this article as a determined politician attached to the good old school, and satisfied with at least letting everything alone. The opinion which his admirers generally, and his memorialist in particular, entertained respecting his merits, may be gathered from the following extract:—

'In the case of some, who are set apart for the office and dignity of statesmen and legislators almost before their birth, maturity of mind is considerably hastened. But as with many other forced productions, this early forwardness has its disadvantages. The tree, which is of slowest growth, is both the most firmly rooted, and the most compact and unyielding in its texture. The gourd may grow up in a night, and perish in a night, but the mighty denizens of the forest, as their duration is to outlast centuries, so they require almost centuries to attain maturity. Mr. Sadler had not completed his own education, as a legislator, up to the hour of his death; but even his *school exercises*, so to speak, in statesmanship, have more real value in them than all the splendid oratory of the Sheridans, the Cannings, or the Plunkets,—the eloquent advocates of a party, trained up from youth to argue on either side for place,—that the English language can produce. It was between the date of his marriage and that of his entrance into parliament, that the great outlines of his system, as we shall hereafter endeavour to delineate it, began to be distinctly marked.'—p. 33.

Now the sum and substance of this wonderful system, announced with such a flourish of trumpets, was neither more nor less than moderate modern conservatism. The biographer and his hero have had the modesty to conceive, that they, and those agreeing with them, are the only friends of mankind. In their estimation, there cannot be bitterer enemies to the human race than liberals and political economists. These they kindly designate as 'supposed philosophers committing the grossest absurdities;' as sordid wretches, 'who would willingly dispeople the land, so that an equivalent quantity of steam-engines might do the work at a cheaper rate;' 'who would deform and desolate our beautiful country, smiling as it is with universal culture, like the garden of Eden, and turn it back again into a continuous common;' or, who are anxious by a withdrawal of the blessings of commercial restriction and monopoly to prostrate national prosperity,

and 'subtilize our population into savages!' Such has been the candour of conservatism with regard to its opponents; and this paper might easily be swollen into intolerable dimensions, by copying in sufficient quantities, the many similar insinuations and charges with which the present production abounds. On the other hand, when it proceeds to describe itself, toryism walks up and down in the reflection of its own brightness. Mr. Sadler, in forming his boasted system, picked up plumes from every peacock we have ever heard of. The rights of conscience were to be preserved inviolable, with the slight exception that the church of England was to keep her foot on the necks of non-conformists and papists on this side the Irish channel; and hold down seven millions of catholics, in subjection to as many hundred thousand protestants, on the other. He avowed himself an advocate for free-trade; but it was on the principle of supporting the war rental of a landed aristocracy, with the hollow declarations that high prices of bread secured proportionably high wages to the lower orders, and that to buy wherever we may buy cheapest, or to sell wherever we may do so on the best terms, is as ruinous, as it must therefore be unpatriotic. Let us only listen to his own statements:—'I am for Free-trade also! but it is principally the free-trade of England that I would keep in view; not that of foreigners of every country and description, that they may make free with any branch of it, on the *reciprocity system*, which I fear, if I may still pun upon the word, will soon *free us from trade altogether!* Free-trade, according to the new system, is much like *free-living*, dangerous to the purse, and destructive to the constitution. I feel persuaded that free-trade, as applied either to the shipping or agricultural interests, would be ruinous; that it would break from beneath us the staff which has supported, and paralyze the arm that has defended the nation, and wreathed her brow with unfading laurels.' And yet this is the embryo statesman who, after having calculated eclipses, fathomed logarithms, and sounded the depth of algebra, possessed so little practical wisdom, that he could hope to delude himself and others, by the bare enunciation of ideas and propositions in their own nature irreconcilable. From a mind constructed after this fashion, arguments the most unanswerable, and even the results of actual experience must have rebounded. His confessions of political and commercial faith were made up of words, which perpetually contradict each other; becoming thereby mere *nugæ canoræ* to the ear; and to the touch like those toys for children, which will stand upon either their heads or their tails. So again, in the same breath, in the same page, or on the same occasion, we have him fervently advocating all the corruptions of the oligarchy and hierarchy, the matchless perfections of government

and constitution 'just as they were,'—the high protecting duties on certain articles, without which trade in them 'could not exist an instant;' whilst after all, the peruke of every conservative alderman at Leeds might have uncurled with horror, when he summed up his social creed in these startling terms:—'My grand object is to extend the utmost possible degree of human happiness to the greatest possible number of human beings!' Now will it be believed that Mr. Sadler had never heard of such a philosopher as Jeremy Bentham, nor ever seen a tract of Utilitarianism, when he quoted this notorious formula, without acknowledgment? We think not; and we further conceive, that the entire third chapter of the volume, now before us, reflects slight credit upon the subject of the memoir himself, or the formation of his system, which it is intended beyond measure to eulogise.

We are no detractors from the honest fame of Mr. Sadler. His work upon Ireland in 1828 proved of real service; and allowing for certain narrow views upon points, where it would be vain to expect impartiality or enlargement, we feel sincere pleasure in attesting its merits. Whig and tory, the Quarterly and Edinburgh, peers and commoners, were loud in its praises, yet not louder than it deserved.

Whether good or evil is to result from the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland, few will be so hardy as to deny the influence exercised by this work on the general question. Not many years before, there appeared almost an unanimity of opinion with regard to withholding every plan of compulsory relief from that kingdom; whilst soon afterwards, the current of public thought and expression perceptibly changed. Of course we limit our approval to the first portion of Mr. Sadler's plan, recommending some national provision for the necessitous and disabled pauper. With regard to Absenteeism and Corn Laws, we humbly conceive his ideas to have been radically unsound. But meanwhile the powers, that then were, had matters of mighty interest in contemplation. Gleams of rising light as to the claims of religious liberty shot across the darkness of Downing-street. Our biographer seems ready to take out his pocket-handkerchief, and almost fall on his knees, in dwelling for several pages upon those departed days in which Peel gave way as to the Test and Corporation Acts, and Wellington conceded to the Catholic Association. Bedlam is the proper place for religious bigots, when they commence raving about an affair, which to them is utterly incomprehensible; namely, that no man ought to be injured, or even insulted, as to his civil rights, on the score of his speculative impressions. For nearly twenty years, what was then termed Emancipation, had been left an

open question, in each successive cabinet; when, on the fifth of February 1829, a speech from the throne, announcing an alteration of policy, had well nigh thrown Lord Eldon and his godless followers—Oxford, with a majority of her clerical sons—and nineteenth twentieths of the evangelical clergy, into positive convulsions. Sir William H. Clinton, the lieutenant-general of the Ordnance, had been returned by the borough of Newark, or rather through the nomination of the Duke of Newcastle, to parliament, upon the fullest declaration of his hostility to catholic claims. He therefore honourably availed himself of the Chiltern Hundreds; his noble relative and patron having already looked out for a substitute. This was no other than the subject of this article. Ten months before, at the Leeds Pitt Club, when the recorder of that town had ventured to call public attention to the inconsistency of Pittites in opposing the policy of their oracle, with regard to Ireland, Mr. Sadler had risen with indignation, and admitted that the pilot who had weathered the storm '*was human, and therefore liable to err!*' He moreover accompanied the admission with precisely that hurricane of enthusiasm and eloquence which goes down after dinner, more especially in the case of all municipal magnates. The newspapers of Yorkshire conveyed this *post prandium* oration to the metropolis, as well as Clumber Park. 'Symptoms of defection in various quarters were not to be mistaken; but it was satisfactory to perceive that able and zealous champions were still to be found to uplift the protestant standard, and to do battle manfully in its defence.' So, writes our biographer, with not the remotest notion, apparently, that there is any real protestantism in the world, besides his own; and so also thought his grace of Newcastle. He wrote to the Pitt Club anniversary orator, without delay, 'for the purpose of recommending him to proceed to Newark, and there announce himself a candidate for the vacant seat.' Ducal mandates had rarely been resisted by the eighteen hundred scot and lot electors; but for once the blood rose in their bosoms, and Sergeant Wilde was brought into the field. Exasperation became mutual; yet on the fourth day, so large a majority had polled for the intrusive nominee, that his opponent retired, and Mr. Sadler was returned. He was Gazetted on the tenth of March, and within one week from that day, his maiden speech had been delivered in parliament.

The result is well known. Every speaker on the ministerial side of the house addressed himself to answer the new member. Lord Palmerston and Mr. Robert Grant did him ample honour. The newspapers, the public, his friends and constituents, the clergy, the reviewers, and the tories themselves, who were attacked by him so vehemently, all placed him at once in the very first

rank of parliamentary heroes. Within a fortnight afterwards he again spoke on the same uppermost question of Catholic Emancipation; and the circulation of the twin harangues, in the form of threepenny pamphlets, throughout the country, extended to no less than five hundred thousand copies. Nearly every town of importance had its own edition; whilst in London, the market of every folly that comes into the world, 'about twenty very large impressions were sold.' It may be doubted, affirms his memorialist, 'whether on the whole, any effort, enjoying a greater share of public favour and popularity, was ever made in parliament.' Circumstances indeed were highly on his side, as the pages before us cannot help confessing. The lees of toryism were in a state of stercoracious fermentation; every man of commanding talent having withdrawn from the nuisance, amidst overpowering vociferations for air and lavender water. They therefore lay prostrate in the very ripeness of their defeat and mortification, like the fallen angels on the burning marle of Paradise Lost, 'ready to hail with the most exulting delight the appearance of a man of genius and intellect amongst them, who offered himself to raise once more their dishonoured banner.' But let us gravely ask, now that the clamour and contest have terminated, where these celebrated addresses stand at the present moment in public estimation? Time we take to be the great test of intrinsic worth and excellence; and admitting that these compositions contain many impassioned and energetic appeals, many passages of immense force and beauty, the verdict of righteousness and common sense is recorded against them; so that oblivion will be their reward with posterity. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit;* for even the imperial imagination of Burke himself can but just preserve a thousand glozing sophistries, in his work on the French Revolution, from neglect, if not forgetfulness. The eloquence of Mr. Sadler against Catholic Emancipation is felt at once to be a mere rush of powerful language; a wild torrent of fervid and yet well chosen expressions. All permanent effect therefore passes away from the mind. The hearer, or the spectator, acknowledges a momentary excitement, and that is all. We miss the fulness of thought, rolling forward in the silence of its grandeur, animated because translucent, calm because irresistible. Burke's orations, with all their errors, will never die; combining as they do the philosophy of politics, with a brilliancy rarely to be rivalled. Their matter is worthy of their manner; being neither more nor less, for the most part, than wisdom flowing from originality. Sadler's speeches are whirlpools of little false principles, stirred into furious agitation by the collision of party prejudices, and effervescing for a set occasion. Each cataract has been carefully committed to memory beforehand. All the

bubbling and sparkling, and tempest, seem artificially contrived to render that rapid, which would otherwise be sluggish, and that forcible which would otherwise want strength. Reflection, ratiocination, sagacity, intellectual opulence, the mighty *elementa rerum*, are to the master, what high flown phraseology, tropes and figures of rhetoric, glowing quotations from authors sacred and profane, the watchwords of petty partizanship, are to his imitator. The former must be adjudged an ornament to the whole human species; the latter will be admired and loved by those only who had the pleasure of knowing him. Even these, however, admit that his besetting sin was to declaim, when he ought to have been convincing; and that his voice had more to do with the ear and eye, than with the understanding. Within the limits of two sessions he was 'voted a bore' in the House of Commons; and even long before so unwelcome a discovery, even whilst his 'first appearance in that assembly brought his name and pretensions into daily discussion in every society, Mr. Zachary Macauley happening to meet Sir James Mackintosh, immediately put the question,—'This Mr. Sadler, whom all the world are talking about, what sort of a man is he, Sir James? What is your opinion of him?' 'Why,' replied Sir James, 'there may be no doubt, but that he is a great man; but he appears to me, *to have been used to a favourable auditory.*'' This veteran critic had afterwards better opportunities for ascertaining his real magnitude, and witnessing the accuracy of his observations.

In fact, it must be allowed that Mr. Sadler did little or nothing in parliament, looking, we mean, at the senate in any other light than an enormously notorious debating society. He touched upon some measures intended for the governance of our silk manufacturers, and once floored poor Sir Wilmot Horton, no very potent antagonist, in the course of a discussion on his own question, that of Poor Laws for Ireland. For this feat Blackwood pronounced him 'an Ithuriel;' and there was an end to the business. He then dined with his constituents on some day in the following July, declaring to them, amidst thunders of applause, that if sundry wild vaticinations were ever realized, he could 'contemplate the Genius of our country reposing on some lofty height, beneath the shade of his primeval oaks, and surrounded by the trophies of his triumphs, resting in peace after his heroic achievements, and casting his gratified gaze on the wide-spread prospects before him, eyeing the progress of cultivation, the triumphs of the ploughshare and the pruning-hook, in a country overflowing with plenty, and echoing the cheerful voice of contented labour; then should our national prosperity stretch out even to the crack of doom,' and so on, after the most wearying common places, which one may gather from

hebdomadal provincial journals, about 'populous cities, crowded marts, busy populations, circling shores, those that go down to the sea in ships, heroic callings, waves and winds, reign of peace, sway of knowledge, triumphs of genius, British greatness, and national glory!' We have given this specimen from page 136, as an illustration of our remarks on Mr. Sadler's style, and the more so, since both his audience and biographer were evidently carried up to the third heaven in their raptures of admiration. Our younger readers had better take down any volume at random from the works of Burke, Canning, Pitt, Windham, Mackintosh, or Lord Brougham, and they will perceive by natural instinct the difference between eloquence and declamation. Another dinner followed in September at Whitby, whither he had been invited through spontaneous 'appreciation of his high character and splendid talent,' where an anti-political-economist address once more helped to exhaust his stock of rhetorical imagery, and display some of the most marvellous shallowness ever manifested by a popular public man. If we understand at all, the grain of sense, or rather of intelligibility, which glitters through the phantasmagoria of an over-heated fancy, he here roundly insinuates that the policy of Mr. Huskisson was 'lightning attended with thunder,' which has scorched and withered all our 'vital interests'! Yet, nevertheless, we are graciously assured that the country is destined 'to become, in the hands of a gracious providence, the benefactress of the universe. Like many a gallant bark that has taken refuge in the friendly port of Whitby, she may be now at sea, in danger and distress, the sport of adverse winds, and tossed on the dark and tempestuous waves; but if we may apply the fiction of Virgil to a nobler purpose, THE DEITY shall himself appear, and smiting the unfaithful Palinurus, shall seize the helm, and pilot the vessel through the subsiding storm, into the haven of prosperity and peace.' It will hardly escape the most careless observer, that in this precious passage of verbosity, profanity, and bad taste, the Palinurus who so astonished the learned burgesses of Whitby, was no other than the Duke of Wellington. The ensuing year actually realized much of these oracular anticipations; so that whilst London tea-tables and coteries were in ecstacies at various rehearsals of the honourable member for Newark, the sages of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire protested that 'a very Daniel had come to judgment!'

His attendance on parliamentary duties in the spring of 1830 proved unremitting. He spoke on the address, and on various other occasions, in March, April, and May, making his grandest efforts on moving for a system of Poor Laws in Ireland. His speech on that occasion proved one of the best he ever delivered,

being so short, that it lasted little more than an hour, and being 'wholly free from what constituted his besetting temptation, *a tendency to the florid and the overwrought.*' In June, the demise of George the Fourth dissolved parliament, and Mr. Sadler was again returned for Newark, after an expensive opposition renewed by Serjeant Wilde. Then it for the first time fully appeared that our national Palinurus had reckoned without his host. The arena of St. Stephens was to prove no field of Waterloo. There is now no doubt whatever, that concessions had been made to O'Connell and the Catholics upon no well understood principles, beyond those of fear. The cabinet possessed no public support, for the simple reason that it had mortally offended its friends, without in the least degree conciliating its enemies. The following observations, although strangely inconsistent with the general tone of the memoirs, yet as being almost the only approach to sensible ones which have fallen in our way, afford us sincere pleasure in the transcription:—

'There are, were, always have been, and always will be, two great parties in England,—the conservative and the progressive. All who take any active part in politics must range themselves under one of these two banners. The one embodies those who fear change more than they desire improvement; the other, those who desire improvement more than they tremble at change. The first class *properly appreciates* the high state of liberty, security, civilization, and happiness, at which England has already arrived; and consequently looks with some apprehensions on propositions, which it is to be feared, by tending to fundamental changes, would endanger all these blessings. The other, inclined somewhat to undervalue the benefits already realized, is ever reaching forward with eagerness to some further attainment. Both these principles of action are necessary to our political well-being. Without the check interposed by the first, the movement party would urge the machine of the state so rapidly forward as to endanger its very existence; without the progression induced by the second, society would soon stagnate into utter corruption. A truly desirable government would rest upon the first, and borrow life and energy from the second.'—pp. 224-5.

Allowing for a little self-sufficiency in these lines, we may remark, that differing in opinion, as we of course do, both as to their assumptions and their conclusions, we should have had slight grounds for quarrel with their author, had this accidental fragment of an attempt to reason and state things calmly been a fair sample of his labours. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, for the sole purpose of retaining place and power, had disenthralled to a certain extent the nonconformists and Romanists. But neither the Palinurus nor Æneas of 1830 had any really enlarged policy for the good people of England. Mr. Sadler had already told them in parliament how one of his con-

stituents had observed to him, that what David said in his haste, the freeholder might say deliberately,—namely, 'All men are liars!' When the first session of the new reign commenced, the late Lord Congleton, then Sir Henry Parnell, made and carried a motion on the civil list against the ministry, by a majority of twenty-nine. This occurred, partly because a section of the religious tories stood bent on revenge, at any price, for their recent humiliation; partly because the premier had voluntarily avowed his full satisfaction with the iniquities of close boroughs; and partly, because the French Revolution had stirred the entire nation from its very depths. General distress was also lighting the firebrands of insurrection. The member for Newark voted with the country party, as the rebellious tories styled themselves, for he would have gone the length of suppressing ten of the most corrupt corporations, and transferring their representation to as many of the largest unrepresented towns. Some such plan would have satisfied the middle classes for a few years. For once, then, to use his own expression, 'political expediency made strange bed-fellows,' even in his own case, and he walked out on a division with the whigs, not being able at that time to foresee, adds his biographer, 'the results of the course then taken. The depths of disgrace to which the liberals have shown themselves willing to descend, the perils to which they have proved themselves ready to expose the country, so that by any means, honest or dishonest, office might be gained or retained, it was impossible beforehand to calculate upon.' Our memorialist must be certainly graduating for a mastership of arts in the university of ignorance: but let that pass. Meanwhile, Lord Grey formed his administration; and on the 18th of April, 1831, Mr. Sadler seconded General Gascoyne's motion, that 'it was not expedient to diminish the number of representatives for England and Wales,' which being carried in the shape of an amendment by 299 to 291, brought about an immediate dissolution. He so abhorred the Reform Bill from his inmost heart, that he had counselled his party to resist with indignation even the proposition for a first reading, which advice, had it been followed, might, as his biographer imagines, have worked out the political salvation of conservatism. These crude and silly notions always haunt small minds, who generally take the dimensions of men and measures from the pigmy shadows projected by their own gnomons! It could have effected no ultimate difference. So again, when Earl Grey resigned in May, 1832, the member for Newark advised an instant prorogation of parliament, accompanied for the occasion with pledges of large reform from the sovereign; which plan, our author conceives, would have cooled the courage of the country, and put it off with less than was afterwards obtained. It appears to us, that the sole result would

have been an anticipation of that more satisfactory change which cannot be now very far off. Matters must be worse before they are better. But these two occasions of offering counsel are the vaunted basis upon which the worshippers of Mr. Sadler found his claims to the reputation of a first-rate statesman. It is well that others held another estimate of his abilities. The Duke of Newcastle, however, nominated him to the new parliament for the rotten seat of Aldborough, in Yorkshire. On the 29th of August, 1831, he again pressed his favourite subject of Poor Laws for Ireland. But his position in the senate and society had undergone 'a considerable change; he had rapidly lost rank as a party leader;' it was discovered, 'that in skirmishing debate, he proved of little advantage;' in other words, modern toryism itself got weary of its prototype and advocate. His prophecies too, scattered rather thickly up and down long, tedious, bombastic, and pompous harangues, began to give an air of mystical, if not religious imposture, to these memoriter and theme-like compositions. He moreover startled the landocracy by touching on the wrongs of the agricultural labourers, as he presently did the capitalists, by bringing forward the grievances of the factory operatives. His earnest and well-intentioned advocacy of a Time Bill for the latter, closed his public life, since he was never able to obtain a seat in the reformed parliament. Aldborough met a righteous doom in the schedule, which extinguished the close boroughs.

We may now therefore glance at the ex-senator, under circumstances rather more really advantageous to him than those in which he has hitherto appeared. His powers of mind were not of that high order to qualify him for a practical legislator. His tongue it was that captivated superficial patrons, like the Duke of Newcastle; who, being resolved to do what he pleased with his own, failed of necessity to apprehend that *foresight*, without which a statesman is blind, and *selfishness*, which is the indigenous characteristic of aristocracy, very rarely go together. Whenever Mr. Sadler fell to talking or haranguing, the *cacoethes ad captandum* would be sure to carry him away; but with a pen in his hand, in the seclusion of his library, and with plenty of materials before him, he could do better. One of the windmills, whence his antagonists, the political economists, seemed to fetch their main sustentation, was the Malthusian theory; and at this, like the knight-errant of La Mancha, he resolved to tilt with all his might. It rose as it were, against him, in all his dreams (and they were multifarious), both by night and day. Could he but conquer this giant, Michael Thomas, the imaginary descendant of Sir Ralph Sadler, would not quite have lived in vain. Christopher North and our biographer attest his victory with the

utmost confidence, complimenting the Malthusians at the same time as being the progenitors of 'barren theories,' whose general principles were full of 'cruelty and impolicy,' they themselves also being thereby condemned as 'sages in the Satanic school of politics'! Abuse, however, is not argument, as we joyfully admit; yet, nevertheless, it would appear not to be improbable, that in this single instance an evil temper has enlisted on the gaining side. Sadler commenced his investigations about the year 1825, whilst engaged in preparing a course of lectures, to be delivered at Leeds, on the Poor Laws. Malthus asserts, we all know, that the human race, as at present constituted, display tendencies to multiply beyond any possible increase of food; the former augmenting in geometrical, and the latter only in arithmetical progression. The philosopher of Irish linens could never subscribe to either of these averments; but whilst engaged in reiterated attempts to discover the genuine laws of population, we are told that 'the truth flashed upon him one morning, as it were, instantaneously. Examining the census of England, the simple fact presented itself to his notice, that the proportion of births and marriages varied greatly, the births being *more or less numerous, in proportion as the population of the district might be more or less scanty.* Exclaiming with Archimedes, 'I have found it! I have found it!' he instantly set to work to form a table of the counties of England'! p. 162. The statistics of other countries, France, Prussia, the Netherlands, Ireland, America, Russia, Sweden, New South Wales, the Cape of Good Hope, Naples, Denmark, Lombardy, and China, all confirmed this newly-ascertained principle, that instead of a regular duplication of numbers at stated intervals, the ratio of human increase varies by a law of providence, which produces great advances wherever thinness of population admits and requires such rapidity of growth, and then gradually diminishes and checks the augmentation by the natural causes of ease and luxury, until it falls to that point where all further advance necessarily ceases. Thus, for example, in England we may instance the following brief table to illustrate what is meant:—

In those counties having less than 100 inhabitants to the square mile, every 100 marriages produce of positive births - - - - - - - -	420
In counties having from 100 to 150 - - -	396
In counties having from 150 to 200 - - -	390
In counties having from 200 to 250 - - -	388
In counties having from 250 to 300 - - -	378
In counties having from 300 to 350 - - -	353
In those having from 500 to 600 - - - -	331
In the metropolitan county of Middlesex - - -	246

Should an inquiry be made with respect to the real novelty of this theory, so utterly opposed to that of Malthus, it will be but justice to Mr. Sadler if we acknowledge that, although most persons knew that population increased less rapidly in towns than in the open country, yet his efforts developed the isolated and apparently immaterial fact into a series and a system. History, physiology, and statistics, as he maintains, will all three go to prove, that not an abundance, but a paucity of inhabitants is the most fearful evil to be in the long run apprehended. His grand error lay in weakly or wilfully shutting his mind against an all important inference with regard to food,—namely, that if population be permitted to take its natural course, its supplies must never be stinted by artificial means. He could discern and bitterly exaggerate a mote in the eye of his opponent, whilst to the end of his days he failed to see the beam in his own. His work on population came out in the spring of 1830, and would require an article by itself to analyze it. Boundless misrepresentation, and imputations of improper motives, have disgraced the controversy. Without at all going the absurd lengths of his memorialist, that the member for Newark annihilated the economists,—that 'this greatest effort of his life has been the greatest gift bestowed upon mankind by any secular writer of modern times;' we nevertheless cannot forbear very deeply regretting the unjust treatment which Sadler experienced from the Edinburgh Review. The book, beyond all question, exerted powerful influences on the bias, purposes, and opinions of the people of this country. Truth is too precious to be insulted, or even slighted. When Mr. Sadler submitted his sheets to the publisher of the once famous essay of Mr. Malthus, the exclamation of the bibliopolist was, 'Why, Sir, you are going to destroy a copyright which cost me five hundred guineas!' and so it proved. Within five years he felt compelled to sell off the remainder of an edition, issued at twenty-four shillings, for five shillings and ninepence per copy.

Could the subject of this paper have only thought and acted out the theory which he wished to establish, so as not to have permitted any imagined consequences from it to warp his mind, he never would have acquiesced in the grievances of class legislation. Yet these were at the bottom of what he professed continually to deplore. Throughout his protracted and laborious efforts for the factory children, we perceive an unacquaintedness with the real state of the case perpetually hood-winking his benevolence. He was the honourable means of demonstrating that young persons are over-worked at looms, and in the mills of our manufacturing districts; yet to the radical substratum and cause of all their misery, his perceptions could never penetrate.

How came it about that parental affections, on so extensive a scale, should have ever been subjugated by the calls of covetousness? What, but severe pressure, could induce fathers and mothers to wring a few shillings from the exhausted frames of their own offspring? Were the visual nerves of the philanthropist and patriot too obtuse to perceive, that if twenty millions of operatives and retailers have to pay as many pounds sterling more for bread than they ought to do, this exaction in the shape of an augmented price must be obtained somehow or other? What, we would ask, has stifled the still small mysterious voice of nature, but the corn laws? More returns in the form of wages being wanted, Mammon, and selfishness, and necessity, extort them from infant sinews and tender frames. Should effective limitations of time be enacted, and we agree that this ought to be done, of course a corresponding reduction must ensue in the remuneration, by the capitalist, of youthful hire; and then, horrible to relate, the evil, unless the bread tax be abolished, will only assume some worse form. Mr. Sadler had identified himself with that very party in the country, which upholds an aristocracy,—which aristocracy, for the sake of high rents, supports the provision duties,—which provision duties impart an unnatural dearness to the prime necessaries of life,—which unnatural dearness helps to urge on even honest parents to send their children to the factories. The member for Newark was the sworn nominee of the Duke of Newcastle. His boasted system was a mere French varnish skilfully laid over the machinery, worked by a privileged order, to extract from the lower classes and middle-men as much money as possible for its own benefit. Monopoly, exclusiveness, restriction, intolerance, oligarchy,—these are the elements of modern toryism, of which he declared himself proud to stand forward as the champion and impersonation; not, indeed, disclosing the genuine nature of these amiable ingredients, but lending himself to that sort of deception which conservatism sanctions in passing off slavish principles under liberal names. Hence, on certain occasions, as we regret, but cannot forbear to remark, he played the mountebank both at Leeds and Huddersfield, after a manner which might make angels weep. He aimed at being all things to all men. He kissed hands to heaven and earth, to the sea and the dry land. In his own town, at the first election after the Reform Bill, he polled but 1596 votes, whilst his competitor, Mr. Macauley, received 1984. He would fain have tried again there in 1834, but Huddersfield offered a certainty of success, from the assumed union of *the radicals with the tories* against the whigs. He now occupied, in one respect, the position which Serjeant Wilde had taken towards his Grace of Clumber Park, at Newark,

for 'the yoke of a chief proprietor, Sir John Ramsden, was to be thrown off,' and Mr. Sadler was to be the *point d'appui*, from which two sets of politicians, each as different from the other as light from darkness, were to march forward together in harmony and concert. Now few things are more certain than that down to the very eve of the election, the Protean candidate contrived to give perfect satisfaction to both parties. To the liberals his toryism wore the aspect of liberalism, whilst to his other friends it appeared just the reverse. We may appeal to many persons, active on the spot at the time, to tell us whether some of the warmest admirers of Mr. Sadler did not find their friendship put to rather a severe test, by what, to say the least, was conceived to be strange tergiversation on that occasion. Our general impression has always been, that thenceforward he was shelved as a public character. He obtained at the poll no more than 147 votes, and very shortly afterwards withdrew to the neighbourhood of Belfast in Ireland, where he settled for the rest of his life.

There the discussions upon the New Poor Law, introduced by Lord Althorpe, much interested him, although we here again perceive that either his views of pauperism were thoroughly unsound, or else that he was patching up some peculiar crudity of his own, which would enable him to face any constituency, and blow hot and cold with the same breath, exactly as the followers of Sir Robert Peel did on a recent occasion. He by no means approved of the old system, whilst the twelfth chapter of his memoir is as full of downright cant about the new one, as any tissue of nonsense we have ever read. The fulcrum of his judgment seems perpetually moving in an almost circumambient curve. He thought the proposed measure conceived in a wrong spirit, and that it proceeded upon wrong principles. His own system is styled 'the paternal or productive one; its leading characteristics being to foster, protect, cherish, encourage, promote; its chief means of operation the presenting to human beings the motives of benevolence and hope,' p. 33; all which strikes us as being sad drivel for a great statesman; for who on earth would ever break a lance with these vague and shadowy generalities? The great extent of several of the unions he justly objected to, as also to some other features of harshness which are, as we believe, undergoing a process of amelioration. We infer, from a mass of verbiage, that his principal remedies for curing the defects of our former code would have been two,—organization and classification, in which we again presume that ninety-nine out of every hundred persons who can calculate five or ten upon their fingers, will concur with him. As to the provision monopoly, 'he very distinctly and strenuously advocated a full and permanent protection for British agriculture,' p. 454;

and yet, nevertheless, he would do this, 'not for the purpose of securing a large national rental, although that is an essential advantage, but for the general welfare of other classes, the cottiers and freeholders of Ireland, and the yeomanry of England.' The *equivoque*, as our readers will perceive, here lies in the word *national*, craftily implying, if such contradictory sentiments can be reconciled with common sense at all, that the costly rental raised by the corn laws, finds its way into the pockets of the people, and not into those of the aristocracy and squirearchy. On counts of this kind we frankly and fearlessly charge conservatism with carrying fraud upon its forehead, and robbery in its right hand! At last, the ex-senator speaks out, 'If corn is too cheap, the husbandman is undone, whom we must provide for, for HE IS THE STAPLE MAN OF THE KINGDOM!' p. 459. The capitals are not ours, but stand in the text, requiring, indeed, no commentary, except just to say, that we presume the substantial personage alluded to wears a coronet on his head, or a coat of arms for his escutcheon. Pretty patriotism this for the vender of Irish linens at Leeds,—the would-be tory-radical representative of Huddersfield, and the youthful expositor of eclipses along the banks of the Dove in Derbyshire. He had some singular hallucinations about farmers, by whom he certainly meant landlords, being the destined instruments to 'bring the earth into resemblance to that paradise which commenced the world's history, and to that holy city which will close it!' p. 474. Hence there can be no mistake upon the whole in affirming, that with an outer costume of verbal professions to the contrary, his inner man had ranged itself, it may be with the very best intentions, under the colours of despotism, and on the side of the oppressors of his country.

His notions about the currency we like much better. He was for making the sufficiency of a circulating medium, and the steadiness of its supply, quite secure. When we were returning to cash payments in 1820, his plan was to fix their resumption at ten years' distance; and in the meanwhile, maintaining the ease and nominal prosperity of a paper issue, he would have raised the sinking fund from five to ten millions per annum. This would have reduced the national debt one hundred millions in 1830: when by suddenly relinquishing the fifteen millions of taxation which might then be done, more especially by giving up those imposts most hardly pressing on the springs of industry, immense relief would have been afforded just at the same moment with a restricted currency coming into operation. By returning to cash payments in 1819-20, he predicted a reduction of prices to the extent of fifty per cent., leaving the national debt unaltered, which, according to him, was 'tantamount to a practical

doubling of that burthen.' p. 499. There might have been something in this worth attention; but then he overlooked the mischief and injustice which had been all along inflicted by Mr. Pitt's monetary measures since 1797; for if the unnatural depreciation of money thereby effected, be fairly set over against the hardships which we admit to have been produced by the resumption of 1820, results *as to amount* will be arrived at, far nearer an equitable adjustment than most persons imagine. We limit this remark *to the amount*, being as well aware as Mr. Sadler could be, that the individual gainers under the resumption of cash payments were unhappily not identical parties with those who were losers through the paper currency. All we contend for is, that the nation in its totality did not suffer to the extent which some have supposed. With regard to this plan, moreover, of Mr. Sadler, although fully appreciating the beneficence of its object, and the rectitude of his intentions, we doubt whether it could have been at that time realized. The nation could scarcely have endured the necessary additional taxation for ten years, unless retrenchments had been resorted to instead, which the ministry of Lord Grey afterwards demonstrated to be quite possible, but which toryism seemed ready to plunge us into a civil war, rather than tolerate. The fact is, that conservatism can never govern upon other than party principles. Government, for the benefit of all,—power held as a sacred trust for the general welfare, is a mere chimera in its estimation; a *profession*, perhaps, which must be sometimes made in parliament, on the hustings, at public meetings, or in after dinner orations, just as a tub thrown out to amuse the whale, or mislead the people, but as a genuine and substantial reality, never to be dreamed of for a moment. Mr. Sadler gravely propounded that amongst the popular follies of his age, none was greater than the *passion for cheapness;* after hearing which, we need not feel astonished at some other vagaries; such, for instance, as that 'he would scarcely have hesitated to re-enact the *whole Mosaical code* for any civilized and Christian nations of the present day!' p. 505. His reserves, indeed, with regard to it, amount to little or nothing, so far as we can learn, in the way of exception; for amongst its most wise and suitable regulations, he gloated over even the universal restoration in the year of Jubilee, and the absolute prohibition of interest upon loans of money. His biographer conceives, that startling as these propositions appear to political economists, his hero, had he only lived long enough (a very sagacious proviso, we opine), would have made us all laugh on the wrong side of our mouths. We therefore make both himself and his admirers a present of his own words, at the close of the fourteenth chapter, to teach wisdom, if that be possible, to per-

sons so supereminently self-important, and self-conceited:—'*how many degrees of lunacy do these people require to complete their qualification for Bedlam?*' p. 502. Our critical animadversion here terminates, lest it should appear like an approximation to that which we declined at the very commencement of this paper.

The malady which has already been mentioned, seems to have increased upon Mr. Sadler, first in 1831, and afterwards in 1835. Regularity of habit, and calmness of mind, might perhaps have done much for his constitution, even in the neighbourhood of Belfast; but the dissolution of parliament in December, 1834, agitated him with fresh excitement, and renewed hopes of returning to public life. Offers were transmitted of political support from Birmingham, South Durham, and various places, without, however, such prospects of success as induced him with his rapidly advancing indisposition, to run any hazard. It may be fruitless to assure his biographer of the fact, but the day for the ex-nominee of the Duke of Newcastle was gone by. More important matters, too, we cordially believe, were pressing on his attention. The realities of another world began to rise solemnly beyond the horizon of time; and a better portion lay in store for him than rhetorical triumphs, or parliamentary disappointments. He had long felt the firmest conviction that the hour drew near when 'he should die and not live.' Religion had beckoned to him in his boyhood; had sometimes swayed his youth, and even influenced his understanding in riper years; but never had it so reached his heart, as that he fully apprehended it. 'It is not to be denied that the vehemence of his disposition during the few years of his public life, and the earnest sincerity with which his whole soul was thrown into the philanthropic plans he had formed, led him to pursue his various objects in parliament with so great an absorption of mind, as to leave too little room during this period for quiet reflection, or occupation on still higher topics.' The last few months of his existence, therefore, presented him with much to do; whilst happily he sought for rest, where alone it is to be found. The holy scriptures were now rarely out of his hands. His conversation seemed ever hovering upon 'the one thing needful.' Earnest and humble prayer led him as a poor repentant sinner to the cross of Christ. His faith in the blessed atonement purified his heart as it overcame the world. Vehemence of interest about secular affairs softened down into universal submission to the will of God. His entire temper changed. Irritability grew transformed into patience and calmness. Silent endurance of pain, 'which had never before been a feature in his character,' now marked successive days and nights of agony, during which

the old man was decaying, and all things were becoming new. His only intense desire was to realize that participation in the availing sufferings of his Redeemer, which might enable him to exclaim with the apostle, ' Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' It is further remarkable that whereas, during health, an overweening confidence in his own principles had led him constantly ' to speak of his opponents in terms of unsparing severity,' he manifested, for months before his departure, a total change in this respect. Anger melted into love, contempt into respect, anathemas into ' charitable suppositions.' There is no teacher like personal sorrow, especially as the shadows lengthen, and the veil of the invisible world trembles before it parts asunder. Gentleness and meekness made all his bed in his sickness; and inasmuch as

> The chamber where the good man meets his fate,
> Is privileged beyond the common walks of life,
> Quite on the verge of heaven ;—

we naturally linger round it. Love divine, we humbly trust, has baptized even our strongest political predilections. Towards the evening of the 28th of July, 1835, he seemed gradually sinking away, but about three o'clock on Wednesday, the next morning, he a little revived, and recovered both sensation and speech.

' One of his watching friends earnestly asked, 'If he felt the presence of God supporting him in this hour of need.' He instantly replied, ' I know that my Redeemer liveth; and that though in my flesh, worms destroy this body, yet with mine eyes shall I behold Him, whom I shall see for myself, and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.' His friend answered, by quoting the promise, ' Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee.' Upon which, he gratefully acknowledged the faithfulness of God, adding, ' Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me, and thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.' He then, in a few broken sentences, most touchingly expressed his sense of his own utter unworthiness, and his entire dependance on the atoning sacrifice of the great Propitiator ; adding a verse of a favourite hymn,—

> ' Take my poor heart, and let it be
> For ever closed to all but Thee ;
> Seal thou my breast, and let me wear
> That pledge of love for ever there.'

' These were almost the last syllables he uttered, for he shortly afterwards sunk into a doze, and gradually passed away, expiring about six o'clock in the morning of the 29th of July, being then in the fifty-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] minor importance. [illegible]

[illegible]

The original, which is in Rabbinical Hebrew, is said to have been saved from the destruction of Jerusalem, through the assistance of a Roman officer, by a Jew, who fled to Sevilia, and it was finally printed at Venice, in its original language, in 1613. Of the truth or plausibility of this account the reader must judge; it appears to us extremely improbable that a soldier of Titus should take any interest in the preservation of Jewish records, and surely the history of the migration of the Book of Jasher into Egypt must be a fable.

Let us now pass on to the book itself, respecting which we hope we have raised some curiosity in our readers.

'This is the book of the generations of man whom God created upon the earth on the day when the Lord God made heaven and earth.'

Such is the opening to the work; thus at once disagreeing with the Bible in a material point; for whatever length of time we may assign to the word 'day,' the Bible is precise in declaring that man was the sole creation of that division of time called the sixth day. It was certainly judicious in the author not to put forth any new hypothesis, nor to give sanction to any of the present schemes respecting the mode of the earth's formation; had he done so, he would probably have drawn upon himself contradiction and argument, which would certainly not have aided a belief in the authenticity of his narrative; we must therefore applaud the prudence which leads him to commence his history with the creation of Adam, whence he passes rapidly on to his expulsion from the garden of Eden, comprising in twelve verses the account of his creation, fall, and punishment. Here, again, our author is wise; had he given the history of the temptation at greater length, he might have found it difficult to steer clearly between the general orthodox view of the subject, and the opinions of the orthodox Dr. Lamb, as given in his little volume on Hebrew hieroglyphics.

The account of Cain and Abel is more diffuse, and, to say the least of it, very extraordinary, inasmuch as that Abel is said to have been murdered with the 'iron part of a ploughing instrument.' This is startling; but as we read in Scripture that Tubal Cain was a worker in brass and iron, it would perhaps be unjust to decide against Jasher upon this point solely. Again, the Bible tells us that in the days of Enos, the son of Seth, 'men began to call upon the name of the Lord.' Jasher says that in the time of Enos, 'the sons of men made images of brass and iron, wood and stone, and they bowed down and served them.' This is rather contradictory to Scripture.

The speech of Lamech to his wives has puzzled commentators; various meanings have been fastened upon it, but none which

are satisfactory. Jasher explains it in quite a new manner; and if we cannot give it the praise of probability, we must at least allow his story to be perfectly original. It is as follows:—

Lamech being old, and nearly blind, is walking in the field with his son, Tubal Cain, when Cain, the son of Adam, advances towards them:

'And Tubal Cain told his father to draw his bow, and with the arrows he smote Cain, who was yet far off, and he slew him, for he appeared to them to be an animal.'

Surely this is in direct contradiction to the word of Scripture, that a mark was set upon Cain, 'lest any finding him should kill him.' But further. 'And Lamech was very much grieved at having done this, and in clapping his hands together, he struck his son, and caused his death.' A man 'old and advanced in years,' 'his eyes very dim,' kills his son by a touch of his hand! Lamech's wives, 'hated him from that day,' refusing to dwell with him; but upon his remonstrance, and by the advice of Adam, the domestic feud was healed. If we could set aside the improbability of Cain being mistaken for a beast of the forest, and a young man being killed by a blow of the hand, we might acknowledge that this tale throws some light upon the words of Lamech as given to us by Moses; but we rest our unbelief upon the mark set on Cain.

We have next a long, and rather interesting account of Enoch, but it is wound up by a most absurd description of the ascension of the holy man into heaven, and of the place being covered with snow, and 'large stones of snow,' under which the kings of the earth sought for Enoch.'

'And Methusaleh called his name Noah, saying, the earth was in his days at rest, and free from corruption, and Lamech, his father, called his name Menachem, saying, this one shall comfort us in our works and miserable toil in the earth, which God had cursed.'

To this verse is appended the following note:—

'Menachem signifies a comforter. We have no account in Scripture of his being called Menachem, although the reason why he might have had that name is given as it is here; 'this one will comfort us' (Gen.), which does not so well accord with the name Noah, which means *to rest*.'

We confess we do not see much difference in the two names. Menachem is Noah with the prefix *M*, and the final *M*. The *ch* hard, belongs to the Syriac and Cophtic languages, but is used in the name of Noah by Sir W. Drummond, which learned writer calls *M* the *nominal* prefix. Jasher says that at the time of the birth of Noah, men sowed the earth, and gathered a little

food from it, their toil having hitherto been vain. The master picture of the Book of Jasher is to us the description of the entry of the animals into the ark; we forbear a quotation, as we would by no means injure so beautiful a lesson of filial piety as is here presented to us.

We pass on to Nimrod, whose history is given at considerable length, and certainly whatever extravagant stories may have been fabled of the height of the Tower of Babel, this account throws them all into the shade. An extraordinary tale is likewise told respecting the birth of Abraham. Terah's answer to the king throws a new light upon ancient legislation; but however we may praise the wisdom of our ancestors, we should scarcely be inclined to take example from the instance intimated by Jasher, and constitute the youngest son the heir of his father.

As we proceed, new wonders open on us. The Book of Jasher is much more minute and exact than that of Moses, in giving to each of the descendants of Noah his country and dwelling place. After the overthrow of Babel, we read of the second dispersion; we have here 'the Francum who dwelt in the land of Franza, by the river Senah.' Also the land of Tuskanah, of Makdonia, of Curson, and even of Italia. 'The Romim who dwell in the valley of Canopia, by the river Tibreu.' What an invaluable acquisition to the Heralds College would this book have been, had our own country been named in the *comprehensive* list. But we have endeavoured in vain to identify the Thames or the Humber with any of the rivers here mentioned. We have some deep speculations as to the origin of the name given to our classical river on which Oxford stands; the conjunction of the name of the Egyptian deity, Isis, with that of the animal sacred to her worship, is rather strange, and we should be glad to see it elucidated; happily for our equanimity, we had no hope that Jasher would thus befriend us; we are not therefore disappointed that this little island of ours was deemed not worthy of a place in this veracious chronicle of the ancestors of mankind. We trust our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic bear their exclusion with equal fortitude, but the Potomac might have found a place in the list.

We must not linger over the *interesting* and instructive history of Terah's idols; we have heard that such tales are still made part of the Jewish education, but it cannot be so among the more intelligent members of that nation. Our own nursery tales of giants and ogres are absurd enough, but *we* are content with travestying the mythology of far off lands and bygone times, we do not touch the religious belief of our own day.

The next strange tale is the origin of the title Pharaoh; and

here all previous suppositions are shewn to be erroneous. Various interpretations have been given to this word, some of them more curious than probable, but all being founded upon a plausible etymology. The word Pharaoh is probably a solar title from the Copthic *Phre*, and perhaps *roe*, rex. By the Greek powers of notation these letters make 608, the number of the old and imperfect Neros, thereby proving the early colonization of Egypt *from* India. The book of Jasher, however, relates a story of a wild man named Rikayon who took possession of an 'Egyptian sepulchre,' and by exacting a payment for all the dead requiring to be buried there, at length became so rich as to be chosen 'prefect' over Egypt, whence he raised himself to the supreme power. Surely this hint will not be lost upon our government: the dead have hitherto been taxed indirectly only; but at this time, when famine stalks through the land, threatening to mow down her thousands, such a tax as that of Rikayon Pharaoh would embrace all alike, the dissenter as well as the churchman, and would be extremely profitable to the revenue. We recommend it to the notice of Mr. Mackinnon.

We really cannot touch upon all the absurdities of this book: their name is Legion; we must pass on quickly. A part of the twenty-second chapter is a copy of the opening of the book of Job, but Jasher by no means elucidates that difficult passage. Again, in the history of Joseph, we find this remarkable verse. —Joseph speaks.—

'And if I have sinned unto you, are you not the sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob? if they saw an orphan they had compassion over him, or one that was hungry they gave him bread to eat, or one that was thirsty they gave him water to drink, or one that was naked they covered him with garments!"

This passage seems rather out of place in a Rabbinical work, we wonder that the composer or compiler should have committed such a blunder. The similarity to the book of Job was startling enough, but this at once declares the comparatively modern origin of the book of Jasher.

The history of Joseph is well and touchingly told; but we wish that the little episode of the beast speaking to Jacob, and assuring him that it was not *he* who destroyed his son, had been left out, it *somewhat* injures the harmony of the narrative. After the death of Jacob, we have the history of a war between his sons and those of Esau; with the latter the children of Seir were allied, probably by the marriage of Esau with Aholibamah, 'the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite: (Hivi being the son of Hur, the son of Canaan, and Seir being also the son of Hur;) disputes arising, the children of Esau sent for

assistance to 'Angeas, King of Africa, the same is Dinabah,' and by his aid they were victorious, driving the children of Seir out of the land, and dividing it among themselves. Some of the sons of Esau having gone over to the enemy in the battle, the conquerors determined that they would have a stranger to reign over them, because they were angry against their brethren; and they chose Bela, the son of Peor, from the people of Angeas, King of Dinabah. This a singular coincidence with Genesis, vi. xxxvi., viii. 32:—

'And Bela, the son of Peor reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Dinabah.' He is the first king of Edom.

In chapter fifty-eight, we read that Pharaoh, King of Egypt, died, and Magron, his son, reigned in his stead.

'And Pharaoh commanded Joseph before his death to be a father to his son Magron, and that Magron should be under the care of Joseph, and under his counsel.'

This perfectly agrees with recent historical discoveries in Egypt; it being shewn by hieroglyphics and paintings, that Joseph was guardian to the successor of his benefactor; thus Jasher is corroborated.

The succeeding chapter we must pass over; Angeas King of Africa, Turnus King of Bibuta, and Lucus King of Sardunia, being rather apocryphal personages. In chapter sixty-one, we have a wonderful account of the first aqueduct on record. It was built by Angeas, to convey the waters of Purmah, in Chittim, to Africa, (or Dinabah) for the use of his queen, who was of the city of Puzimna, in the land of Chittim. This is worthy of investigation, as a watercourse has been discovered at Petra, the capital of Edom.

Upon the death of Magron, Melol his son reigned in his stead. The sons of Jacob were dead, and another generation had risen up; then follows an account resembling that of Moses, of the oppression inflicted upon the Israelites by order of Pharaoh. Balaam, the son of Peor, was then residing at the Egyptian court, and he it was who counselled the king to drown the Israelitish children. To avoid this the women left their infants in the field, 'And the Lord who had sworn to their ancestors to multiply them, sent one of his ministering angels, which are in heaven, to wash each child in water, to anoint and swathe it, and to put into its hands two smooth stones, from one of which it sucked milk, and from the other honey, and he caused its hair to grow to its knees, by which it might cover itself, to comfort it and to cleave to it, through his compassion for it.' A note by the translator shows this to be a Rabbinical fable.

The history of the birth and infancy of Moses is given as in

the Bible. Meanwhile, 'and the labour of Egypt strengthened upon the children of Israel in those days; and behold, if one brick was deficient in any man's daily labour, the Egyptians took his youngest boy by force from his mother, and put him into the building in the place of the brick which his father had left wanting.' A resource not likely to ensure the stability or security of Pharaoh's treasure cities! We have a curious story of Moses' taking the crown from the king's head and putting it on his own, while he was yet a child, and of the consternation which this action caused in the court of Pharaoh. Moses however, by the help of an angel, gets over the difficulty, and rises in favour with Pharaoh. After killing the Egyptian, Moses fled to Cush, where he was well received by Kikianus, king of that country, whom he assisted in his wars; and, on the death of Kikianus, he was chosen king, and reigned forty years, at the end of which time there was a rebellion, by which Moses was deposed. Then follows his residence in Midian, during which time Pharaoh died; under his successor the cruelties practised upon the Israelites were increased. We have next a most wonderful story of a stick which Adam had brought from Eden, and which had passed by the patriarchs down to Joseph, after whose death Reuel took it and planted it in his garden. 'And all the mighty men of the Kinites tried to pluck it when they endeavoured to get Zipporah, his daughter, but they were unsuccessful.

'So that stick remained planted in the garden of Reuel, until he came who had a right to it and took it.'

This stick enables Moses and Aaron to enter the house of Pharaoh, which was guarded by two lions. The history of the rods is given at rather greater length than in the Bible, but it is not made clearer. We have then the 'plagues' and the departure of the Israelites. In the account of the passage of the Red Sea, Jasher expressly states that Pharaoh escaped, 'and not one man was left excepting Pharaoh, who gave thanks to the Lord, and believed in him, therefore the Lord did not cause him to perish at that time with the Egyptians. And the Lord ordered an angel to take him from among the Egyptians, who cast him upon the land of Nineveh, and he reigned over it for a long time.'

The fight with Amalek is related, and we pass on to Sinai. The history of the golden calf and all relating to the giving of the law is very succinctly told. We need not follow the Israelites in their wanderings and subsequent victories, but we must notice the miracle of Joshua. Our readers remember Joshua, x. ch. 13 verse. Jasher says, 'And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Joshua, and the sun stood still in the midst of the heavens,

and it stood still six and thirty moments; and the moon also stood still and hastened not to go down a whole day.' The Hebrew word is literally *times*.

It is well that we have arrived at the end of our task, for we find Britannia named as one of the places conquered by Latinus, King of Chittim. Kernania is also mentioned as belonging to Elisha, son of Javan, in the same verse. Britannia and Kernania were therefore in Greece, as Hellas is supposed to be derived from Elisha; Kernania is probably Acarnania. Our book closes with the death of Joshua.

Now the question is to be answered, What is the Book of Jasher? Is it 'a monument of history,' 'peculiarly calculated to illustrate and confirm the sacred truths handed down to us in the Scriptures?' Such are the words of the translator. Who he is, we are not told; but Mr. Noah, the American publisher, speaks of his 'admitted learning and ability.' We hope, however, that as he resides in England, he will make himself known by name.

The work is doubtless a literary curiosity. It contains passages which might startle us into a momentary belief in its authenticity, but is so encumbered with what we know must be spurious, that considerable industry and resolution are required to disengage the particles of truth from the mass of doubtful matter. We must leave it to our readers, if they be inclined, to attempt this cleansing of the Augean stable; there are passages and touches of beauty which will repay their trouble.

Art. III. *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society from* 1792 *to* 1842. By Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. *To which is added a Sketch of the General Baptist Mission.* 2 Vols. 12mo. London: Ward and Co. 1842.

THE history of modern missions is one of the most instructive chapters in the annals of our race. The lessons which it inculcates are of the highest practical utility, while the prospects which it opens up are exhilarating in the last degree. Like many of the most important movements of our world, these missionary enterprises were little noticed at their commencement. Statesmen were too much engrossed with their worldly vocation to notice them, and philosophers, with all their professed love of wisdom, were too earthly and contracted in their views to estimate aright their character and bearing. They were therefore, at first, known only to a few, and those few were men who sympathized with their spirit and deemed their religious object of paramount importance. Even the Christian church was for a

[illegible] insensible to their claims, and sought, by the dogmas of a perverse theology, to justify their indifference and neglect. They could not, however, long remain unknown. Their character was too aggressive, their course of procedure too decided, and the reflection which they cast upon the prevalent indolence and unfaithfulness was too intelligible and marked to permit their being so. Different opinions might be entertained respecting them, but known they would be from the very necessity of the case. Their agents were speedily to be seen in every quarter of the globe, uttering in tongues hitherto unintelligible to English ears the wonderful works of God. And they produced a marvellous change—a change which men could not but see, and which they reported at home, as evil or as good, according as it harmonized with their principles, or was friendly to the objects which had carried them to distant climes. Thus the missionary enterprise became matter of notoriety, and it was strange to mark the estimate in which it was held. Pious men, in many cases, deemed it utopian, state priests derided it as fanatical and absurd, while politicians of every name represented it as hostile to British supremacy, and the sure forerunner of civil discord and colonial revolt. The ridicule of the worldling, the profane banter of the so called parish priest, the muttered threat, and not unfrequently the overt act of hostility, on the part of civil functionaries, were all combined to crush the movement in its infancy:—and crush it they must have done, had there not been something unearthly in its nature, something partaking of a divine vitality, and drawing its sustenance direct from Heaven.

The opposition against which the originators of modern missions had to struggle, could not have failed to accomplish its end if their faith and patience had not been sustained by spiritual communion with the Most High. Deriving their convictions of duty from an enlightened examination of the sacred oracles, these men acted as in the presence and under the conscious inspection of God. They felt the solemnity of their vocation, and listened with all the docility of childhood to the voice which bade them go forward. They were men adapted to the crisis, and executed their trust to the admiration and astonishment of the Christian world. Regardless alike of open opposition, and of the prudential advice which timid and slothful piety tendered, they moved steadily on in their course, appealing to the result of their labours as the best answer to objectors, who were inaccessible to the argument from Scripture. The facts to which they appealed are now before us, and we need not say that they triumphantly vindicate both the wisdom and the piety of the men in question. To whatever hemisphere we look, in whatever region we

travel, we discover the marks of a beneficent interposition which is making the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose. Men of every colour and of every tongue, from the degraded Bushman of Africa to the subtle and effeminate Hindoo, have borne witness to the omnipotence of Christian truth, and have risen under its influence to the dignity and hope of an intelligent and redeemed nature.

The period when modern missions arose gives them additional interest. It was in the very moment when a whole nation, maddened by the oppression of centuries, had thrown aside at once its humanity and its religion, that a few poor and obscure men confederated for the evangelization of the world. There was something eminently divine in the calm and dignified faith with which, at such a period, they addressed themselves to such an undertaking. France was apparently lost to the Christian world, and the poison of her infidelity had spread widely through other nations, polluting their literature, and relaxing the bonds by which their social relationships were held together. At such a moment it might have been deemed enough, yea, more than was to be looked for, that Christianity should retain its footing, that it should continue to be the recognised faith, and to find its home and its temple in the hearts of any considerable number of our countrymen. Such was the reasoning of many who ought to have known better, but it was far otherwise with the men who, at Kettering, on the 2nd of October, 1792, resolved 'to act together in society for the purpose of propagating the gospel among the heathen.' Their sense of religious obligation, and confidence in the ultimate triumph of Christianity, was amply sufficient to counteract the discouraging influence of external circumstances.

In the career of Christian benevolence, an honourable part must be assigned to the religious body whose missionary operations are detailed in the volumes before us. They were early in the field, and tended, by the simplicity and vigour of their operations, combined with the admirable qualities of the men who were foremost in the movement, to attract the attention, and to conciliate towards missionary operations the confidence of other denominations. We are not concerned with the question of priority which has been urged. Let those who are interested settle this. It is enough for our purpose that all evangelical bodies have engaged in the good work, and that marks of the divine approval have rested on each. We rejoice in this catholicity, and still cling to the pleasing conviction, notwithstanding all the strife and acrimony of our times, that a period is approaching when the essential unity of the Christian brotherhood will

be practically recognised, as its spirit will prevail throughout the institutions and polity of every religious body.

The Jubilee services recently held in connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society, have naturally given rise to an increased demand for information respecting its past history. This was foreseen, and has been wisely provided for by Dr. Cox, whose denominational standing, personal acquaintance with many of the founders of the mission, and intimate knowledge of its early history, eminently qualify him to execute the somewhat delicate and difficult task. In the preparation of his work we are told that his aim has been 'to disentangle the most important facts from the confusion into which they have been thrown, to introduce men and things as they have been familiarized by personal knowledge, to select the most important biographies, European and oriental, to point out the origin, and trace the results of various missionary operations in connexion with the Society, to show the literary as well as religious bearing of the mission, to contemplate its moral effects and public influence, and to mark at every step the superintending providence of God.' On some accounts we should have been glad if the preparation of such a history had been deferred a few years longer, as there are some points which cannot yet be treated with the fullness and impartiality which are needful in order to bring out all the lessons that it teaches. We are too near the times, and too intimately connected with the men concerned, to do all which the interests of truth and the right management of future missionary operations require. These points, however, may be reserved for future consideration, and the volumes before us will greatly assist our successors towards a correct estimate of the facts and principles in question.

The origin of the Baptist Mission must be traced to Dr. Carey, its first and most distinguished agent. It will be found, remarks Mr. Fuller, who was intimately acquainted with its history, 'in the workings of our brother Carey's mind, which, for the last nine or ten years, has been directed to this object with very little intermission. His heart appears to have been set upon the conversion of the heathen before he came to reside at Moulton, in 1786.'*

As corroborative of this statement, Dr. Cox informs us, on the authority of a sister of Mrs. Carey, that his deep anxiety to engage the attention of the Christian church in a devout and practical consideration of the state of the heathen world had long been visible to his family before it was known to the public. 'Again and again has she observed him in the attitude of intense

* Periodical Accounts. No. I., p. 1.

thought, the subject of which, as it afterwards appeared, was the state of the heathen world. She has often seen him standing motionless for an hour or more in the middle of a path in his garden, abstracted from outward objects by the workings of a mind that had begun to devote itself to a vast and newly contemplated object.' This solicitude was probably in part derived from a resolution adopted by the Baptist Association at Nottingham in 1784, to hold a meeting on the first Monday of every month, 'for extraordinary prayer, for the revival of religion, and for the extending of Christ's kingdom in the world.'

This suggestion proceeded from the venerable Sutcliffe, of Olney, and its adoption powerfully contributed to the result which eight years afterwards was attained at Kettering. In the meantime, however, Mr. Carey had to encounter much opposition. Few minds sympathized with him. His brethren generally were opposed to his views, and even the few who regarded them with favour, despaired of seeing them carried out. 'The time was not come,' or 'there was work enough to be done at home,' was the reply usually received when he attempted to urge the importance and practicability of a mission to the heathen. Most men would have sunk under the discouragements encountered, but Carey possessed in an eminent degree one characteristic of true greatness, and that carried him through. He was true to his own convictions, even when opposed by those whose judgment and piety he most respected. It was impossible to shake his confidence in them. The indifference or opposition of his brethren must frequently have pained, but never induced him, even for one moment, to waver in his course. His own mind was clearly and fully made up, and all the opposition he encountered was therefore unable to divert him from his object. He continued from 1787 to 1790 to avail himself of every opportunity which the ministerial meetings of his district afforded, to urge the subject on the consideration of his brethren, and in 1791 was requested 'partly,' as Mr. Fuller states, 'to satisfy brother Carey, and partly to gain time,' to publish an essay which he had prepared on the subject. In May of the following year, Mr. Carey preached before the Association at Nottingham, from the 54th Isaiah, 2nd and 3rd verses, arranging his remarks under two hortatory divisions, which have since become the watchwords of the church. These were, '*Expect* great things *from God*;' '*Attempt* great things *for* God.' The impression of this discourse was exceedingly powerful, and a resolution was immediately passed, 'that against the next ministers' meeting at Kettering, a plan should be prepared for the purpose of forming a Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen.'

In conformity with this decision, it was resolved, on the second

of the following October, to organize a Society, and as the divided state of Christendom afforded no hope of a catholic association, it was agreed to call such Society 'The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.' The spirit of the men who came to this resolution was anything but sectarian, as will appear by a brief extract from an address which they circulated:—

'"Though this Society honestly acknowledged that its founders were of the particular baptist persuasion, we are sure it was not the interest of a party they wished to promote, but the glory of our divine Lord, and the salvation of immortal souls. Hence it was proposed, at first, if no opening was found for a baptist mission, to have requested the presbyterian and Moravian brethren, who had already been employed in labouring among the heathen, to accept some assistance from our subscriptions; for, by the leave of the God of heaven, we were determined to do something towards propagating his gospel in heathen lands.'"—Vol. i., p. 4.

This was as it should be, and every friend of missionary effort should mark with his severest reprobation the slightest manifestation of an opposite temper. If there be one object which calls more than any other for a surrender of all party predilections, it is surely that which contemplates the evangelization of the heathen world. To permit the little jealousies of party to interfere with the success of so godlike an effort, is to degrade ourselves in the judgment of an observing world, and to prove our utter unfitness for the work we have undertaken. That missionary agencies should manifest the common infirmities of our nature is to be looked for, but that they should evidence the paltry meannesses of sectarian strife is amongst the most humiliating and painful exhibitions which can be witnessed.

The pecuniary resources of the confederation were at the first extremely limited.

'At the Kettering meeting, *on the second of October*, the society was formally incorporated; and the first subscription, made on the spot, amounted to 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* This sum, though really small, was comparatively large, for it was the contribution of a few poor but enlightened servants of Jesus Christ. It was such as to free it from all charge of ostentation in the motive, and yet such as to evince the faith and the self-sacrifice of those who laid it on the altar of God. The warring world was at the time expending millions in sanguinary conflict, which exhausted nations, and terminated in death and desolation; these men were contributing to enhance the happiness of the earth, and promote the glory of its Redeemer. 'What!' said the objectors at the time, 'is thirteen pounds the mighty sum with which it is proposed to undertake so vast a scheme!' 'And were these the men and the means,' have said opponents since, in fifty years of

reiterated scorn, 'with which the conversion of the world was to be attempted!' Precisely so, we reply; for means are accepted of God when they are proportionate to possession, and blessed with success when they are employed in faith. After separating in much prayerful solicitude, the ministers reassembled on the thirty-first of the same month, when the Society held its second meeting at Northampton. On this occasion, Mr. Pearce of Birmingham brought a contribution of seventy pounds from his friends, saying that they had formed an auxiliary society. He was then elected a member of the committee.'—Ib., p. 17, 18.

Mr. Thomas, a surgeon, recently returned from Bengal, who, by a singular occurrence of events, was at this very time raising funds in London for a mission to that country, was requested by the committee to go out under their patronage, and Mr. Carey engaged to accompany him. The two men met at Kettering in January, 1793, and an eye-witness has left us a brief, but touching account of the interview. 'It was late in the evening,' says Mr. Morris, 'while they were in full deliberation, his (Mr. Thomas) arrival was announced. Impatient to behold his colleague, he entered the room in haste, and Mr. Carey rising from his seat, they fell on each other's necks and wept. . . . . From Mr. Thomas's account we saw,' said Mr. Fuller, 'there was a gold mine in India, but it seemed almost as deep as the centre of the earth. Who will venture to explore it? 'I will go down,' said Mr. Carey to his brethren, 'but remember that you must hold the ropes.' We solemnly engaged to do so, nor while we live shall we desert him.'*

Mr. Carey was at this time pastor of a church in Leicester, which, 'with a noble and disinterested zeal,' at once relinquished their claim on his services, and concurred in the propriety of his acceding to the call of his brethren. His spirit, however, was far from being responded to by all the members of his denomination. A meeting was convened at Devonshire-square, London, for the purpose of forming an auxiliary society, at which were present thirty-one persons, eight of whom were ministers, and strong objections were urged by some against the proposed organization. They were willing, individually, to assist, but shrunk from the formation of an auxiliary through unwillingness to '*commit the whole denomination.*' Such was the expression used again and again on this occasion, and it furnishes an humiliating view of the pitiful policy which even good men are sometimes tempted to pursue. Happily for the interests of mankind, a better spirit prevailed in the country, and London was speedily compelled, by the force of circumstances and the accumulative evidence of facts, to abandon its fears, and take part in the noble enterprise.

* Memoirs of Fuller.

On June 13th, 1793, Carey and Thomas embarked on board a Danish East Indiaman, and on the 11th of the following November, arrived at Calcutta. It would be foreign from our province, as it is incompatible with our limited space, to follow the course of these noble men in their various and exhausting labours. The general character of these labours is well known to the Christian church, and such as are desirous of being minutely informed respecting them, may be referred to the *Periodical Accounts* published by the Society. With a self-consecration which has never been surpassed in modern times, they undertook the management of two indigo factories, and sacredly devoted to the religious objects of their mission the pecuniary resources thence obtained. The Society was thus relieved from the supply of their temporal necessities, and direct influence was obtained over more than a thousand work-people. The views of the brethren were sustained by the committee, though not without some apprehension; and a resolution was in consequence adopted, that 'considering the frailty of human nature, a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them.' This was both faithful and kind, and the communication was received in the same spirit as dictated it.

In the meantime, the Society at home sought to strengthen the hands of their brethren, by sending out others who were also desirous of preaching the gospel to the heathen. Mr. Carey had early devoted himself to the study of the Eastern languages; and a printing press, esteemed by the natives an English idol, having been set up at Mudnabatty, on the eighteenth of September, 1798, it was felt to be important that some person qualified for its superintendence should go out. Mr. William Ward speedily offered himself for this service, and in association with Mr. Marshman, and others, sailed for India in May, 1799. The Anglo-Indian government was, at this time, openly hostile to missionary operations, and its irreligious policy was too well sustained by the authorities at home. Idolatry, in its most cruel and licentious forms, was either fostered or connived at; while the whole weight of the administration was brought to crush the efforts made by Carey and his associates, for the extension of the faith which their rulers professed. And this, be it remembered, was in the good old tory times, when William Pitt was premier; and some men are foolish enough to imagine that the scepticism and infidelity of radical politicians were excluded from the high places of the land. On arriving in India, Messrs. Ward, Marshman, Brunsdon, and Grant, proceeded to the Danish settlement of Serampore, and soon afterwards repaired to Mr. Carey, for the purpose stated in the following extract:—

'About the middle of November, Messrs. Ward and Fountain went to Mudnabatty, to consult with Mr. Carey respecting the removal of

the whole mission family to Serampore. He had found it impracticable to remain at Kidderpore, whither he had removed, as the factory at Mudnabatty had declined; and, with all the interest he could employ, he was unsuccessful in obtaining permission of the government for the missionaries to settle in the British territory. Besides this necessity, other considerations urged them with great force to unite in one place. The chief purposes of the mission would thus be best carried on; the printing of the Scriptures most advantageously effected, as Mr. Ward would then have the inspection of the press; other missionaries might be allowed to join them at Serampore; and the population was far more numerous in that district than in that part of the country which they determined to vacate.'—Ib., p. 56.

Mr. Carey arrived at Serampore, January the tenth, 1800, and was courteously received by the Danish governor, to whom he was presented on the following day. A set of regulations for the government of the missionary family was speedily drawn up, by which it was provided that they should preach and pray in rotation; one was to superintend the secular affairs of the family for a month, and then another. Mr. Carey was constituted treasurer, and Mr. Fountain the librarian. One of their resolutions was, that 'no one should engage in private trade, but that all be done for the benefit of the mission.' On the twenty-fourth of the following April, the missionaries constituted themselves a church, Mr. Carey being chosen pastor, and Messrs. Fountain and Marshman deacons. Their daily avocations at this time are thus described by one of their number:—

' ' Our labours every day are now regularly arranged. About six o'clock we rise,—brother Carey to his garden, brother Marshman to his school (a Bengalee school of forty children) at seven; brother Brunsdon Felix (Carey's son), and I, to the printing office. At eight the bell rings for family worship; we assemble in the hall, sing, read, and pray. Breakfast. Afterwards, brother Carey goes to the translation, or reading proofs, brother Marshman to school, and the rest to the printing office. Our compositor having left us, we do without. We print three half-sheets of 2000 each in a week; have five pressmen, one solder, and one binder. At twelve o'clock we take a luncheon; then most of us shave and bathe, read and sleep before dinner, which we have at three. After dinner we deliver our thoughts on a text or question. This we find to be very profitable. Brother and sister Marshman keep their school till after two. In the afternoon, if business be done in the office, I read and try to talk Bengalee with the brahmin. We drink tea about seven, and have little or no supper. We have Bengalee preaching once or twice in the week, and on Thursday evening we have an experience meeting. On Saturday evening we meet to compose differences and transact business, after prayer, which is always immediately after tea.' '—Ib., p. 61, 62.

It was not long before the effect of their labours was seen in the conversion of some of the natives. On the twenty-second of December, Krishno, and three others, appeared before the infant church as candidates for its fellowship. 'The chain of caste is broken,' said Mr. Ward, exultingly, 'and who shall be able to mend it?' This apostasy from the faith of their fathers aroused the fiercest anger on the part of their heathen neighbours, which broke out in acts of violence that severely taxed the steadfastness and patience of the new converts.

'The Brahmins,' writes Mr. Carey, 'are as full of opposition and strife as men can well be. They gnash with their teeth, abuse with their tongues, and would do more if they could. This, however, is only the effect which the gospel may always be expected to produce. So long as they could, by any sophistry, make the common people suppose that the gospel harmonized with their shastres, all was well; but now the veil is removed, and some have voluntarily trampled on the honours of their caste, the matter is quite altered, and the *harmless* Hindoos are as ferocious as Sunderbund tigers.'

'On the 29th of December, Mr. Carey writes to Mr. Sutcliff,—'Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate the Gunga, by baptizing the first Hindoo—namely, Krishno, and my son Felix.' In his journal, Mr. Brunsdon says,—'There were a great number of Portuguese, as they are called, and Europeans present, as well as Hindoos. Brother Carey sung, prayed, and preached in Bengalee; then led down Felix, and baptized him, and afterwards Krishno. To the former he spoke in English, 'I baptize thee,' &c.; to the latter in Bengalee. It was a very pleasant sight indeed.' The Danish governor, being present, was affected to tears by the solemnity of the scene. 'Ye gods of stone and clay,' exclaims one of the missionaries, 'did ye not tremble, when, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one of your votaries shook you as dust from his feet!' The great uproar that had been excited occasioned the dissolution of the school by the withdrawment of all the Bengalee children.'—Ib., pp. 64, 65.

In the meantime the missionaries steadily pursued their work, and on the seventh of February 1801, completed the printing of the Bengalee New Testament. The general result of their labours during the first ten years of their residence in India, is given by Dr. Cox at the close of the third chapter of the first part of his work, and we should be glad to extract his summary if our limits permitted. We must, however, pass on to other matters which his volumes abundantly supply. The missionaries were frequently brought into contact with the British troops stationed in various parts of the continent. Churches were formed in some of the regiments, and numerous converts were

gained. At Berhampore, Mr. Chamberlain's ministry had been eminently successful in the case of the twenty-second regiment, in which a church was formed, consisting of nearly forty members. This regiment being ordered to the Isle of France, the pious soldiers, just prior to their departure, addressed the following beautifully simple letter to the missionaries, which, as an evidence of the power of religious truth, under circumstances most disadvantageous, we readily transcribe.

'*September*, 1810.

' 'It has pleased our heavenly Father, in his wise dispensations, to call us from you on military duty.

'We have reason, in a peculiar manner, to be thankful for the many benefits we have received since it has pleased the Bishop of our souls to place us under the ministry of the brethren, which has been wonderfully blessed among us, particularly the incessant labours of our dear pastor in the Lord, brother Chamberlain.

'The thought of parting with you, dear brethren, is very painful to us, when we consider the mutual love that has subsisted between us. What consolation in Christ! what comfort of love! what fellowship of the Spirit! what bowels of compassion! Oh, often have our hearts glowed with that love which passeth all understanding!

'Dear brethren, what shall we say? We cannot find words to express our feelings of love and gratitude towards you.

'Pray for us, that we may stand fast in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, that whether life or death, prosperity or adversity, darkness or light, awaits us, we may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. Dear brethren, we now conclude with the ardent desire of our souls, that the love and fellowship of the blessed and glorious Trinity may rest upon you.' '—Ib., pp. 134, 135.

The direct and obvious results of missionary efforts in India have hitherto borne no comparison with those which have been realized in other countries. Hence has arisen something like despondency and a depreciation of what has actually been achieved. This is not the place for entering into a discussion of the causes which have contributed to this difference of results, else it would not be difficult to point out considerations which go far to account for it. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that enough has been effected in India to prove the power of Christianity to triumph over the force of caste and the degrading and subtle superstitions of its inhabitants. More has been accomplished, even in the way of direct conversions, than is generally apprehended; and vast preparations have been made for a change, the tokens of whose approach are yearly becoming more and more visible. Dr. Cox's statements fully establish our views.

'During the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, upwards of four hundred

were introduced into the churches in India. Adding these to previous accessions, the number of baptized individuals of different nations in seventeen years amounted to nearly twelve hundred. These were diffused through small communities of Christian fellowship; churches indeed in their essential character, though many of them were insignificant in magnitude; but presenting scenes of attractive verdure in the moral wilderness.—'Let no man, then, glory in men; let no flesh glory in His presence; let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord alone. But it is no part of this duty to be blind to what the Lord hath done for his cause, particularly when it bears an aspect towards future blessings; for 'all his works are perfect.' Thus, his continuing his word here; his blessing it so far that more than one thousand of various nations have come forward openly to profess his name; his sending it forth into no less than twenty-five different places in India and the isles, in most of which some degree of fruit has already appeared; his raising up gifts suited to the country, (though so much beneath those found in the churches at home,) in such a degree that twenty of these stations should spring as it were out of nothing, being formed by those called in India, who, a few years ago, were all unknown to his church; his opening the way for schools to be established, which convey not merely the elements of learning, but ideas which may enable the mind to judge between truth and falsehood, and to burst those adamantine fetters in which it has been so long held; together with his blessing them in such a manner already, that throughout the whole mission, there are scarcely less than ten thousand children of every description, brought, in some way or other, under instruction, and this hitherto done chiefly by means furnished on the spot; surely, when we consider what aspect all this bears towards a future harvest of enlightened converts,—of gifts that may spread light and knowledge to the utmost boundary of India, we cannot but feel grateful. But if we also turn to the translations, which already lay open the path of Divine knowledge to so many millions, and glance at those in preparation, which will open the way to nearly every nation from China to the borders of Persia,—nations that, with the Indian Isles, can scarcely include a less number than two hundred millions, besides the hundred and fifty millions China is allowed by all to contain, and with these a full half of mankind, the whole will surely furnish matter for gratitude and encouragement'—Ib., pp. 297, 298.

The following account of a Persian convert will be read with deep interest by all who take pleasure in the development of Christian principles, and the firm endurance of religious persecution. It relates to Muhummud Bakur, a native of Shiraz, in Persia.

'At the age of twelve, he went to Bengal with his father, who died at Dacca. Being at Dacca in 1813, a gentleman conversed with him respecting the gospel, and spoke in opposition to Mahomet. At first, the young man was prejudiced against the truth, but in a short time perceived that he was wrong; and from reading the gospels he became

convinced of his errors. From Dacca he removed to Calcutta, where, becoming acquainted with Petruse, he was introduced to Mr. Carey. A short time after this, to avoid the persecution raised against him by his Mussulman acquaintance, he went to Serampore, and remained two or three months under instruction. Having occasion to go to Calcutta, to recover a trifling sum owing to him, he was obliged to call at the house of a Mussulman of property, who treated him with great outward respect, but, in the tobacco which was prepared, gave him some intoxicating drug, by which he became completely insensible. In this state, they cut his clothes in pieces, and conveyed him on board a ship lying off Calcutta, then on the point of sailing to Muscat. After being on board some time, he recovered his senses, and found himself in the hold of this ship. He then attempted to come on deck, and complain to the pilot, that the captain was carrying him away without his consent; but he was beaten on the head, and in other parts of the body, in the most violent manner, the scars of which were visible on the day of his baptism. They also tied his hands and feet, and kept him in this state till the pilot had left the vessel, and they were out at sea; he was then brought on deck, and made to work in the ship, on a daily allowance of three biscuits and some water. He was three times tied up by the arms in the blazing sun, and ordered, under pain of worse tortures, to renounce Christ. He defied their threats, declaring that he was no longer a Mussulman, but a Christian. After they had sailed sixteen days, a violent storm came on, and continued some days, obliging them to put in at Goa. Here Bakur, in the darkness of the night, let himself down into a small boat, and got to land, where he prevailed on a Portuguese man to conceal him till the ship departed, which was seven days. He then had a passage given him to Bombay, by a European who wished to be instructed in Persian. From Bombay to Madras he obtained his passage by working on board a ship proceeding thither. At Madras, he happily heard of Mr. Loveless, who treated him with the greatest kindness, and introduced him to the 'Friend-in-need Society' at that place, which paid his passage to Calcutta, whence he hastened to Serampore, to communicate the joyful news of his deliverance from 'so great a death.' Subsequently, he proceeded to Digah, where the brethren had long been wishing for one who could speak the Hindostanee.'—Ib., pp. 248—250.

It is well known that after Mr. Fuller's death misunderstandings arose between the Serampore brethren and the society at home, which ultimately led to a separation. To these circumstances Dr. Cox is, of course, compelled to advert, and it has afforded us much pleasure to observe the kind and candid spirit which pervades his narrative. The Christian church at large deplored the dissension, and hailed with no common joy the reunion, which was happily effected a few years since. To have availed himself of his position as an historian, in order to re-open breaches which have been healed, and to revive animosities over which good men have mourned, would have been to commit a

transgression of no ordinary magnitude, foreign alike to the requirements of Christianity and the well-known kindness of the writer. Dr. Cox would obviously have avoided the subject altogether, had his doing so been compatible with an honest discharge of the duty undertaken. This, however, could not be: he was bound to notice the matter, and has done so in a style which merits the commendation of both parties. The recurrence of such disputes appears to be an inevitable result of the present imperfect state of the church. They are to be deplored—deeply deplored; but he who takes advantage from them to withdraw his personal services from the missionary enterprise, betrays an unsoundness of principle and perversion of mind which cannot be too seriously deplored. Our author sums up his narrative of the discussions which preceded the separation with the following brief passage, which we extract for the information of such of our readers as may not be minutely informed respecting the history of the dispute.

'The preceding details will show that the true cause of the separation between the Society and the missionaries at Serampore, was the refusal of Dr. Marshman, acting on behalf of the latter, to render accounts of the distribution of moneys, and his tenacity in retaining the stations under their separate control, in connexion with the irresponsible body constituting the College Council. Surely it is a correct principle, from which they, in this instance, departed, that those who originate and continue to contribute to the support of missionary stations, should not only be informed of the objects to which their pecuniary supplies are appropriated, but should also possess a proportionate share of influence, either directly or indirectly, through an acknowledged agency; and that agents—that is, in this case, missionaries—primarily sent out by the funds of the Christian public, are not entitled to act independently while deriving support from the parent institution. The committee, therefore, had no alternative but to yield to the painful necessity of separation.'—Ib., p. 296.

Of the character of Dr. Marshman, who acted so prominent a part in the discussions which led to a separation of the Serampore brethren from the Society, an impartial and honourable sketch is given at the close of the first volume, which we transcribe with sincere pleasure. The author is well known to have differed from Dr. Marshman on some points of considerable practical importance, and his testimony to the moral worth of that distinguished missionary is, therefore, alike creditable to himself and gratifying to the friends of the deceased.

'To give an accurate delineation of the character of Dr. Marshman would be no easy task. His talents were of a high order, and diversified in their complexion. Even intimacy could scarcely thread the labyrinths of his mind; the superficial observer was entirely disquali-

fied from estimating either his defects or excellences. He had great mental power; a spirit of persevering diligence; firmness bordering on obstinacy, yet not unmingled with occasional displays of the opposite quality of mutability and indecision, tact, caution, and a certain policy in acting which bespoke extreme wariness, without, however, any real sacrifice of principle. He was, to a great extent, learned, especially in oriental languages; and he had an acute, though not a splendid intellect. No journals display a more profound piety and love of souls than his,—a heart right with God, a sympathy of the noblest kind with the moral condition of the heathen, skill in dealing with them, and a paramount solicitude for the glory of God. He was, perhaps, too fond of rule, somewhat dogmatic, attached to personal interests, and not sufficiently disposed to make allowances for others. But with every fault, he was a noble character,—a moral hero,—a devoted servant of Christ, and worthy of being regarded as one of the three whose names have been constantly united, as claiming at once the admiration and the love of mankind. It is the distinguishing honour of the Baptist Missionary Society to have produced a double triumvirate of illustrious individuals—FULLER, SUTCLIFF, and RYLAND, in England; CAREY, MARSHMAN, and WARD, in India.'—Ib., p. 443.

The second volume of Dr. Cox's history is occupied principally with the Jamaica Mission, and will probably be regarded by the majority of readers as the most interesting portion of his work. A narrative of deeper interest has seldom been penned, whether regard be had to the state of Jamaica society, the fearful sufferings and unparalleled fidelity of the religious Negroes, the imminent dangers which threatened the missionaries, or the marvellous interpositions of Divine Providence on their behalf. It was well for the reputation of Christian truth, and the ultimate interests of the colony, that the men who were involved in the fearful hazards of the Jamaica mission during the rebellion of 1831, 1832, were of no ordinary stamp. Men of less firmness and judgment would either have quailed before that reign of terror, or have committed some acts of indiscretion that might have tarnished the lustre of their profession, and given their enemies an advantage over them. Had their sympathy with the slave-population been less deep or tender, or their regard to the sacredness of their profession less profound, they might have abandoned the defenceless in the hour of their need, or have resorted to measures which must have wrecked the mission, and, perhaps, involved the colony in ruin. Marvellous to say, they came out of the fiery trial unscathed, bearing down, by the force of an honourable consistency, the fiercest opposition and the most unbridled hatred with which any modern missionaries have had to contend.

There were many baptists in Jamaica before any missionary went thither from the English society. The first preacher of

this denomination was George Liele, a free black man, from Georgia. He had been pastor of a coloured congregation in America, and diligently availed himself of every opportunity which occurred, to disseminate amongst his brethren in Jamaica a knowledge of the truth of God. 'The character of his instruction,' remarks Dr. Cox, 'it is somewhat difficult to determine, amidst the conflicting evidence that is given; but in all probability it was very imperfect, and intermingled with many false and superstitious notions. Liele was not long permitted to continue his course without interruption. The tendency of his labours to elevate the character of the slave-population being early perceived, he was charged with preaching sedition, and was thrown into prison, where he was loaded with irons, and refused permission to see even his wife. He was at length tried on a capital charge, and some of the leading men of Kingston appeared as witnesses against him. Their malignant scheme, however, did not succeed, as the evidence adduced utterly failed to establish his guilt. Liele was acquitted, but the heavy expenses of his defence involved him in very serious difficulties.

Several congregations were formed by secessions from Mr. Liele's church, amongst some of whom very defective and superstitious views of religious truth prevailed. The descendants of these people are known as 'native Baptists;' a term which they have recently adopted to distinguish themselves from the missionaries and their churches, with whom they have been refused fellowship. Amongst these congregations are to be found many pious, though illiterate persons; and it was from a communication addressed by one of these, Moses Baker, to the late Dr. Ryland, that the Baptist Missionary Society was led to undertake a mission to the island.

Mr. John Rowe was set apart to the service in December 1813, and arrived at Montego Bay on the twenty-third of the following February. He found, we are told, 'everything in disorder. No regular church government had been maintained, nor the Lord's supper administered for two or three years. Mr. Baker had been prevented from preaching and conversing with the natives for eight years, though the interdicting law had then ceased for about two years; and in fact, both there and everywhere on the island, extreme ignorance and various irregularities prevailed.' Mr. Rowe conducted himself with great prudence amidst the peculiar embarrassments of his position, which made so favourable an impression on the chief-magistrate and several other gentlemen of the parish in which he resided, that when prohibited from preaching by the enemies of missionary operations, they afforded him legal protection. Several other missionaries followed Mr. Rowe, and a measure of success attended their

labours far beyond what had been realized in other quarters of the globe. Amongst the most eminent of these early labourers in the Jamaica field, was Mr. James Coultart, who arrived in the spring of 1817, and was eminently useful in bringing the infant churches of the colony into a more consistent and Scriptural form. The number of conversions which attended his ministry, as well as that of the brethren with whom he was associated, was such as to awaken astonishment, not altogether unmingled with incredulity, on the part of English readers. We have been so habituated to the slow and measured progress of religious truth, as to be lost in sheer astonishment on hearing of hundreds being added to the church, and seek to shield ourselves from the inferences which grow out of such a fact, by questioning the prudence of those who admit, and the sound conversion of those who solicit in such numbers the fellowship of the church. There is ample evidence, however, of the extreme caution with which the missionaries proceeded in this matter; and of the jealousy—amounting in some cases to an unwarrantable mistrust—with which they sought to guard the purity of the Christian profession. In writing to Dr. Ryland, Mr. Coultart, after informing him that in the year 1824 he had baptized four hundred and fifty persons, proceeds to give the following simple and touching narrative, which illustrates both the power of religion and the concern for its purity evinced by the missionary.

'I called the other evening upon one of our poor members that was supposed to be dying. I asked him how his mind was; what his thoughts of death. 'Quite happy,' was his reply, 'and ready to go.' I said, 'Take care, don't deceive yourself; you have been a vile sinner, a sad worthless creature, both to God and his church; take care, don't build on the sand.' He seemed astonished for a minute or two, and was silent; then, as if he had collected all his energy, and freed himself from the hand of death, he sprang up on his bed, saying, 'No, minister, no; I am not deceived; you are clear of my blood.' I said, 'Let that be to me; your time is short; ask God to forgive you, for Christ's sake; let nothing take your attention from Jesus now; cry to him him till you feel his love.' I prayed with him, and left him. In a day or two some one came again, and said he was dying. I hastened to his bed side. There stood his friends, and his weeping companion sat by him on the bed. He was dreadfully convulsed; and when he opened his eyes and saw me, he cried out very loud, 'Minister, bless you; I am safe; Jesus Christ has not forgotten a poor wicked, worthless sinner. No; I am a dying man, but thank thee, O Saviour, for the gospel, for thyself; come and take poor me. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' My heart leaped for joy to see this poor *black* brand plucked out of the fire. I never saw such ecstacy in death before,—looked on him in his last agony in amaze-

ment, and said, 'Surely the blood of Christ speaketh better things than that of Abel.' I thank God I crossed the Atlantic to see this, to receive the blessing and the delightful testimony of this poor descendant of Canaan, going where there is no more curse.'—Vol. ii., pp. 53, 54.

We are tempted, by the inimitable beauty of the passage, to transfer another of these narratives to our pages. It is furnished by Mr. Burchell, one of the most sound-minded men and indefatigable missionaries which the Christian church has sent forth into the heathen world. Dr. Cox correctly remarks, that 'it would scarcely be just to Mr. Burchell, to the negro, or our work,' to omit it.

'Calling on this poor man one day, when he was very ill, I said, 'Well, my friend, do you think God unkind for afflicting you so severely?'

'*A.* No, massa.

'*Q.* Don't you feel sometimes disposed to complain?

'*A.* No; pray to God not to let me.

'*Q.* What makes you feel resigned?

'*A.* Me know God do no wrong; him know what is best; him do best.

'*Q.* Have you ever felt sorry for coming to Christ?

'*A.* Oh no! me feel sorry me no come before; me too glad me hear of Jesus Christ.

'*Q.* How do you feel in the prospect of death?

'*A.* Me feel happy.

'*Q.* What makes you happy?

'*A.* De love of Christ.

'*Q.* Do you think your prayers will take you to heaven?

'*A.* No, no.

'*Q.* But do not you expect to go there, because you are not so wicked as before, but are become a member of the church?

'*A.* No; me no have one good ting to tink of, nothing but Christ, him precious blood.

'*Q.* Why do you think Christ will receive you?

'*A.* Me love him; me love him to me heart.

'*Q.* But will he be willing?

'*A.* Ah, massa! him no pill him precious blood? him no say, Come unto me? me know him true.

'*Q.* Would you like to meet your Christian friends again on earth?

'*A.* Me would like to tell all me broders and sisters to love Christ more, to keep nearer to God. Me feel de more prayer, de nearer me keep to God, de happier me be.

'Again, a few days before his death—

'*Q.* Well, friend, you appear very low?

'*A.* Yes, massa; but de Lord is very good.

'*Q.* Do you feel much fear of death?

'*A.* No, massa; Jesus promise to be wid me.

'*Q.* Where do you think you will go when you die?

'*A.* I tink I shall go home.

'*Q.* But where is the home you mean?

'*A.* Where Jesus is.

'*Q.* What do you think of religion now? (At this he brightened up.)

'*A.* Ah, massa, what become of poor neger if him no hear religion! What me tink!—me *feel*, me no able to tell what me *feel*: it good, it make neger happy to die!

'*Q.* Would you wish to recover again?

'*A.* Me too weak.

'*Q.* Well, but if God were to give you your own will, how would you act?

'*A.* Why (he hesitated, and replied)—no, no; my will no do; me no want my will; God's will is best.

'Mr. Burchell adds the brief but comprehensive testimony, 'He lived consistently, and died happily.' '—Ib., pp. 58—60.

Mr. William Knibb, so well known to the British public by his various and exhausting labours on behalf of Jamaica, sailed for that colony in November, 1824, and removed to Falmouth, the station which he now occupies, some few years afterwards. The enthusiasm with which he was chosen to fill the pastorate of the church in that town is strikingly illustrative of the deep hold he possesses on the hearts of the Negro race, and was honourable alike to himself and to the parties by whom it was displayed. Mr. Burchell furnishes the following deeply interesting picture of what occurred on occasion of Mr. Knibb being proposed to the church:—

'I called a church meeting,' says he, 'when between four and five hundred members were present (special prayer-meetings having been previously held.) At this meeting I endeavoured to impress on their minds the importance of being influenced by pure motives; and having addressed them in as conscientious a manner as I possibly could, I proposed Mr. Knibb, and requested a show of hands. I never saw such a scene. The whole church to an individual simultaneously rose up and held up both hands, and then burst into tears. My feelings were overcome, and I wept with them. This, I said, is truly the Lord's doing. Such a feeling I never witnessed before. Had you and the committee been present, I think you would have said, the path of providence is clear and plain, and would have said to brother Knibb, 'Go thou, and the Lord go with thee.' '—Ib., p. 63.

Several stations were now formed throughout the island, and large additions were constantly made to the churches. The African race, long unacquainted with the language of kindness, awoke as to new life under the benign influence of missionary instruction. They had been accustomed only to stripes

and curses, and were reduced in consequence to the lowest point of degradation and misery. History will testify against us as it has done against the Spaniards, that power was enjoyed only to be abused,—that so little of humanity was infused into our treatment of our dependants, as to render our colonies one vast charnel house, from every apartment of which, the voice of lamentation and the moanings of despair were heard. No marvel, therefore, that the hearts of the Negroes kindled with the warmest attachment to men who treated them as fellow members of the great human family, and sought to confer upon them the blessings of social life and of religious culture. The Negroes flocked in crowds to the houses of the missionaries, and received with gladness the words which they preached. It was to the honour of Messrs. Burchell, Knibb, and their brethren, that they identified themselves with the people whom they were sent to instruct. Their position was one of unexampled difficulty; but they were equal to its requirements, and acted accordingly. This is matter for gratulation and thankfulness; for the reputation of such men is the property of the church, and ought not to be restricted within sectarian limits. While we rejoice in the labours, and record the virtues, of such men as Williams, Moffat, and Philip, who in their respective spheres have sought to extend the kingdom of our common Lord, we should be unfaithful to our convictions, and ill discharge our duty as public journalists, if we did not honour those who, amidst equally dangerous and even more perplexing difficulties, nobly sustained the missionary character, and achieved for humanity a triumph to which modern times furnish no parallel.

The method adopted by the missionaries in the government of their churches will be best explained by an extract from a communication addressed by Mr. Burchell to the committee in 1831, and to which we refer, in preference to later documents, as evidence which will be deemed less exceptionable by some of our readers:—

'In consequence of the number of persons connected with us, scattered over a space of many miles, I adopted the plan of employing approved individuals united to the church, as 'leaders,' or 'active members,' and divided the people into classes, to be superintended by them. To the members, I give tickets, which are renewed quarterly so long as they conduct themselves becoming the gospel. These tickets are required to be produced, in the chapel, on those sabbaths when the Lord's supper is administered; when myself and the deacons go round and examine them, to see that no individual is present but regular and approved members; the propriety of this plan is evident, as I have frequently detected, by this means, improper characters, who had obtruded themselves at the table.

'To the inquirers, also, I give tickets (these are different from those of the members), at which time their name and residence are inserted in a book kept for that purpose. The leader is required to visit the people under his care as often as may be in his power, to converse with them and inquire respecting them; when he has to give an account of the same to me, and observations are made, in the inquirer's book, of any inquirer concerning whom he may report, whether good or bad. On these occasions, the tickets of the persons who are reported are brought, so as to afford me an opportunity of conversing with the individuals on their application for them, which are then returned or retained, as the nature of the case may require.

'Under this system, therefore, I am enabled to acquire a general and pretty correct knowledge of this large body of people, which could not be the case, but by observing some such method. Indeed, I have no doubt, but that under this system I have a better acquaintance with the character and habits of the members of the congregation, consisting of above four thousand individuals, than I could of a church of one-fourth of that number upon the general plan pursued by ministers in England. The ticket system I consider necessary also, to prevent designing and evil-disposed persons imposing upon the people.

'If the amount of subscriptions be the ground of objection, I remark, believing pecuniary subscriptions to be a scriptural duty, I have recommended it accordingly, and proposed the sum of tenpence currency (sixpence sterling) per quarter, (only a halfpenny per week,) as an average subscription, believing it to be in the power of most persons to contribute that amount. Still the subscription must be voluntary; and its being withheld or given neither confers a favour or proves a disadvantage to the individual in his connexion with the church. A great number connected with the church do not contribute at all; a considerable number, also, receive quarterly assistance, which is given them when their tickets are renewed, for the same reason as is stated for receiving the subscriptions at that time, namely, to economize time and prevent confusion,—as it must be observed that full two thousand of our congregation reside several miles' distance from the Bay; and these persons, for several months in the year, have only the sabbath when it is possible for them to have any interview with the minister. In addition to the number of those who do not contribute, and those who receive quarterly assistance, there is a great proportion of those left who contribute but one of the proposed subscriptions per annum, others but two, others three, and but few in comparison four,—so that I do not receive, upon an average per annum, above half of the sum recommended.

'The existence of any evils among any of our congregation or members, has occasioned me and others of your missionaries as much sincere and heartfelt grief, as it has afforded heartfelt joy to our foes; not because it occasioned matter of triumph to our opponents, but because we are aware the smiles and good-will of Him who dwelt in the bush (for which we are most concerned) are not to be found in the

congregations of the wicked, nor in the assemblies of the deceitful. It is not impossible but that evils may be found; but I do most solemnly deny any knowledge of them, or acquaintance with them. I am as anxious as the most rigid disciplinarian can be, that the church should be pleasing in the eyes of Him with whom we have to do; nor should I fear the consequences of the most rigid scrutiny, by the most rigid and captious individual, into the actual state and piety of the church under my care. We have had members of Scotch baptist churches who have had intercourse with our members, and communed with them at the table of the Lord, who have expressed themselves delighted with the simplicity and sincerity of their piety. In conversation with them on church discipline, I have been addressed as follows—'You have members in your church as severe in discipline as any I have ever met in any baptist church.

'For your information and satisfaction I will narrate the method adopted in receiving the candidates for baptism and church membership. You will observe that from the time they are received as inquirers, they come under my notice and care; I converse with them individually and in the class, as frequently as is in my power; and am continually receiving information concerning them from their leaders; so that when they are proposed as candidates, I possess a tolerable knowledge of them. Still, when one is brought forward, the leader himself is interrogated respecting him; then, if he be an estate slave, inquiry is made of the members who reside on the same property. After that, he is examined by the deacons and other members of the church, and lastly by myself. If the result of this process be satisfactory, his name is inserted as a candidate for baptism in a book kept for that purpose. Members are now appointed to obtain what information they can respecting him, so that before he is baptized, he may undergo examination once or twice more, as the case may require.'—Ib., pp. 69—74.

Dr. Cox has furnished an interesting account of the insurrection of 1831, 1832, on which our limits absolutely preclude our entering, as no extracts which we could give would convey anything like an adequate idea of its horrors. It was the fearful struggle of an abject race to recover for themselves some portion of personal liberty and social peace; and though it failed in its immediate object, it contributed powerfully to the act of emancipation which speedily followed. The voice of the oppressed, uttered amidst carnage and death, reached the ear of the King of kings, and history records what followed. We must pass over this inviting portion of the Doctor's work, as well as the account which he gives of other branches of the Baptist mission, and content ourselves with the following tabular statement, which furnishes a bird's-eye view of the statistics of the churches connected with the society:—

I.—STATISTICS OF THE CHURCHES CONNECTED WITH THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1841-2.

	No. of Stations.	No. of Missionaries.	No. of Female Missionaries.	No. of Native Preachers.	Members added in the year.	Total No. of Members.	No. of Inquirers.
INDIA.							
Calcutta, &c. .	16	13	7	18	44	396	} abt. 100
N. India . . .	24	18	4	25	40	395	
Asiatic Islands	17	6	2	10	234	500	150
Africa	5	4	2	1	abt. 25	155	90
WEST INDIES.					about		
Jamaica . . .	82	30	28	. . .	5000	32,810	18,737
Bahamas . . .	19	4	2	9	557	1176	500
Honduras . .	5	1	. . .	7	44	132	—
Total	168	76	45	70	5944	35,564	19,577

In closing our notice of this work, we thank Dr. Cox most cordially for the service he has rendered the Christian church by its publication. It is written in an easy, flowing, and perspicuous, though occasionally somewhat careless style, and displays considerable research, as well as an enlightened estimate of the missionary enterprise. We shall be sorry if its circulation be limited to the denomination for which it is specially designed. It will repay the perusal of all, and may contribute, by the study of the materials which it contains, to the diffusion of more correct views respecting the principles of missionary operations, than are at present prevalent. We should have been glad to see in the work a clear exposition of some of those principles,—a fuller development of what may be termed the philosophy of Christian missions. We are now arrived at a period when reflecting minds should be directed to this point. Ample materials are before us, and the exigencies of the times call for it. In such a work as the present, an admirable opportunity for this was afforded, and we yet trust, in the event of a second edition, to see it supplied. The facts recorded in relation both to the East and the West, if viewed in connexion with those which are furnished in the annals of other and kindred organizations, will be found to enforce certain principles, and to commend certain regulations, the adoption of which would materially contribute to the future success of missionary efforts. There is also a want of condensation throughout the work, to which we solicit the esteemed author's special attention. Some parts might be abridged with advantage, and space be thus obtained for the introduction of such reflections as the narrative suggests, and which would contribute powerfully both to the interest and to the usefulness of the history.

Art. IV. *Natural History of Man.* By James C. Prichard, M.D. London: Bailliere. 1842.

THIS is a very beautiful work, illustrated with many coloured plates engraved on steel, and interspersed with numerous wood-cuts. It supplies what had long been a desideratum in our language, as there existed no previous work adapted to readers not versed in anatomy and physiology, containing a general survey of the various races belonging to the great human family. The French have several treatises of this kind, which are well known, and have had an extensive circulation. Those of MM. Virèy, Bory de St. Vincent, and Desmoulins, are the most celebrated. None of these works are recent, or contain the latest observations, and they are all founded on the position, assumed without proof, *that there exist many distinct species of men;* an hypothesis very convenient to the writer, since it saves him the trouble of attempting to account for the phenomena of varieties displayed in the different human races, by at once cutting a knot, the solution of which requires a diligent research. We are very happy to say that, as might be expected from the name of the respected author, the object of the present work is to demonstrate the groundless nature of this unscriptural assumption, and at the same time to afford a general view of the principal characteristics, both physical and moral, which distinguish the various races spread through the different regions of the world.

This is, of course, not a religious work; nor is the question taken up in its religious bearings. The greater weight will, therefore, be generally allowed to its testimony to the Scriptural doctrine, that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men,' and that the whole human family is descended from the man Adam and the woman Eve. Works of the class with that now before us, we receive as evidence of the good understanding which has now for many years subsisted between Science and Revelation. If only for the sake of the young, who were formerly beset by great dangers before their judgment could be matured, we are profoundly thankful that it is no longer deemed decent, or even witty, to be profane; nor any longer philosophical to pit science against Moses and the prophets. It seems to us, among the most satisfactory evidences of our intellectual advancement, since the peace—nay, within the last ten or fifteen years—that revelation has no avowed enemies in any quarter requiring the respect of an answer; that it receives a degree of homage, more or less sincere, from mere men of the world, mere men of science, mere politicians—among whom, generally speaking, sneers and witticisms upon any of the facts or doctrines of Scripture are received with coldness, as marks of, at least, bad

taste, if not of ignorance and inexperience. Nor is this homage confined to what are called the educated classes. We happen to have had occasion to pay much attention to the history and progress of what is called 'cheap literature,' as understood chiefly of the weekly publications designed for circulation among the working classes. Some eight or ten years back, a very large proportion of those works were of an infidel tendency, not perhaps on the whole, but whenever occasion offered for a reference to the Bible or to religion; and a general disposition was manifested to confound the corruptions of religion with religion itself. This is not now the case. We had the curiosity, a few weeks back, to procure a collection of the cheap publications now current; and comparing the results with some notes on this subject which we made nearly ten years since, we find that— 1. Above three-fourths of all the cheap publications which then existed have disappeared. 2. Among these are *all* the avowedly infidel publications. 3. The survivors are either religious, or such as treat religion with respect. 4. No religious publication, which was in hopeful circulation at the former period, has since disappeared; and the *increase* in such works has been nearly three-fold. 5. The avowedly neutral publications, or such as studiously eschewed religious topics and allusions, have found it expedient to relax their rules. The 'Penny Magazine,' for instance, has been observed, for the last two or three years, to unbend somewhat of its stiff and guarded neutrality, and has furnished many satisfactory references to, or illustrative of, biblical facts and circumstances. 6. The licentious, as well as the infidel publications, have fallen; and no fresh ones have risen in their places. 7. Hence, the cheap literature of the present day, is not only more harmless, and much *cleaner*, but more entertaining and wholesome at the present than at the former period. Certainly, taken in the mass, it is not such as a heart-Christian would care much for, or would admit into his family; but rather because it has much *useless* than much decidedly objectionable matter.

But we would chiefly call attention to the gratifying fact that in publications addressed to what, we fear, may be described as 'the discontented classes,' there is generally a broad distinction now chosen between religion and its abuses. It begins to be seen that it is not Christianity, but priestcraft, which is unfriendly to liberty of thought and action, and bears hard on the poor and the oppressed; it begins to be felt that the Bible religion is, indeed, full of mercy and good fruits, full of sympathies for the afflicted and the wronged, and that its leanings and partialities are far less to those who have their portion in this life, those who are clad in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every

day, than to the sons of toil, the poor, the afflicted, the destitute; to those who if in this life only they have hope, are of all men the most miserable. We are not now speaking of the higher influences of religion. But besides its saving influences, religion has many others; and we are endeavouring to show that some of these, of which there was, a few years ago, no sign, are now in full and vigorous operation; and that this operation is strongly manifested in the external marks of respect to the Bible which the current cheap literature finds it at least expedient to adopt; and in the disposition which is often indicated to try public men, public measures, public conditions, and religious bodies, by the standard which it offers. We know full well that there is nothing very *vital* in all this; but it is something, that those who do regard religion as a vital thing, are no longer exposed to the pain of seeing that which they love treated with frequent disrespect; and night and morning do we pray God that public feeling may advance in the direction which it seems to have taken, until the mass of society is leavened.

Again we ask, who would now deem such attacks on the Bible as those of Voltaire and Tom Paine worthy of an answer? What attention would they now attract? Works of that class, *and the answers to them*, are equally unknown to, and unheeded by, the new generation; and the honest man who should now, in the simplicity of his heart, sit down to furnish new answers to these old things, to rout the thrice routed, and to slay the thrice slain, would too soon find that he has mistaken his day and generation, and that he has only been providing for the chandler and the trunkmaker. It is much the same in Germany, where the danger is rather from rationalism than from infidelity. But in France, although of late years there has been much improvement of *tone* in that country, there old matters are still reproduced, and new answers are still deemed necessary. No one in this country who takes up such a work as M. Reghellini's *Examen du Mosaïsme et du Christianisme*, which, in this country, would, *on all hands*, be deemed too paltry for even contempt, can fail to wonder that the state of public feeling should allow it to take the imposing form of three handsome octavo volumes, with a superior paper for the title-page, that the precious copy-right may be rendered the more secure by the sign-manual of the author. This work, which, from its form and cost, must be addressed to the higher classes in France, would, in this country, have no chance, even among the working classes, in a form the most inexpensive.

This reference to France brings us back to the book of Dr. Prichard. For, as we stated at the outset, the unscriptural tenet of a plurality of human species is still upheld by the

French physiologists, long after it has been abandoned in this country and in Germany. Indeed the question was, long ago, so satisfactorily settled by Blumenbach, that his views could not but be adopted by such men as Mr. Lawrence (*Lectures*) on the one hand, and by Dr. John Mason Good (*Book of Nature*) on the other; who, above twenty years since, equally advocated the unity of the human species.

We do not know that Dr. Prichard has thrown much new light on the matter; but he has arranged the argument in a clear and satisfactory shape, and has thrown into it all the corroborative illustration which recent researches have accumulated. After some introductory observations, the writer thus states the

'*Bearings of the Question.* The sacred Scriptures, whose testimony is received by all men of unclouded minds with implicit and reverential assent, declare that it pleased the Almighty Creator to make of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that all mankind are the offspring of common parents. But there are writers in the present day who maintain that this assertion does not comprehend the uncivilized inhabitants of remote regions; and that Negroes, Hottentots, Esquimaux, and Australians, are not, in fact, men in the full sense of that term, or beings endowed with like mental faculties as ourselves. Some of these writers contend that the races above mentioned, and other rude and barbarous tribes, are inferior in their original endowments to the human family which supplied Europe and Asia with inhabitants; that they are organically different, and can never be raised to an equality in moral and intellectual powers, with the offspring of that race which displays in the highest degree all the attributes of humanity. They maintain that the ultimate lot of the rude tribes is a state of perpetual servitude; and that, if in some instances they should continue to repel the attempts of the civilized nations to subdue them, they will at length be rooted out and exterminated in every country on the shores of which Europeans shall have set their feet. These μεξόθκρα, half men, half brutes, do not belong to what M. Bory de Saint Vincent terms the 'Race Adamique.' They were made to be the domestic slaves of the lordly caste, under whose protection they are susceptible of some small improvement, comparable to that which is attained by our horses and dogs. Nothing, in the opinion of persons who maintain this doctrine, can exceed the folly manifested by the people and parliament of England, when, under a mistaken impulse of what was termed philanthropy, or an erroneous notion of rights which have no existence, they committed the absurd act of emancipating from the precise condition which was most appropriate to their nature a tribe of creatures incapable of governing themselves, and of combining for objects of mutual interest in a civilized community. If these opinions are not every day expressed in this country, it is because the avowal of them is restrained by a degree of odium that would be excited by it. In some other countries they are not at all disguised. Nor is it easy to prove any of the conclusions unreasonable, if only the principal fact be what it is assumed to be.

If the Negro and the Australian are not our fellow-creatures, and of one family with ourselves, but beings of an inferior order, and if duties towards them were not contemplated, as we may in that case presume them not to have been, in any of the positive commands on which the morality of the Christian world is founded, our relations to these tribes will appear to be not very different from those which might be imagined to subsist between us and a race of orangs. In the story of a pongo slaughtered by some voyagers in the Indian Archipelago, an account of the cries and gestures of the animal in its mortal agony, so like the expressions of human sufferings, was read, not without pity, and many persons censured the wanton commission of an outrage for which there appeared no adequate motive. But the capturing of such creatures with the view of making them useful slaves, even if some of them were occasionally destroyed in the attempt, would be scarcely. We thus come near to an apology for the practice of kidnapping, at which our forefathers connived, though it did not occur to them to defend it on so reasonable a ground. The kind-hearted Abbé Grégoire tells us with indignation, that on the arrival of blood-hounds from Cuba, in the island of Saint Domingo, 'On leur livra, par manière d'essai, le premier Négre qui se trouva sous la main.' He adds, 'La promptitude avec la quelle ils dévorèrent cette curée réjouit des tigres blancs à figure humaine.'* Those who hold that the Negro is of a distinct species from our own, and of a different and inferior grade in the scale of organized beings, smile at the good abbé's simplicity, and observe that it cannot be much more criminal to destroy such creatures when they annoy us, than to extirpate wolves or bears; nor do they strongly reprobate the conduct of some white people in our Australian colony, who are said to have shot occasionally the poor miserable savages of that country as food for their dogs.

'I shall not pretend that in my own mind I regard the question now to be discussed as one of which the decision is a matter of indifference, either to religion or humanity. But the strict rule of scientific scrutiny exacts, according to modern philosophers, in matters of inductive reasoning, an exclusive homage. It requires that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and extrinsic evidence, and abstract our minds from all considerations not derived from the matters of fact which bear immediately on the question, The maxim we have to follow in such controversies is, 'fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.' In fact, what is actually true, it is always most desirable to know, whatever consequence may arise from its admission.'—pp. 5—8.

It is next shown that *species* are simply tribes of plants or animals, which are certainly known, or may be inferred on satisfactory grounds, to have descended from the same stocks, or from parentages precisely similar, and in no way distinguished from each other. And permanent *varieties* are races now displaying characteristic peculiarities which are constantly and permanently transmitted. They differ from species in this circum-

* Abbé Grégoire, 'Sur la Littérature des Nègres.'

stance, that the peculiarities in question are not coeval with the tribe, but sprang up in it since the commencement of its existence, and constitute a deviation from its original character. It seems to be the well established result of inquiries into the various tribes of organized beings, that the perpetuation of hybrids, whether of plants or animals, so as to produce new and intermediate species, is impossible. But unless these observations are erroneous, or capable of some explanation that has not yet been pointed out, they lead, with the strongest force of analogical reasoning, to the conclusion that a number of different tribes, such as the various races of men, must either be incapable of intermixing their stock, and thus always fated to remain separate from each other, or if the contrary should be the fact, that all the races to whom the remark applies are proved by it to belong to the same species. At this point of the argument Dr. Prichard enters into a variety of curious details, which establish beyond dispute that mankind of all races and varieties are equally capable of propagating their offspring by intermarriage, and that such connexions are equally prolific, whether contracted between individuals of the same or the most dissimilar varieties; and this is regarded as a conclusive proof, *unless there be in the instance of human races an exception to the universally prevalent law of organized nature*, that all the tribes of men are of one family. Dr. Prichard rightly thinks that the solution of the problem which he has undertaken to discuss might very safely be rested on this issue. But as further light may be thrown on the subject by a careful analysis of the facts which can be collected relative to the organization of varieties, he proceeds to take a very interesting survey of the phenomena of variation in tribes of animals and plants.

Our readers will anticipate that the main object of the illustrations derived from this source, is to show that among the varieties of plants and animals known to be of the same species, and descended from the same stock, the diversities are very far greater than exist between any of the races of mankind. In this branch of the inquiry we are glad to see that the argument deducible from the very marked differences in the varieties of the dog is employed by Dr. Prichard with great skill and effect. It has often occurred to us that this common and familiar illustration was one of the very strongest that could be brought to bear on the question; for the most casual observer cannot but be at once cognizant of the fact, that the difference is infinitely greater between a greyhound and a spaniel, between a Dutch pug and a Newfoundland dog, than between any races of men to be found in the wide world.

From the survey of the phenomena of variation in the tribes

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that they likewise involve certain physiological
to the laws of the animal economy; and
gical alterations or changes in the instinct,
perception and intellect.

changes are in some cases brought about by
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Each species has a definite or definable character,
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subjected more than almost any race of animals
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therefore expect to find fully as great diversities in
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be more extensive and powerful in its operations
than upon brutes; and this difference transcends
arison. *A priori* we might expect to discover in
aracters of human races, changes similar in kind,
r in degree.'—pp. 74, 75.

which we have thus reported, forms a sort of
the body of Dr. Prichard's work, which is occu-
able ethnographical survey of the various races
the surface of the earth. Of this we shall say
that there is no other work in the English
ill supply the same amount of popular infor-
ry interesting subject. The pictorial illustra-
ior description, and are of the greatest use in
ions, by embodying the details.

Art. V. *Essays.* By R. W. Emerson, of Concord, Massachusetts. *With Preface.* By Thomas Carlyle. London: Fraser.

Mr. Carlyle, in his preface to these Essays, informs us that Emerson was 'bred to theology.' One must confess that this sort of study is somewhat anti-pacific, Ishmaelitish, rather unfavourable to the harmony of the world. The book we here treat of, is an illustration of the pugnacious character which a regular theological baptism commonly imparts. The mania of the present day indicates a certain desperate determination, either to maintain ancient opinions intact, or to raze them to their very foundations. As for a middle course being the safest, that is a consideration fit only for cowards. When the public mind is in this state, truths the most sacred and precious get thrown aside with the stalest mummeries of superstition. From one quarter or another, a heavy blow is levelled against doctrines, principles, and conclusions, which seemed to be beyond the reach of danger. Those of them which rest upon a solid basis will, of course, withstand the shock, and become all the more venerable in the eyes of wise and good men. One of these fundamental positions is the being of a God—not as an energy pervading nature, but as a distinct personal essence. Spinoza in the seventeenth, and Toland in the eighteenth century, distinguished themselves by their scepticism upon this head. They identified the Deity with the energizing power of nature. Emerson is a noble addition to their small order. He has turned his theological predilections to some account, and has found out several things which we shall in vain look for in the works of our systematic divines. If his views happen to be new to our readers, they will thank us for letting them know the novel methods which he employs for solving the riddle of the world. Carlyle advises us not to trouble ourselves with the 'notions and half-notions of a metaphysic, theosophic, theologic kind,' which appear in this volume; but, as they lead to important consequences, we think it worth while to bestow a few thoughts on these curious speculations. Hitherto we have imagined ourselves possessed of individual personality, of a soul—a simple spiritual being or substance—as distinct from the divine nature as dependence and time are from self-subsistence and immortality. We deemed the universe an effect, and the Creator of all things an independent and eternal mind, who would remain the same for ever amidst their total annihilation. Emerson has a singular essay, entitled 'The Over-Soul,' in which he explodes these views both of God and man, makes everything dizzy, and spreads a haze over our most familiar conceptions.

of animals, and of the circumstances under which these appearances are displayed, the following general inferences are deduced by our author:—

'1. That tribes of animals have been domesticated by man, and carried into regions where the climates are different from those of their native abode, undergo, partly from the agency of climate, and in part from the change of external circumstances connected with the state of domesticity, great variations.

'2. That these variations extend to considerable modifications in external properties, colour, the nature of the integument, and of its covering, whether hair or wool, the structure of limbs, and the proportional size of parts; that they likewise involve certain physiological changes or variations as to the laws of the animal economy; and lastly, certain psychological alterations or changes in the instinct, habits, and powers of perception and intellect.

'3. That these last changes are in some cases brought about by training, and that the progeny acquires an aptitude to certain habits which the parents have been taught; that psychical characters, such as new instincts, are developed in breeds by cultivation.

'4. That these varieties are sometimes permanently fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed.

'5. That all such variations are possible only to a limited extent, and always with the preservation of a particular type, which is that of the species. Each species has a definite or definable character, comprising certain undeviating phenomena of external structure, and likewise constant and unchangeable characteristics in the laws of its animal economy, and in its psychological nature. It is only within these limits that deviations are produced by external circumstances. Races of men are subjected more than almost any race of animals to the varied agencies of climate. Civilization produces even greater changes in their condition than does domestication in the inferior tribes. We may therefore expect to find fully as great diversities in the races of men, as in any of the domesticated breeds. The influence of the mind must be more extensive and powerful in its operations upon human beings than upon brutes; and this difference transcends all analogy or comparison. *A priori* we might expect to discover in the psychological characters of human races, changes similar in kind, but infinitely greater in degree.'—pp. 74, 75.

The argument which we have thus reported, forms a sort of introduction to the body of Dr. Prichard's work, which is occupied with a very able ethnographical survey of the various races of men who occupy the surface of the earth. Of this we shall say little further than that there is no other work in the English language which will supply the same amount of popular information on this very interesting subject. The pictorial illustrations are of a superior description, and are of the greatest use in facilitating comparisons, by embodying the details.

Art. V. *Essays.* By R. W. Emerson, of Concord, Massachusetts. *With Preface.* By Thomas Carlyle. London: Fraser.

Mr. Carlyle, in his preface to these Essays, informs us that Emerson was 'bred to theology.' One must confess that this sort of study is somewhat anti-pacific, Ishmaelitish, rather unfavourable to the harmony of the world. The book we here treat of, is an illustration of the pugnacious character which a regular theological baptism commonly imparts. The mania of the present day indicates a certain desperate determination, either to maintain ancient opinions intact, or to raze them to their very foundations. As for a middle course being the safest, that is a consideration fit only for cowards. When the public mind is in this state, truths the most sacred and precious get thrown aside with the stalest mummeries of superstition. From one quarter or another, a heavy blow is levelled against doctrines, principles, and conclusions, which seemed to be beyond the reach of danger. Those of them which rest upon a solid basis will, of course, withstand the shock, and become all the more venerable in the eyes of wise and good men. One of these fundamental positions is the being of a God—not as an energy pervading nature, but as a distinct personal essence. Spinoza in the seventeenth, and Toland in the eighteenth century, distinguished themselves by their scepticism upon this head. They identified the Deity with the energizing power of nature. Emerson is a noble addition to their small order. He has turned his theological predilections to some account, and has found out several things which we shall in vain look for in the works of our systematic divines. If his views happen to be new to our readers, they will thank us for letting them know the novel methods which he employs for solving the riddle of the world. Carlyle advises us not to trouble ourselves with the 'notions and half-notions of a metaphysic, theosophic, theologic kind,' which appear in this volume; but, as they lead to important consequences, we think it worth while to bestow a few thoughts on these curious speculations. Hitherto we have imagined ourselves possessed of individual personality, of a soul—a simple spiritual being or substance—as distinct from the divine nature as dependence and time are from self-subsistence and immortality. We deemed the universe an effect, and the Creator of all things an independent and eternal mind, who would remain the same for ever amidst their total annihilation. Emerson has a singular essay, entitled 'The Over-Soul,' in which he explodes these views both of God and man, makes everything dizzy, and spreads a haze over our most familiar conceptions.

'The Supreme critic on all the errors of the past and the present, and the only prophet of that which must be, is that great nature in which we rest, as the earth lies in the soft arms of the atmosphere; that unity, that over-soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other, &c. &c.

'We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime, within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related; the eternal ONE. And this deep power in which we exist, and whose beatitude is all accessible to us, is not only self-sufficing and perfect in every hour, but *the act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and the object, are one. We see the world piece by piece, as the sun, the moon, the animal, the tree; but the whole, of which these are the shining parts, is the soul.*'—Essay ix., pp. 270, 271.

'*Existence*, or *God*, is not a relation or a part, but the whole.'—Essay iii., p. 121.

These passages, part of which we have put in italics, give us a pretty clear idea of the fundamental doctrine of Emerson's lucubrations. It is God who sees and is seen. Matter and spirit are one, just as we usually say, man is one, though composed of a body and a soul. The Deity is incorporated, like the rest of us; he has shape, length, breadth, thickness, and we look him every hour in the face; or rather, he looks at himself, through all the eyes that gaze upon external nature.

At the same time our author employs, without hesitation, those appellations of the Supreme Being, which have been consecrated by the piety of all ages. He speaks of 'the great God,' 'the everblessed ONE;' and quotes the name 'I AM,' as an instance of 'sublime propriety.'—p. 160. But however his phraseology may vary, he means by it one and the same thing—not a personal God, an indivisible, eternal Spirit, but—the sum-total of existence.

The essays, in which this hypothesis is extensively developed, are twelve in number, and are on the following subjects:—History, Self-Reliance, Compensation, Spiritual Laws, Love, Friendship, Prudence, Heroism, The Over-Soul, Circles, Intellect, Art.

We shall make it our business to point out the more important uses to which the author applies his own system. What we have said already will have prepared our readers for a completely new theory of human nature. They will pardon us for making extracts in which the juxtaposition and medley of names, sacred and profane, must be offensive to all true piety.

'Each man has his own vocation. The talent is the call. * * * This talent and this call depend on his organization, or *the mode in which the general soul incarnates itself in him.*'—Essay iv., p. 141.

Again,

'The heart and soul of all men being one, this bitterness of *His* and *Mine* ceases. His is mine. I am my brother, and my brother is me. * * * It is the eternal nature of the soul to appropriate and make all things its own. *Jesus and Shakspeare are fragments of the soul,* and by love I conquer and incorporate them in my own conscious domain. His virtue, is not that mine? His wit, if it cannot be made mine, it is not wit.'—Essay iii., p. 124.

Every man therefore is, God making himself manifest in flesh. All that animates the human form is properly divine. The universal soul has distributed itself into as many portions as there are men and women upon earth. This unquestionably furnishes the strongest reasons for treating mankind with reverence. We do not see that it could be far wrong, according to the scheme here laid down, to set up a negro in Maryland or Virginia, and to bow down to the Divinity as thus exhibiting himself, inasmuch as Sambo is a portion of existence, that is, of God, and any fragmentary specimen will do to represent the whole. The only objection that we can conceive to such a proposition is, that in every case it would be one fraction of the supreme mind doing homage to another. Alas! we fear that it will be a long time ere the Americans will see anything divine in a black man.

The same view may also serve to shield the Egyptians from the charge of absurdity in worshipping so many of the lower forms of life, since Emerson regards 'the vital resources of every vegetable and animal' as 'demonstrations of the self-sufficing, and therefore self-relying soul,'—that is, of the spiritual principle of the universe. Wherever we see matter, life, thought, motion, we see God. Cruelty, licentiousness, cowardice, humanity, temperance, courage, are several operations of one spirit, 'the highest law,' which secretes, excretes, assimilates, generates, sets all nature going, in its manifold wonders and oddities, roars in the lion, spouts in the whale, and wriggles in the tail of a tad-pole. This system is far too serious to admit of grave treatment.

The next point to which we call attention is the reform which our author would introduce in the method of writing history.

'I am ashamed to see what a shallow village-tale our so-called history is. * * * Broader and deeper we must write our annals from an influx of the ever-new, ever-sanative conscience, &c. &c. * * In the light of these two facts, namely, that the mind is one, and that nature is its correlative, history is to be read and written.'—Essay i., pp. 38—40.

There is a mystery in this religious admonition. The writer wishes us to view all sensible and intellectual existence as a continuous, ever-unfolding manifestation of one spirit. It is a

necessary inference from this principle, that whatever crimes have stained the earth, are to be traced to the universal soul, investing certain 'fragments' of itself with matter, in order to act a part on the theatre of life. We shall see, in the sequel, whether or not he can escape from the charge of making the Deity the author of all evil. The general intention of the essay is clear as noon-day. Moses, Isaiah, and Paul; Tiberius, Caligula, and Cæsar Borgia, were equally occupied in a divine mission, and we are to sanctify our investigations into their history by the previous recognition of this fundamental fact. Instead of looking at man as an agent, whose wickedness may be overruled by an all presiding Power, we are to look at him as the 'organ' of Deity itself, and as one mode of its incarnation. Our historians are to lay this well to heart, and then, instead of giving us a mere chronicle of events, they will fathom the great deep, and disclose to mankind 'the open secret' of the universe.

'To the poet, to the philosopher, to the saint, all things are friendly and sacred, all events profitable, all days holy, all men divine. For the eye is *fastened on the life, and slights the circumstance.* Every chemical substance, every plant, every animal in its growth teaches the *unity of cause*, the variety of appearance.'—Essay i., p. 12.

Just so; there is but one agent in existence, and that agent is God. This would be rather too 'sanative;' it would cure our remorse, and make all human crimes aspects of the Divinity.

We cannot be surprised that Emerson's view of the human mind should lead him to inculcate great mental independence. We shall proceed, therefore, to give our readers the benefit of his suggestions. They will find some little discrepancy in what he says on this subject, but perhaps it arises out of the nature of the case. The 'fragment' of the great soul that is in him does not always speak alike, and, indeed, has a strong dash of 'whim' in his composition. We may as well take the bright side of the picture first, in the account which he gives of the divine inhabitant of this earth.

'There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same. He that is once admitted to the right of reason is made a freeman of the whole estate. *What Plato has thought, he may think;* what a saint has felt, he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man he can understand.'—Essay i., p. 3.

'It is remarkable that involuntarily *we always read as superior beings.* Universal history, the poets, the romancers, do not in their stateliest pictures * * * any where lose our ear * * *; rather is it true, that in their grandest strokes, there we feel most at home.'—Essay i., p. 6.

'In every work of genius we recognise *our own rejected thoughts*; they come back to us with a certain alienated majesty.'—Essay ii., p. 46.

This is cheering as to the *potentiality* of the species. Hence there can be little doubt that genius is an ordinary thing, only that most men 'wrap it up in a napkin.'

'Perhaps, if we should meet Shakspeare, we should not be conscious of any steep inferiority; no, but of a great equality, only that he possessed a strange skill of using, of classifying his facts, which we lacked.'—Essay xi., p. 335.

When the Dutchman, under the magic of Coleridge's conversation, exclaimed, 'Vat voice, vat language, vat imagination; vy, you're a gott,' he, poor dolt! little knew how nearly he approached this extraordinary being. And when we muse over Pascal and Chatterton, and Mozart's early history, we may comfort ourselves that the difference between us is only trivial—something in the power of classification!

It is obvious that the adoption of this opinion would tend to correct our foolish admiration of the heroes, philosophers, poets, and philanthropists, whose names still adorn and consecrate the temple of fame. Accordingly Emerson teaches us to reduce it to its proper strength, by a strong infusion of self-complacency.

'This over-estimate of the possibilities of Paul and Pericles, this under-estimate of our own, comes from a neglect of the fact of *an identical nature*.'—Essay iv., p. 165.

Here again, and, indeed, in a thousand places, do we perceive the ubiquity of his main doctrine, and the consequences to which it directly leads. We must confess that they very much damp the pleasantry in which we were disposed to indulge ourselves. We may beard prophets and apostles because we are all incarnations of one common soul! But will this alter the facts? Is there still no marvellous difference between the man who can carry an ox and the man whose shoulders will bear only a sucking calf? The identity however, here asserted, is all a figment. *Likeness* in some things, in blood, head, hands, feet, appetites, affections, and the perceptions of necessary truths, may not only exist in different degrees, but is compatible with the presence of other qualities. There is partial *resemblance* and nothing more. Thus it is with the poet. He possesses many things in common with his fellow-men; what is *superadded* is genius, is not enjoyed by others, makes him peculiar among millions, and points him out as the literary majesty of an age or nation. While we must allow that Emerson is perfectly consequent in contemning all authority, since, according to him, God speaks in every man with

the same inspiration, we were still surprised at the tone of levity and scorn with which he dismisses the sacred writers.

'See what strong intellects dare not yet hear God himself, unless he speak the phraseology of *I know not what*—David, or Jeremiah, or Paul.'—Essay ii., p. 68.

'If, therefore, a man claims to know and speak of God, and carries you backward to the phraseology of some old mouldered nation in another country, in another world, believe him not. * * * Whence this worship of the past? The centuries are conspirators against the sanity and majesty of the soul.'—Ib., p. 67.

Still, was it not the supreme mind giving utterance to itself through these organs in ancient times? Moreover, is there nothing like a history of theological science? Would this not show that the souls of our own day have been indebted to the Bible for the views which distinguished them from the heathen? Whence did a half barbarous people get that knowledge of the great 'I AM,' which eclipsed all the philosophy of Babylon and Greece? What the light of nature did for the Gentiles, who were a law unto themselves, is written in the annals of all ages. Emerson has not honoured himself by this summary dismissal of the sacred volume. When it speaks without metaphor and not in accommodation to a rude multitude, there is a divine light in its *declarations*, even in the Pentateuch, which betokens their high authority. They shine by a native lustre. When the nations were sunk in Polytheism, and the Israelites were ever ready to adopt it, this book, with its ideas of the Deity authoritatively announced, was a lamp to their feet. Unity, truth, justice, omniscience, and universal providence, are here uniformly ascribed to the 'blessed and only potentate;' the volume comes to us through an *un*philosophical nation; it contains many predictions which have a most extraordinary connexion with the dispersion of the Jews, with Christ and with Christianity; it has taught man that 'God is love;' it is teaching men to 'love one another;' and yet with these, and a thousand other peculiarities and claims, which contrast broadly and deeply with all ancient and modern heathenism, we are at once called upon to cast it into the shades. We repeat that, on merely philosophical grounds, and the transmission of thought, and theological doctrines, Emerson does himself no credit by treating the sacred writers with so little consideration. The Bible deserves better usage from him.

In the points on which we have already dwelt, we have kept chiefly in view pantheism in its application to '*self-reliance*.' The extracts which we have given, tend, in our opinion, rather to foster *self-conceit*, and a supercilious disdain of names, great and holy, which the 'centuries' have consecrated to renown. We

shall now strengthen our remarks on these points by quoting Emerson's authority for a totally different view of the human mind; a view in which he gives a flat contradiction to some of the previous statements.

'That popular fable of the sot who was picked up dead drunk in the street, carried to the duke's house, washed and dressed and laid in the duke's bed, and, on his waking, treated with all obsequious ceremony like the duke, and assured that he had been insane, owes its popularity to *the fact, that it symbolizes so well the state of man, who is in the world a sort of sot, but now and then wakes up, exercises his reason, and finds himself a true prince.*'—Essay ii., p. 63.

There is truth and nature in this portrait. We fear it will be recognised by nine-tenths of mankind. There is something royal and divine, nay, an actual Deity, within us. Mostly, however, he is a rather drowsy, sottish god; sometimes he blinks and twinkles; and, at very rare intervals, we witness a flash of light—a brilliant coruscation. Such is man.

Our readers will like to hear Emerson ordering men to their proper places. He did not mean rudely to pluck the laurels from the brow of genius, and to call the rabble to trample them in the dust. Here is his recantation—

'Who has more soul than I, *masters* me, though he should not raise his finger. Round him I must revolve by the gravitation of spirits. Who has less, I rule with like facility.'—Essay ii., p. 70.

'The Scipionism of Scipio is precisely that part he could not borrow. * * * Shakspeare will never be made by the study of Shakspeare.'—Ib., p. 84.

This is an orthodox confession. We feel that it asserts a familiar truth. Will Emerson ever turn heretic again? Yes, before he concludes these essays.

'Men say,' as to Plutarch, Shakspeare, and Cervantes, infusing a new charm into the trivial facts of their history, 'Where did he get this?' and think there was something divine in his life. But no; they have myriads of facts just as good, would they only get a *lamp* to ransack their attics withal.'—Essay xi., p. 335.

Ah, that lamp! It is the very thing we want. Only give us Aladdin's lamp, and we will appoint new orbits forthwith for half the genii in creation. Round us they shall revolve.

What amazes us, as much as anything in these essays, is the assertion, that men '*involuntarily read as superior beings.*' The middle ages were a fine illustration of this, and another, equally striking, is the submission of millions, at the present day, to the formulas of popular superstition. He himself also tells us that '*most men* have bound their eyes with one or another handker-

chief, and attached themselves to some one community of opinion.' —Essay ii., p. 55.

The literary history of the third essay, on 'Compensation,' is also curious in this point of view. Though from boyhood he had a wish to treat this subject, thinking he might light up a star to go before us 'in many dark hours and crooked passages of our journey,' yet we might have missed this good service but for the following incident:—

'I was lately confirmed in this desire by hearing a sermon at church. The preacher, a man esteemed for his orthodoxy, unfolded in the *ordinary* manner the doctrine of the last judgment. He assumed that judgment is not executed in this world; that the wicked are successful, that the good are miserable; and then urged, from reason and from Scripture, a compensation to be made to both parties in the next life. *No offence appeared to be taken by the congregation at this doctrine. As far as I could observe, when the meeting broke up, they separated without remark on the sermon.*'—Essay iii., p. 94.

We pronounce both the preacher and the audience, Emerson excepted, a stupid set. There is a wide difference between a moral government, but partly carried out here below, and the admission that the only true principles of happiness are productive of misery. Never had these people thought, read, or heard, 'as superior beings.' We hope Emerson will completely disfranchise them, and not send the fine arts—painting, music, poetry, sculpture—as 'petitioners to the faculties' of any such constituency. From the quotations which we have made, it will be seen that the most contradictory views of man are put forward in this volume. At one time he is an incarnation of the Deity, and, as such, may summon to judgment the prophets, teachers, and master-spirits of all time; at another, divine philosophy steps out into the living world, walks to and fro, and exclaims—'The transmigration of souls; that too is no fable. I would it were; but men and women are only half-human.'—Essay i., p. 32.

We then have a word or two of advice, as if, like Xavier de Maistre, he had found out 'que l'homme est composé *d'une âme et d'une bête.*' 'Ah, brother, awe the *beast.*'

Accepting, then, this account, and striking the balance between these representations, we, for our parts, think that, if a man would become wise, while, on the one hand, he must never lick the dust and crouch to mere authority; on the other, he must neither think lightly of the past, nor approach, with wanton gesture and irreverent steps, the temple in which genius utters the oracles of God.

We shall, however, spend a few more words in explaining the *ground* on which Emerson annuls the authority of all by-gone ages.

According to him, we should revere our present intuitions above everything else, simply because the human spirit is a 'fragment' of that self-evolving life, which is ever new, divine, and endless. As our being unfolds itself like a parchment roll, written all over with a divine hand, we need not trouble ourselves with the earlier part of the manuscript; *that* was for men living in early ages; the characters immediately under our eye *are* faith, law, and inspiration, for us living at this hour.

'Life only avails, not the having lived. * * * This one fact the world hates that the soul *becomes;* for that for ever degrades the past, turns all riches to poverty, all reputation to a shame; confounds the saint with the rogue; shoves Jesus and Judas equally aside.'—Essay ii., p. 70.

On this point he dwells with great earnestness, and considers all history an impertinence, if it be not 'a cheerful apologue of our *being* and *becoming*.'

We shall make no comment on the horrid profanity of the above extract. It speaks for itself. The assertion that the world 'hates' the idea of a progressive soul, is not true. For six thousand years the spirit of man has ever been *about to be*, gathering wealth from the past, and putting it out to interest in the present; and, on this very fact, as far as our knowledge goes, all philanthropists affectionately build their hopes of the improvement of mankind. Every institution for promoting the well-being of the human race, however old in its framework or inadequate to its object, involves a recognition of this truth. It is the plain embodiment of the idea 'the soul *becomes*,' which is, in fact, tacitly, the first article of faith in every benevolent undertaking. In a Missionary and a Bible Society we assert the life and growth of the soul; extend the riddle of the Sphinx to all nations; proclaim that man is capable of rising into an erect attitude; and that, when the world gets old, men shall lean on the staff of piety, and await a translation to the skies.

One would naturally expect that Emerson's view of the soul would lead him to give a glowing account of the advancement of society. The tree of life ought, in his eyes, to bloom more beautifully every day. Though he might be careless of the leaves that have fallen off age after age, in which others embalm their thoughts, yet this could be accounted for only because, in his view, it was spreading its branches more widely, and *becoming*, at each successive moment, a more splendid ornament of creation. Least of all, could we suppose that he would assert a truth, which has been a truth ever since 'the general soul' incarnated itself in any human form, and then deny its reality. This, however, he

does. He censures the world for what it has never done, and then does the thing he censures.

'Society never advances. It recedes as fast on one side as it gains on the other. Its progress is only apparent, like the workers of a treadmill. It undergoes continual changes; it is barbarous, it is civilized, it is christianized, it is rich, it is scientific; but this change is not amelioration. For everything that is given something is taken.'—Essay ii., p. 85.

'Society is a wave. The wave moves onward, but the water of which it is composed does not. The same particle does not rise from the valley to the ridge. Its unity is only phenomenal. The persons who make up a nation to-day, next year die, *and their experience with them.*'—Ib., p. 88.

A most sceptical confession this; a plain, unblushing avowal of his disbelief of the soul's '*becoming.*' How much commotion here below, endless turmoil and mutation, all for nothing! But is it true that society does not advance? that experience does not survive a nation? Is Jenner's experience lost? Would not the Mandans, that fine tribe of Indians who once dwelt on the banks of the Missouri, have thought it an 'amelioration' ere the small-pox had exterminated their race?

Grant that for everything that is given something is taken; that we pay for what we receive; is it anything to the purpose? A most short-sighted and miserable fallacy is it, for instance, to tell us that we are worse *animals* than savages. We all know it; and, by a persistency in mental culture, to the neglect of mere animalism, show that we do not repent our bargain. We are ashamed to quote such stuff as follows from the pen of Emerson.

'The civilized man * * * has got a fine Geneva watch, but he has lost the skill to tell the hour by the sun. A Greenwich nautical almanac he has, and so, being sure of the information when he wants it, the man in the street does not know a star in the sky.'—Essay ii., pp. 85, 86.

Bring back, say we, the magicians, astrologers, alchymists, and scribes of other days; abolish printing, throw overboard the mariner's compass; for, though we can sail by it, even in starless nights, yet, as every sailor does not know Mars and Jupiter, we only deceive ourselves in supposing that we are a whit better off than our fathers. Come back, old Ignorance, and reign. There was as much poetry when the earth was thought to be flat, as now, when it is known to be round! Emerson is about as singular an 'incarnation' as Rabelais or Swift. Not that he partakes of their comicalness or indecency. He is serious, pure, benevolent,—except now and then; his impiety is the fruit of an absurd hypothesis: he is full of crotchets,

and perverse enough to defend them. After stating that a regard for consistency often 'scares us from our self-trust,' he asks,—

'But why should you keep your head over your shoulder? Why drag about this monstrous corpse of your memory, lest you contradict somewhat you have stated in this or that public place? Suppose you should contradict yourself; what then?'—Essay ii., p. 57.

Why—it depends on the kind and frequency of the contradiction. Nature is not so flowing and variable as to change her constitution every day, or every age, or at all in her prime elements. Politics and morals have first principles; the human mind has its laws. No 'great thinker let loose upon this planet' can alter the consciousness of its inhabitants. All views, therefore, which truly express it, must abide. As there is such a thing as truth, he who contradicts himself often, cannot know it. Inconsistency, going thus far, is a despicable vice. It is precipitate; not reverential towards God. It is the dandyism of sciolists—the new fashion for the month of a philosophical exquisite.

We exempt the writer of these essays from wishing to inoculate our young witlings for this infectious disorder; but as they have a strong predisposition to it, they will open their own veins to receive the virus which is here ripe and ready for infusion. We have, however, abundant reason to suspect Emerson of a fondness for paradoxical assertion. He argues, for example, that society 'never advances,'—that is, is not paid for its pains; he then argues that the soul 'becomes,'—is 'progressive;' that 'the life of man is a self-evolving circle, which, from a ring imperceptibly small, rushes on all sides outwards to new and larger circles, and that without end.'—Essay x., p. 306.

Does it make such vigorous efforts in vain? Is it not rewarded for its trouble? If our readers consult the third essay in the volume, they will find that the author maintains that no action can go unrequited even *here*, owing to 'the perfect compensation of the universe.' We have already mentioned the circumstance which led him to write on this subject, and his object is to refute the doctrine of a future judgment, and to show men 'a ray of divinity, the present action of the soul of this world,' in executing plenary retribution upon earth. If, therefore, society is rewarded, it advances. We reach 'the new and larger circle' at which we aim, and the ever-widening circumference brings new resources and blessings under the dominion of man.

Yet in this very essay there is the radical fallacy on which he rests his argument for the stationary condition of the race,—namely, that what we give for improvement is as good as the improvement itself; in other words, that there is no such thing

as *profit* or 'amelioration.' And seeing the consequence to be drawn from this principle, that it renders all exertion bootless, he refers us at last from compensation to a 'deeper fact,' 'the nature of the soul itself,' to elucidate the whole mystery.

Some parts of this essay are written with great force and beauty, but it contains passages of the most pernicious tendency.

'An inevitable dualism bisects nature, so that each thing is a half, and suggests another thing to make it whole, as spirit, matter; man, woman; subjective, objective, &c.'—Essay iii., p. 97.

'The same dualism underlies the nature and condition of man. * * * For every grain of wit there is a grain of folly. For everything you have missed you have gained something else; and for everything you gain you lose something.'—Ib., p. 98.

We have known men who had both wit and wisdom, and fools who had no compensatory grains of sense. Any one may, however, comfort himself with this sort of cozenage,—'I had not honest parents, but they made me a clever rascal. I did not escape with impunity, but I got my life abridged upon the gallows.' Well; anything is better than nothing!

We shall give Emerson's account of the doctrine of rewards and punishments in his own words:—

'Every act rewards itself, or in other words, integrates itself in a twofold manner;—first, in the thing, or in real nature; and secondly, in the circumstance, or in apparent nature. Men call the circumstance the retribution. The causal retribution is in the thing, and is seen by the soul. The retribution in the circumstance is seen by the understanding; it is inseparable from the thing, but is often spread over a long time, and so does not become distinct until after many years. The specific stripes may follow late after the offence, but they follow because they accompany it. Crime and punishment grow out of one stem. Punishment is a fruit that, unsuspected, ripens within the flower of the pleasure which concealed it.'—Essay iii., p. 103.

We should be sorry to be insensible either to the beauty of this extract, or to the important truth which it contains. Our objection to it and to the whole essay is in the limitation which is given to its main principle. There is, unquestionably, compensation to a considerable extent in the present life, but it falls far short of actual desert. We see the *reality* often, and in other cases have only a vision of something yet to come. In opposition to this, Emerson maintains that 'justice is not postponed,' but that 'a perfect equity adjusts its balance in all parts of life.'—p. 102.

This we deny, and the following are the grounds of our denial:—Firstly, What compensation is there to children for the sufferings through which they pass? Are disease and pain counterbalanced

by any good to *them*? Grant that a moral effect would result from the pangs they feel, if the mind were sufficiently developed to discern truth, yet as multitudes come into the world apparently only to suffer and to die, to *them* personally no benefit accrues. Judging according to sense, we should say that no benevolent man, had he it in his power, would make such an exquisite instrument of torture, and exhibit it to the world seemingly for no other purpose than to show its agonies and contortions. This we should call malice and wanton injustice in *apparent* nature. Myriads of infants, however, are not carried beyond that stage in their being in which it is entirely sensitive. Why is not every sensation a thrill of joy? Why days and months of pain? Why unable to speak, except by shrieks and convulsions? Why death? Faith in futurity is the only light amidst this thick darkness.

Secondly. Righteous compensation is that each shall have his own, be it punishment or reward. Is there nothing, then, in the ways of God, showing that the curse does not go one jot beyond the sinner? Does it never shed a deadly blight upon a second party? Is there no transmission of the foul taint to posterity? None of these questions can be answered in the negative. On the contrary, it is an every-day fact, that the sin of the father cleaves like the leprosy to his children, yet they had no share in his crime. Will Emerson say, that though in the 'circumstance' there was no apparent equity, it was made up to them in the thing itself,—that the compensation was 'seen by the soul'? Is there any ground for such an assumption? At utter variance with it are a thousand facts in the common history of man.

Finding themselves outcasts, heirs of infamy, which never was their own, the unhappy descendants of criminal men have often suffered the last gleams of hope and virtue and nobleness to die. Within, as well as without, they inherited wretchedness. Like guilt, or blacker, lay concealed next door to them, but it was known only to omniscience and the perpetrator's own soul. His family and relatives went free. Do these things seem equal? There is *vicarious* suffering upon earth, and again we want faith and futurity to help us.

Thirdly. If in the present world there be a complete distribution of rewards and punishments, no man can labour without an *adequate* return.

'Human labour, through all its forms, from the sharpening of a stake to the construction of a city or an epic, is one immense illustration of the perfect compensation of the universe. Everywhere and always, this law is sublime. * * * I cannot doubt that the high laws which each man sees ever implicated in those processes with which he is conversant, the stern ethics which sparkle on his chisel-

edge, which are measured out by his plumb and foot-rule, which stand as manifest in the footing of the shop-bill as in the history of a state, do recommend to him his trade, and, though seldom named, exalt his business to his imagination.'—p. 115.

Now here the question is, whether every man have strictly an *equivalent* for his labour? Is this the fact at Manchester, at Stockport, and throughout the manufacturing districts of this country? It is not enough to say every man has something, so has the ass who 'snuffeth up the east wind.' He must have a good *corresponding* to the means appointed by nature for obtaining that good. If, then, God have decreed that man shall earn bread by the sweat of his brow, it is no proof of the 'absolute balance of give and take,' that his trade feasts his imagination. Will the 'stern ethics' that sparkle on the chisel-edge of an operative suffice to fatten a family of living skeletons? If he make a desk, a ladder, a set of shelves, joint-stools and jiggum-bobs, and cannot sell them,—what then?

In a country where the supply is not equal to the demand, a man is quite safe in preaching this doctrine; but in a crowded population, wherever industry has only a narrow channel to flow in, it is positively, and to a wide extent, false.

Perhaps, however, these hungry spectres, who are famishing for lack of bread, have the 'causal retribution.' Have they immunity from care? Have they intellectual advantages to make up for physical privations? Will compensation come at length? to whom? to the 'great soul'? Certainly not to them. They will be quiet in their graves long ere any general change can take place. Is this the 'optimism of nature'? Is it *thus* that 'the nature and soul of things takes on itself the guaranty of the fulfilment of every contract, so that honest service cannot come to loss'?—p. 119.

Not *thus*. There is much 'honest service' not recognised here, that will be owned and rewarded on the other side time.

Fourthly. Physical suffering, hereditary disgrace, and unrequited toil, prove, as we have shown, the inequalities of *visible* providence. Often amidst the thickest of this mystery the curtain of mortality falls. We may now add, that the annals of oppression are crowded with illustrations of the partial recompences of this world. Let the reader consider the sophistry of the following passage, by which this case is attempted to be met:—

'The history of persecution is a history of endeavours to cheat nature, to make water run up hill, to twist a rope of sand. * * * It persecutes a principle; it would whip a right; it would tar-and-feather justice, &c. &c. * * * The inviolate spirit turns their

spite against the wrong-doers. * * * The minds of men are *at last* aroused; reason looks out and justifies her own, and malice finds all her work vain. It is the whipper who is whipped, and the tyrant who is undone.'—p. 120.

This is blinking the whole question. The burden of Emerson's argument is,—perfect justice is done *now*. It is not 'postponed;' there is retribution either in actual or in apparent nature. No person, therefore, can suffer unjustly; or, if so, he here meets with compensation. An equivalent is put into the other scale. This truth, then, has had a witness in every suffering heart. But has such been the fact? Did the dens of the inquisition echo it? While life and horror lasted, did the wretched sufferers enjoy their recompence? Nothing can be more fallacious than to say, 'men were at *last* aroused;' they are not half awake yet; but this is wholly irrelevant. No man, except one who maintains that 'society never advances,' is sceptical as to the remedial force which 'underlies all nature.' He knows it, and it is his hope. But this process is often the work of ages. In the meantime, tyranny, and persecution, and cupidity, rear their altars and offer their holocausts. They have crowded temples, many ministers, and the worship is sincere. The groans of their victims are lost in the shouts of the triumphant multitude.

'It is but the other day,' says Emerson, 'that the brave Lovejoy gave his breast to the bullets of a mob for the rights of free speech and opinion, and died when it was better not to live.'—Essay viii., p. 264.

Well, when and where did he obtain his reward? Myriads of our fellow creatures have suffered, to establish similar rights on a firm basis. More frequently, however, as in the case of slavery, and the wholesale destruction of the native tribes of newly-discovered countries, these hapless mortals had no thought of the *end* of their sufferings. Inhumanity rioted in all the insolence of power, millions wondered why the 'great spirit' dealt thus with them, and never upon earth spoke of either primary or secondary compensation. Yet *we* see that they suffered for us. They sowed, and we reap the harvest. Their blood, spilt in sorrow, at length becomes a stream of life to successive generations of men. Why have *we* the good? If there be no future rewards or punishments, they and their tormentors were soon one. No wise man will maintain, with Emerson's blockhead, that 'the good are miserable,' or that 'the bad are successful,' in a moral sense, and looking at the reaction of evil on a great scale; but if the prior enjoyment of the good in the path of goodness was *just*, they deserved a large *surplus* of it *beforehand*, in order to counterbalance the ills with which they closed their destiny on earth. Else why does Emerson employ this language:—

'Put God in your debt. Every stroke shall be repaid. The longer the payment is withholden, the better for you; for compound interest on compound interest is the rate and usage of this exchequer.'—Essay iii., p. 119.

We believe that such is the benevolent constitution of things, and will not quarrel with an objectionable phrase; but the best strokes of God's workmen are often the *last*, and this 'sublime law,'—'the effect already blooms in the cause, the end pre-exists in the means, the fruit in the seed'—does *not* 'enact itself in time and space.' It demands the range of immortality.

Fifthly. We adverted to an objection which might be made to Emerson's doctrine, that a man always parts with as much good as he gets, there being no profit, only exchange, in all the pursuits of life, and we shall now see how he meets it.

'The thoughtless say, on hearing these representations, What boots it to do well? There is one event to good and evil: if I gain any good I must pay for it; if I lose any good, I gain some other; all actions are indifferent.'

To this the author replies:—

'There is a deeper fact in the soul than compensation—to wit, its own nature. The soul is not a compensation, but a life. The soul *is*. Under all this running sea of circumstance, whose waters ebb and flow with perfect balance, lies the aboriginal abyss of real being. Existence or God is not a relation or a part, but the whole. * * * Nature, truth, virtue, are the influx from thence. Vice is the absence or departure of the same.' A criminal may be unknown, but 'inasmuch as he carries the malignity and the lie with him, he so far deceases from nature. In some manner there will be a demonstration of the wrong to the understanding also; but should we not see it, this deadly deduction makes square the eternal account.'

Virtue and wisdom 'are proper additions of being. In a virtuous action, I properly *am*.'

'There is, therefore, no tax on the good of virtue; for that is the incoming of God himself, or absolute existence, without any comparative.'—Essay iii., p. 120—122.

Why then say a dozen pages before, that 'there is a crack in everything God has made;' that 'in nature nothing can be given,—all things are sold?' Here we are told that supreme blessedness may be had for nothing. It is thus that Emerson dashes away. Admiring Zeno, Arrian, and Plutarch's heroes, he affects to rise above nature. Virtue, we believe, to be without any *equivalent;* worth any sacrifice; but, after all, we must pay for it. Does Regulus worship truth? Expose him to the burning sun, and then shut him up in a barrel with sharp spikes all over the inside of it. It is something, surely, to worship in such a

temple. Stoicism has no touch of nature in it. Christianity is the golden mean,—'I reckon that the *sufferings* of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.' They exist, but the soul can triumph over them.

To see clearly the meaning of the above extracts is rather difficult, but it may be done by the aid of metaphysical spectacles. Virtue, then, is affirmative, vice negative; the former an addition to the soul, the latter a deduction from it. The one is life, the other death. In relation to the argument, therefore, destitution of goodness necessarily involves punishment. It is the absence of God from the soul; a state of privation in which celestial light never shines. Though a man may go on in the commission of crime without thinking either of God, conscience, or shame, yet this insensibility carries in it a penal infliction; it is 'a decease from nature' which settles the debt of justice. Therefore there will be no future judgment.

We leave this account with the reader in connexion with a few observations.

1. On Emerson's principles evil and good proceed from one source,—'the universal soul.'

He maintains over and over again the dual system; that 'God,' 'existence,' 'being,' 'the whole,' is matter and spirit, and that these two are one. They are distinguishable, but not divisible. It is the same spirit, therefore, which animates plants, brutes, man. Life, motion, thought, in all their forms, are the immediate action of the impersonal, illimitable essence of the world. There is no other source or spring of action. Every volition, every pain, every pleasure, *is* God willing, suffering or enjoying in this or that individual. Cicero puts this objection to the doctrine of Pythagoras, of which, in fact, Emerson's is a resuscitation; and we may add, that not only have we here a Deity in fragments, but that, on this supposition, there can be no guilt. If there be any penal infliction, it is 'the great soul' chastising itself. The highest law, the spirit of the universe, acts in and throughout all nature. Sin, therefore, cannot be; what we call 'evil' is only a mode of conception. With better eyes we shall see that 'truth and right are;' that 'all things go well;' that in all, there is 'identity and eternal causation.'—Essay ii., p. 69.

2. There is as much 'being' in vice as in virtue.

When we say that a man is *himself* in the culture and practice of what is right, we mean that he respects his reason and conscience, which distinguish him from brutes. It is with reference to this superior nature that we say, a man is dead, not himself, when he is vicious.. But all this is rhetorical. Hatred is as

positive as love, and the metaphysical jargon about '*be*-ing,' '*am*-ing,' and '*is*-ing,' is only dust thrown in the eyes. There can be no 'decease from nature,' especially none in emotion or action of any kind. A man may pass from temperance to excess; he has lost one feeling, gained another; each is a state of the great all-conscious life of nature.

3. The doctrine of necessity, in its absolute form, is therefore an essential part of pantheism. We shall quote Emerson's own creed on this question:—

'What am I? What has my will done to make me that I am? Nothing. I have been floated into this thought, this hour, this connexion of events, by might and mind sublime, and my ingenuity and wilfulness have not thwarted, have not aided to an appreciable degree.'—Essay xi., p. 330.

'I suppose no man can violate his nature. All the sallies of his will are rounded in by the law of his being, as the inequalities of Andes and Himmaleh are insignificant in the curve of the sphere.'—Essay ii., p. 58.

Nothing can be more satisfactory to mankind, especially to the guilty portion of it, than this assurance. An infinite number of *in*appreciable degrees of perverseness will never make an appreciable degree, consequently there never can be guilt among men. An infinite series of beings, each under a law which he cannot violate, restrains the whole race from transgression.

4. As men are only 'incarnations,' 'fragments' of the great soul, they must lose personality at dissolution. The wicked, even if we admit such to exist, are, as well as the righteous, then taken back, like drops of water, to the ocean of everlasting life. And even now, all possessive and personal pronouns are, in a philosophical view, perfectly absurd. Instead of saying, 'I desire not to disgrace the soul,' p. 163, it should be, 'The soul desires not to disgrace the soul. The fact that the soul is here, shows the soul that the *soul* had need of an organ here. Shall the soul not assume the post? * * * The good *soul* nourishes the soul alway, unlocks new magazines of power and enjoyment to the soul every day.' The first, second, and third person are in this system one and the same,—the soul of all things. By distinguishing the latter in italics, we may see that our author's '*fragment*' and the '*whole*' were holding a colloquy together.

5. Limiting, however, personality to this world, and admitting present retribution, still that cannot be punishment which gives satisfaction. It requires a tender conscience, the actual and awful presence of law in the soul, to awaken shame and remorse at unworthy deeds. But it is well known that fraud, avarice,

voluptuousness, cupidity, tyranny, are the delight of some men, if only they succeed, and that their sorrow is just in proportion to the present consequences of failure. They love to wallow in the mire; they rub their hands and make merry, while they can sin, and yet keep out of the fangs of human law; all other law they have long, long forgotten. They die in this apathy, without any consciousness of a 'decease from nature,' or deploring it as a punishment and shame, before they sink again into the common fountain of life. For, of course, they go whence they came.

'The sense of being * * * is not diverse from things, from space, from light, from time, from man, but one with them. * * * We first *share the life* by which things exist, and afterwards see them as appearances in nature, and forget that we have shared their cause. *Here is the fountain of action and the fountain of thought.*'—Essay ii., p. 65.

We here close our extracts for animadversion, by just remarking that it requires as much thought and vigour to plot and execute villanies, as to devise and carry out schemes of usefulness. Deadness to virtue, therefore, is life to vice; and as there can neither be imagination nor act but by the life, the spirit, the soul, which we share in common with all things, the motive, vital and thinking principle of the universe is the sole agent in all crime.

We have most unwillingly made these strictures on the essays before us. They are thickly sown with the seeds of fatalism and impiety. If the criminal can only stifle his conscience, forget the law, and escape from man, he is safe in any enormity.

Apart from the fundamental doctrine of the author, and the uses to which he applies it, we have of late taken no book into our hands so filled with new thoughts and exquisite illustration. A thousand things that set the wheels of one's intellect going at full pace are here found within the compass of a few pages. Nothing like, or second to it, has hitherto appeared in American literature. Many parts of it seem to have been written in another world. They are wild and sweeping as the forest. With some thoughts and principles which reveal his German predilections, Emerson writes, in general, like a man who had received his culture in the woods, and then come forth full of genius, power, and originality, as high priest of the mysteries of nature, to utter 'dark sayings' on this mortal state. Many of his thoughts, however, as becomes such a man, are fresh and beautiful as rosebuds bathed in the morning dew. One cannot open the book but he soon finds himself amidst the sweetest fragrance; the finest music of all natural objects—streams, waterfalls, and birds—breaks

on the ear, as if the author had lighted upon Eden and made it his familiar abode. Hear him speak of the influence of beauty on a youth.

'Wonderful is its charm. It seems sufficient to itself. The lover cannot paint his maiden to his fancy, poor and solitary. Like a tree in flower, so much soft, budding, informing loveliness is society for itself, and she teaches his eye why beauty was ever painted with loves and graces attending her steps. Her existence makes the world rich. Though she excludes all other persons from his attention as cheap and unworthy, yet she indemnifies him by carrying out her own being into somewhat impersonal, large, mundane, so that the maiden stands to him for a representative of all select things and virtues.' * * *

The lover finds in her no resemblance to others or to anything, 'except to summer evenings and diamond mornings, to rainbows and the song of birds.'—Essay v., p. 178.

'Somewhat like this,'—that beauty is the medium through which we are led to 'the celestial good and fair,' 'have the truly wise told us of love in all ages. The doctrine is not old, nor is it new. If Plato, Plutarch, and Apuleius taught it, so have Petrarch, Angelo, and Milton. It awaits a truer unfolding, in opposition and rebuke to that subterranean prudence which presides at marriages with words that take hold of the upper world, whilst one eye is eternally boring down into the cellar, so that its gravest discourse has ever a slight savour of hams and powdering tubs. Worst when the snout of this sensualism intrudes into the education of young women, and withers the hope and affection of human nature, by teaching that marriage signifies nothing but a housewife's thrift, and that woman's life has no other aim.'—Ib., p. 183.

Again, of teachers,—

'The great distinction between teachers, sacred or literary, between poets like Herbert, and poets like Pope; between philosophers like Spinoza, Kant, and Coleridge, and philosophers like Locke, Paley, Mackintosh, and Stewart; between men of the world who are reckoned accomplished talkers, and here and there a fervent mystic, prophesying, half-insane under the infinitude of his thought, is, that one class speak *from within*, or from experience, as parties and possessors of the fact; and the other class, *from without*, as spectators merely, or perhaps as acquainted with the fact on the evidence of third persons. It is of no use to preach to me from without. I can do that too easily myself. Jesus speaks always from within, and in a degree that transcends all others. In that is the miracle.'—Essay ix., p. 289.

We hope that Emerson will soon see other miracles in Christianity beside its spirituality. Considering, however, the quarter whence it comes, this is an important admission. At the same time, it was to be expected from a man capable of the pure, heroic, and noble sentiments which this volume contains.

'I hate,' says he, 'the prostitution of the name of friendship to signify modish and worldly alliances. I much prefer the company of ploughboys and tin-pedlers to the silken and perfumed amity which only celebrates its days of encounter by a frivolous display, by rides in a curricle, and dinners at the best taverns.'

Friendship 'is for aid and comfort through all the relations and passages of life and death. It is fit for serene days, and graceful gifts, and country rambles, but also for rough roads, hard fare, shipwreck, poverty, and persecution.'—Essay vi., p. 207.

The essay on 'Heroism' is an animating composition. It breathes the spirit of the reply of the Hebrews to Nebuchadnezzar,—'We are not careful to answer thee in this matter;' lacking, however, its piety,—'Our God is able to deliver us.'

'Epaminondas, brave and affectionate, does not seem to us to need Olympus to die upon, nor the Syrian sunshine. He lies very well where he is. The Jerseys were handsome ground enough for Washington to tread, and London streets for the feet of Milton. A great man illustrates his place, makes his climate genial in the imagination of men, and its air the beloved element of all delicate spirits. That country is the fairest which is inhabited by the noblest minds. The pictures which fill the imagination in reading the actions of Pericles, Zenophon, Columbus, Bayard, Sidney, Hampden, teach us how needlessly mean our life is; that we by the depth of our living should deck it with more than regal or national splendour, and act on principles that should interest man and nature in the length of our days.'—Essay viii., p. 259.

We must, however, forbear quotation. What we have said against this volume refers to its doctrines; what in its favour, refers to its extraordinary merits in spite of those doctrines. We recommend it to no half-thinkers. If they can talk with Satan, when he transforms himself into an angel of light, and yet say, 'Get thee behind me,' they may listen to Emerson exhorting them to 'lie low in the Lord's power, and learn that truth alone makes rich and great,' though at bottom he is pantheist, optimist, sceptic, or rather, downright disbeliever in *what we call* divine revelation, and thinks that 'hell itself is not without its extreme satisfactions.'

Art. VI. *Russia and the Russians in* 1842. By J. G. Kohl, Esq. Vol. I. Petersburg. London: Henry Colburn.

THIS is just such a work as we are always glad to receive from the hands of an intelligent and veracious traveller. It contains the precise information we want, and conveys it in a style both attractive and appropriate. It is such a book as no Englishman could or would write, but which, being written,

many Englishmen will read with pleasure. The author, M. Kohl, is a German, who has resided for some years in Petersburg, and is, in many respects, eminently qualified for the office he has undertaken. He is free, to a very considerable extent, from the national prejudices common to his countrymen, has associated on terms of intimacy with the people whom he describes, is a nice observer of men and things, and a most diligent and unwearied investigator of all matters bearing on the subject he has in hand. His work is, in consequence, infinitely preferable to the loose and general descriptions with which we are usually furnished by modern tourists. It supplies much of the information which is commonly sought from the pages of a directory or street-guide, with the additional advantage of disclosing the internal economy of Russian dwellings, and of throwing considerable light on many phases of the national character. The spirit in which his book has been prepared may be gathered from his preface, in which a hope is expressed that if it 'should meet the eye of some of his friends in Russia, they will peruse it without soreness or anger, and admit that, if he has flattered nobody, still less has he slandered or injured any one.'

The present volume pertains exclusively to Petersburg, and is divided into twenty chapters, treating on every subject which can interest, or minister to the instruction of, an intelligent foreigner. The German habits of the author are conspicuous throughout, and are occasionally so exhibited as to raise a smile on the countenance of an English reader. Our great difficulty is, to select from the abundant materials before us, but we shall do our best to furnish our readers with a fair sample of what the volume contains, and must refer those who desire more—and who will not do so?—to the work itself.

The northern Palmyra, as our author terms the capital of Russia, is built on a perfect level, and contrasts strikingly, in its amplitude, and in the arrangement of its streets, with the other leading cities of Europe. 'All is convenient and comfortable: the streets wide, the public places regular, the courtyards spacious, the houses roomy. . . . . The streets are so broad, the places so spacious and desolate, the arms of the river in the city so large, that the houses, mighty as are the masses which they form of and for themselves, cannot easily get the better of them, and are lost in the gigantic proportions of the plan.'

The tower of the Admiralty is the point from which the best view of the city may be obtained.

'At the foot of the tower, on one side, the eye ranges over the inner yards of the Admiralty, in which is stored the timber of the forests of Wologda and Kostroma, and where mighty ships are receiving existence from the busy hands of carpenters and engineers. On the other side,

lie the magnificent areas of Admiralty Place, Peter's Place, and Palace Place, adorned with the most important edifices of the city and the empire, with the imposing War Office, in which the lot of the millions who compose the Russian army is decided; with the Senate House and the Palace of the Holy Synod, where the *meum* and *tuum*, that which is to be believed and not believed, the temporal and spiritual welfare of a hundred tribes, are discussed and determined; the church of St. Isaac, with its numberless columns, every stone of which is a prodigious mass; the office of the minister of war, where a thousand pens are peacefully employed in the service of ferocious Mars; and, lastly, the vast Winter Palace, in a corner of which is enthroned the monarch to whom a tenth part of the human race looks up with anxiety and hope, and whose name is most celebrated and most feared of any throughout one half of our globe. . . .

'From the tower of the Admiralty, the eye follows the long series of palaces extending into the remote distance; and, with a good telescope, it easily discerns through these vistas what is passing in the furthest quarters. The first three admiralty districts contain all that is dearest to the city, the most remarkable public buildings, the principal shops, bazaars, and markets, the great mass of the civil officers, the first-rate artists and artisans, the cream of the nobility, in short, No. 1 of all classes. The mind is astounded when it ventures upon a detailed examination of the surprising world, the prodigious multitude of living creatures, and of formed and regulated masses, which the magic word of a mighty monarch here animated and brought together. At one glance, the ready eye here takes in works, in the completion of which millions of hands have laboured for a century and a half. The tribute of a hundred nations, the toil of innumerable slaves, appear embodied here in magnificent palaces on the banks of the Newa. It is the brilliant result of all the wars and victories of the Russian eagle, and the produce of his astonishing growth. Byzantium and Babylon, Samarcand and Pekin, were taxed towards the building of the Palmyra of the northern deserts; the Tatars and the Caucasians, the Poles and the Fins, were doomed to bleed, in order that this new Babylon might subsist, breathe freely, and live. The train-oil of the Esquimaux and Samoyedes, after a thousand metamorphoses scents as a perfume the halls of these edifices, and what Nature slowly created in the bowels of the Ural and Altai, under the care of treasure-guarding gnomes, the precious stones, the gold and silver, the furs with which she clothed the beasts of the Siberian forests, the tea-flower which she caused to bloom on shrubs of China, the spices which she matured by the sun of Arabia, have all been produced in the bright daylight of the capital. By the addition of drop to drop, and grain to grain, everything here grew to gigantic magnitude. These silver altars, this gold of the church-crosses, were bought with the blood of many thousand warriors. A single one of those companies, of which hundreds daily meet beneath these roofs, is the product of long years of instruction and discipline, and of innumerable admonitions from English, French, German, and Russian lips.'—pp. 4—8.

Few modern cities can boast of so great a number of gigantic edifices, some of them containing several thousand inmates, and constituting complete townships. Most of the houses have two floors only, and many of them are built of wood. The following exhibits, on a large scale, what may be seen in miniature in some of our own courts:—

'Among the private houses there are many which, for the number and extent of the courtyards and the magnitude of the different wings, are little inferior to the Imperial Palace in Vienna. Among many hundred others, I was acquainted with one, for example, the *rez-de-chaussée* of which formed on one side a bazaar, where the thousand wants of this earthly life might be supplied, while on the other a row of German, English, and French artists and artisans had hung out their show-boards. In the *bel étage* resided two senators and the families of several wealthy private individuals. In the second story there was a school, which had a high reputation throughout the whole house, and a tolerable number of academicians, teachers, and professors; and in several buildings in the rear dwelt, besides many nameless and obscure people, several majors and colonels, some retired generals, an Armenian priest, and a German minister. All Petersburg around it might have perished, and the inmates of this house could still have formed a complete political community, in which every rank, from the chief consul to the lowest lictor, would have been represented. When such a building is burned, two hundred houses become bankrupt at once. To have to seek a family in such a house is a trial of patience not to be equalled. If you ask a butschnik (a policeman stationed in the street) at one end, about an address, he assures you that his knowledge extends no further than the corner of the house next to him, and that he knows nothing whatever of the other side. In these buildings there are dwellings so remote, that all who live under one roof are not disposed to acknowledge one another as neighbours; so that there is not much exaggeration in the statement of a traveller who asserts that every house in Petersburg is a town in itself. Many, it is true, do not appear so considerable from the street, because the smallest front is mostly turned towards it. But on entering the podjäsde (the gateway), the extent of the courts, in each of which a cavalry regiment might exercise, and the multitude of buildings, attached and detached, fill you with astonishment.'—pp. 18, 19.

Our author follows up this account with an amusingly elaborate calculation, designed to show that while many of his countrymen esteem themselves happy in having an area of ten feet square 'to dispose of as they please,' every inhabitant of Petersburg, 'young and old, rich and poor,' have about thirty-six. Such a fact must materially contribute to the health and physical comfort of the population, and may well be envied by the people of other cities. The houses of the Russians are subject to perpetual change, arising from the fickleness of the national disposition.

'It is a fact,' remarks M. Kohl, 'that not a house belonging to a Russian remains in the same state for fourteen days together; neither will ennui restlessness of disposition and caprice, suffer persons of distinction to sleep in the same chamber for fourteen successive nights.'

The posting bills with which the walls of London, Paris, and other continental cities are so liberally covered, are scarcely known in Petersburg, and even the names of shopkeepers and their designations are permitted to appear only in small letters. This fact has led to a species of pictorial advertisement, which is thus described by our author:—

'This may account for the frequent paintings before shops and houses, conveying the intended information in the shortest and simplest manner. The optician of Petersburg has all the glasses and instruments made by him painted on his shop window; the butcher has, at his door, a picture, often executed by no inexpert painter, representing a number of oxen, cows, and sheep, and himself presenting a large piece of meat to a lady who is passing. The streets, which otherwise are rather monotonous, are thereby rendered, in a high degree, entertaining. You see bakers' shops, where, outside the door, above, between, and below the windows, are painted representations of all the different forms of bread customary in Petersburg. The lamp-maker, instead of entering into a long description of the lamps which he manufactures, and of their different sizes and dimensions, submits them all in one view to the choice of the passenger on one large board. Nay, the piano-forte maker, the confectioner, and others who have no occasion to address themselves to the common man, have adopted this custom; and you frequently see boards, with pictures of violins, flutes, pianos, tarts, confectionary, sausages, pasties, hams, and wearing-apparel, hung out from the first and second story.

'A Petersburg barber—indeed every barber in Russia—makes known his profession by the following picture:—A lady leans back fainting in a chair. Before her, with a lancet, stands a surgeon who is bleeding her; and from her white arm spirts a stream of blood, which a boy is catching in a basin. A man is sitting near and getting shaved; and the whole picture is surrounded by an arabesque of tooth-drawing instruments, cupping-glasses, and leeches. The pictorial advertisement of the midwife is this,—a bed provided with curtains we may easily infer to be destined for the lying-in-woman; and in the foreground is a cradle containing the new-born squaller, about whom the midwife herself is seen busily engaged. These paintings in general are pretty; and on those of the French *marchande de modes*, all the caps and fine laces are often beautifully executed. One would suppose that a single figure would be sufficient to denote all the articles in which a tradesman deals; but this is not the case. Not only must every sort of braces and stockings that a man has for sale be represented on his board, but likewise a complete dress for ladies and gentlemen. The coffee-house keeper exhibits a whole company sipping coffee and smoking cigars at

their ease; and the goldsmith displays not only rings and stars, but whole-length generals and ministers, whose breasts and ten fingers glisten with diamonds, gold crosses of orders, and pearls. Many handicraftsmen, whose productions can scarcely be represented, for instance the cloth-dresser, give at least, in the minutest detail, the whole of the implements which they use. The Russians are proud of these signs, and much might be said concerning them with reference to their character. You may frequently see at old ruinous *kabahs*, where beer and spirits are sold, large gilt signs with pompous paintings.' —pp. 34, 35.

The climate of Petersburg is exceedingly variable, the tempering influences of the Baltic frequently opposing the icy winds of Siberia. In summer the heat rises to 30°, and in winter the cold sinks to 30°, and during the same day, the extremes of heat and cold are frequently experienced; 'as though,' to use the words of M. Kohl, 'the city, like a ball, were projected sometimes to the equator, and at others to the North Pole.' When the thermometer sinks to 23 or 24°, the police go their rounds day and night in order to keep the sentries and the butschniks awake, and severely punish those whom they find sleeping.

'In a cold of twenty-five degrees, the theatres are closed, because the requisite precautionary measures can no longer be taken for the actors and the carriage-drivers. Pedestrians, who at other times move rather deliberately, now run in such haste as if they were upon business of the utmost importance; and the sledges, which before went at a good pace, now glide in *tempo celeratissimo* over the creaking snow. I know not how to account for it, but certain it is that a cold of twenty degrees in Petersburg is a much more serious matter, and much more mischievous in its effects than with us. You then cease to see faces in the streets, for all are muffled in furs over head and hat. Everybody is afraid of losing eyes, nose, or ears, by the frost; and as no unpleasant sensation gives warning of such accidents, people have enough to do to think of the different extremities of the body, and not to forget to rub them in time. 'Thy nose, daddy!' says one passenger to another whom he meets, and, without ceremony, he rubs his nose, which is as white as chalk, with snow. People are accustomed to such circumstances and courtesies, and they take notice of the noses of their fellow-men, that they may now and then rescue one of those valuable organs from the clutches of that arch nose-destroyer, the Petersburg Boreas. The eyes, too, occasion a good deal of trouble, for the lids freeze together every moment. You then grope your way to the door of the first house, beg the inmates to allow you a place for a few moments near the stove, where you drop a thawed tear of gratitude for their compliance.'—p. 110.

The population of Petersburg is composed of tribes from all quarters of the earth, whose various, and in many cases grotesque appearance, greatly adds to the picturesque aspect of the streets.

The Mohammedan turban, the Persian black beard, and the shorn head of the Tatar, mingle with the silk kaftan of the Jew, and the motley habiliments of Poles, Hungarians, Caucasians, French, and others. 'It is as though Noah's ark had stranded in the Newa, and was discharging its multifarious freight.' Sixty thousand of the population belong to the army, and by their glittering equipments, which are never laid aside, greatly add to the imposing character of the scene.

The following is sufficiently amusing, and will probably awaken the indignation of our young readers, though it might not possibly be difficult to discover amongst ourselves something which bears more than a slight analogy to that which is described:—

'The most brilliant day in the year for the Summer Garden is Whit-Monday. On that day the Russian tradesmen assemble there for the famous ceremony of choosing wives. This is a spectacle so unique in its kind, that it would have been well worth the while of the Englishman to whom I have elsewhere alluded, to make a journey hither expressly to see that also. According to an ancient Petersburg, and a still more ancient Russian custom, which reminds one of the markets for young women in Hungary, all the tradesmen's grown-up sons and daughters meet here on that day, the former to gaze, the latter to be gazed at. The girls, pranked out in their finest clothes, are drawn up in a row along the parterres. Their mothers are stationed behind them. They have rummaged their own and their grandmothers' wardrobes for everything showy and brilliant to bedizen their daughters, attaching it to hair, ears, and arms, round neck and waist, to fingers and feet, wherever there is a possibility of fastening it; and many are, in fact, so covered with gold and jewels, that little, if anything, of their natural charms is visible. It is related that on one occasion a mother, not knowing what more to add to the decorations of her daughter, fastened six dozen gilt teaspoons to a gold chain, and hung them in a double row about her neck, in addition to the pearl necklaces; and that she surrounded her waist in like manner with three dozen table-spoons and two large punch-ladles placed crosswise before and behind.

'The young men, with their fathers, in long kaftans of fine cloth, and their beards smartly curled, walk along the file of blushing, silent damsels, who, at the same time, are desirous enough to please; and Cupid, who is sure to attend, points out to them the children of the Graces, but is prudent enough before he speeds his arrow, to ascertain the genuineness of the gold and precious stones. The young men and the mothers and fathers here and there try to get up a conversation, in the course of which, glances and sentiments are interchanged. Eight days after this exhibition a second meeting takes place, in which the affair is more pointedly discussed, and by the aid of officious relatives and female go-betweens, all the preliminaries are settled, on which the company return home coupled and mated. Similar customs at mar-

riages prevail among all the Slavonic tribes. But it is extraordinary that, in gorgeous Petersburg, where a numerous portion of the public never fails to ridicule the practice, such a singularity should maintain its ground to the present day. It is only of late years that this custom has gradually declined; and, if on Whit-Monday many pretty girls and young men meet in the Summer Garden, and many a match is begun there, still the whole proceeding is not so formal, stiff, and old-fashioned, as it was ten years ago.'—pp. 84—86.

An extended and very interesting account is given of the Russian Iswoschtschiks, or hackney-coach drivers, of whom there are about eight thousand in the city. Very severe laws for their regulation are enacted, which place them greatly at the mercy of foot passengers. 'Whoever brushes against a pedestrian with horse or carriage, for him the law decrees 'fine and flogging;' and for him who throws a person down, though without hurting him, 'flogging, Siberia, and confiscation of the whole equipage.' 'Take care,' cries the driver; 'take care yourself of Siberia,' rejoins the pedestrian. The moment a shriek is heard from a foot passenger, who has been thrown down by a carriage in the street, butschniks, the promptest servants of the police director, sally from their watchhouses, and let the equipage belong to whom it will, let it be one horse or four horse, it is seized as a good prize by the police; the poor driver is bound, whether he is to blame or not. Here the Iswoschtschiks are always regarded as guilty, and secured for Siberia.

'I once witnessed,' says M. Kohl, 'a highly comic scene on such an occasion. The magnificent equipage of Countess T——, in coming along the Perspective, had the misfortune to push down an old woman, who was crossing the street, into the snow; but, as it afterwards proved, without doing her any personal injury. When the old creature dropped, the ladies fell back fainting in the carriage; but the coachman, having the fear of the knout and Siberia before his eyes, made good use of his whip, and started his horses off at full gallop. By this time, all the dreaded butschniks in the whole street had taken the alarm, and were waiting at every corner for their prey. At one of these corners some of them boldly rushed towards the flying equipage; but, not daring to seize the reins of the spirited horses, they clambered up behind the carriage, with the intention of following it in this way till it should stop. In this case, coachman, horses, and carriage, would have been irretrievably lost. Prince L——, a young, strong, and active man, recognising his friend, the Countess T——, in this critical situation, darted from the foot-pavement upon the unwelcome escort, and with a few sound cuffs tumbled the butschniks into the snow. Enraged at the escape of their booty, they seized the prince, dragged him to their watch-house, and strove to detain him as a prisoner. But they had some trouble to close the door; and the prince, who had no inclination to be confined for hours in that disagreeable cage, with the exertion of

great strength, burst the door open again several times, and in doing so had time enough to perceive one of his friends passing in uniform, and with his star, and to call out to him, 'Sauvez-moi, pour l'amour de Dieu! je suis le Prince L——.' The butschniks clapped the door to again, but the prince again got it open, crying, 'Sauvez-moi, je suis le Prince L——,' and was at length liberated, through the mediation of his powerful friends among the spectators.'—pp. 104, 105.

The character of the sovereign is, in such a country as Russia, of the highest importance, and the following account of the habits of Nicholas will therefore be read with interest. Few monarchs, probably, would hazard so continued an exposure to the public eye as the autocrat of the North seems to delight in:—

'The Admiralty is surrounded by a Boulevard and a double alley of trees. Under these trees the public are accustomed to walk during the parade. The emperor himself usually commands; and as there are always some thousand men and a number of generals and superior officers under arms, this simple parade is a brilliant spectacle, and as good as a review on a small scale. To see the emperor ride past amidst his numerous staff, is alone a remarkable sight—he himself a portly, majestic figure, at his side his youthful successor, and about and behind him a train of galloping equestrians, none of them less than the son of a prince, or beneath the rank of major-general. Enveloped in dust, the cavalcade dashes along like a mighty thunder-cloud, from which flash forth the lightnings of arms and orders. The soldiers, drawn up in rank and file, present arms, while all the spectators uncover their heads on the approach of his majesty. 'Good day, my lads!' cries the emperor to the men. 'We thank your majesty,' is the simultaneous response, that bursts like thunder from every mouth. The parade frequently lasts for several hours, and whoever has seen that, the English Quay, the Perspective, and the Summer Garden, has not missed anything of consequence under the head of promenades.

'For the rest, it is by no means necessary to go to the Parade to see the Emperor. He appears so often on foot, on horseback, in droschka, or in one-horse sledge, that he is precisely the person whom you are sure to meet most frequently in the streets of Petersburg. There is not a monarch in the world whom so many occupations lead into the streets as the successor of Peter the Great, nor any who is pressed by such a prodigious mass of business—daily inspections of the hundred institutions of his capital, visits to the offices of the different ministers, reviews, participation prescribed by ancient custom in public popular amusements, personal directions for the building of new public edifices, visits to high personages and powerful favourites, nay, even to sick old ladies whom he wishes to oblige, and a hundred other matters, which one cannot enumerate.

'It is well worthy of remark, that on all ordinary occasions, wherever the emperor makes his appearance, it is in the plainest and most unostentatious manner in the world. Natives of the West, as well as Orientals, are surprised to see how so much greatness, power, and

majesty can submit to be drawn along the streets in a simple sledge by a single horse. On his journeys in the interior of the empire, the sovereign is frequently seen in a common rudely made *telega*, such as is used by the serfs; and one can scarcely conceive how it happens that he is not afraid of diminishing his consequence in the eyes of the people, when thus exhibiting himself divested of all the signs of grandeur. One is the more puzzled to account for this, because, at other times, the court of Russia displays a splendour and magnificence not surpassed by any. It is not merely a custom peculiar to the present Emperor, but is common to the sovereigns of Russia in general.'—pp. 86—88.

We had marked for extract our author's account of the shops and markets of the city, but must restrict ourselves to the following sketches, which are but a sample of what his pages abundantly supply. The first relates to a class unknown amongst ourselves, and goes to prove that, whatever distinction may subsist between the Greek and papal churches, the former is not a whit less superstitious than the latter:—

'In one corner, for example, all the dealers in images of saints have established themselves. The Russians, who always imagine that they are forsaken by God and all his angels, where they have not visible and palpable representations of his omnipresence, where the Almighty has not taken actual possession by the hand of the priest, and who therefore hang their persons, their rooms, their doorways, and their gateways, as well as their churches, with images of saints, have occasion, of course, for an incredible quantity of them. In heaps, like gingerbread-nuts, and sold by dozens, little brass crosses, portraits of the Virgin Mary, St. John, and St. George, and other amulets, lie exposed before the shops. On the walls of the latter hang glittering figures of false silver and gold, of all forms and dimensions; small ones, a few inches in length and breadth, which the servants of great families fetch away by the gross, to supply new-built houses, where they are nailed up in every room, behind the curtains; large ones, six or eight feet high, for orthodox tradesmen, who, with their wives and children, prostrate themselves before them; others for the use of village churches and city chapels. Some are fitted, after the new fashion, into mahogany frames; others adorned in the old style, with pillars, porches, and whole temples, curiously platted with silver wire. Many are new and fresh painted by pupils of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences, but most of them are antiquated figures, seemingly encrusted and embrowned with the dust of ages, and these the lower class of Russians like best; just as the German peasants prefer old, thumbed, and soiled hymn-books to such as are bran-new and fresh-bound. They are in particular request when it is known that they have belonged to churches, but less valued if they have grown old in the service of private individuals.'—pp. 134, 135.

Our other and last extract is of a different and more amusing description:—

'Decidedly the most entertaining and interesting part of this great market-world for the foreigner, is that division of the Tschukin Dwor where the poultry-market is held. It is composed of two long rows of shops, stocked with birds, large and small, alive and dead, pigeons, fowls, geese, ducks, swans, larks, bulfinches, linnets, nightingales, and a hundred other Russian birds, which form the most picturesque and party-coloured aviary that can be conceived. The shops are built of wood, but almost entirely open in front, so that one may conveniently see all that is in them from the street. In each of these shops there is a piquant medley of the real quintessence of rural sounds: the crowing of cocks, the cackling of hens, the chatter of ducks, the cooing of pigeons, enough to supply a hundred villages. From one row of shops to the other, the saints have built themselves flying bridges, such as we have already described. These bridges and the roofs are the resort of innumerable pigeons, each party of which is accustomed to its own roof, and which may be easily caught when a person sets about it. The Russians, as everybody knows, do not eat pigeons, which, as the dove is the representative of the Holy Ghost, they would consider it a heinous sin to do; and therefore they buy these birds merely to feed them, to play with them, and to amuse themselves with watching their flight. It is a truly interesting sight to see the Russian shopkeepers directing the flight of these birds at ever so great a height. For this purpose they merely fasten bits of rags to a long stick, and wave it about in various ways, which indicate to the well-schooled birds whether they are to fly higher, whether to the right or the left, or whether it is intended that they should come down, in which case they descend as instantaneously as if they were shot.

'The force of custom reconciles even the bitterest enemies: thus, among the pigeons, and familiarly associating with them on the roofs, are to be seen cats, one of which is kept in each shop, on account of the mice. It is a remarkable sight to see these blood-thirsty animals among the little birds, to which they never do any harm, because their masters have cured them of the disposition to murder birds, and taught them gentleness and forbearance. The fly-catcher, the nightingale, the linnet, the bulfinch, the lark, all of them favourite birds with the Russian tradesmen, who always have a great number of them hanging up in their dwelling-houses, their bazaars, and their national coffee-houses, twitter, in spite of the intense cold—it is probable that they too, like man, are less tender here in the north than their brethren in the south—whenever there is a bright gleam of sunshine. These poor animals have not, during the whole long winter, a drop of water given them to drink, because in the cold shop it would instantly be converted into ice. Their little bottle is merely filled with snow, which they are obliged to turn into liquid in their bills for themselves. They are therefore seen wherever the sun has melted the ice ever so little, fluttering eagerly about the precious fluid, of which they have so long been deprived, and drinking it greedily, and none of them more so than the ducks and the pigeons.'—pp. 141—143.

We exceedingly regret that our limits will not permit our

continuing these extracts. Every page of the volume is full of interest; indeed we have rarely met with a book which it is so difficult to lay down. It has all the attraction of a novel, superadded to the best qualities of works of its own class. We need not say that we warmly recommend it to the immediate perusal of our readers.

Art. VII. 1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book.* 1843. By the Author of 'The Women of England.' London: Fisher and Co.

2. *The Rhine, Italy, and Greece; in a Series of Drawings from Nature.* By Colonel Cockburn, Major Irton, Messrs. Bartlett, Leitch, and Wolfensberger. *With Historical and Legendary Descriptions.* By the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. II. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

3. *Friendship's Offering and Winter Wreath: A Christmas and New Year's Present for* 1843. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

4. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book.* 1843. By Mrs. Ellis. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

5. *Fisher's Historical Illustrations of the Bible.* Part V.—VII.

THE elegant volume which appears first on our list, is highly deserving, like its predecessors, of a conspicuous place on the drawing-room table. We recognise its usual tasteful exterior, the variety and excellence of its numerous engravings, and the general merit of the poetic illustrations by which they are accompanied. The last are less sprightly and more grave throughout than on previous occasions, arising from the change of editorship, which the preface announces. The continued residence of Mrs. Howitt in Germany, has necessitated the appointment of another editor, and we are glad to find that the choice has fallen on Mrs. Ellis, than whom we know no one whose mental and moral qualifications are better adapted to the post assigned her. The works which have rendered her name familiar as a household word, will be sure to secure a favourable reception for her present labours. We select the following, as affording a specimen of the manner in which Mrs. Ellis has executed her undertaking. The versification displays considerable power, and sustains throughout the deep interest of its theme.

'THE ROBBER'S DEATH BED.

'Unknown, untended, and alone,
Beneath the damp cave's dripping stone,
On his low bed the robber lay,
Watching the sun's departing ray,
As slowly, faintly, faded all
The dim light on that cavern's wall.

Alone, alone, and death was near,
And that stern man, unused to fear,
Whose shout had led the battle's strife,
Whose arm had bared the bloody knife,
Whose soul would neither spurn nor yield,
In secret way, or open field.
That giant frame, of sinewy make,
Why does each nerve and fibre quake?
Why glares around that eagle eye?
Can he, the dauntless, fear to die?

Yes! fear, a stranger-guest, has come
To fill that cave's mysterious gloom
With visions dire, and monsters fell,
And some remembered—all too well.
Dim pictures of the far-off past,
All hideous now, and all defaced.
What form is that advancing slow?
His mother wipes his misty brow,
He feels her breath, so gently warm,
His head rests on her feeble arm;
Kind words once more are heard, and felt,
A mother's knee in prayer has knelt.
'Tis all a dream! That form has gone,
The friendless one remains alone.
Yet something still sounds in his ear,
'Tis not the ocean-waves, though near;
It is the still small voice, which speaks
When nought beside the silence breaks.
That voice which neither wind nor wave
Nor aught can stifle, but the grave;
A still small voice,—yet louder far
To him who hears, than din of war;
And deep, and clear, the warning cry,
When sickness comes, and death is nigh.

At early morn there sought that cave,
On high behest, two warriors brave;
Commissioned by their prince to find
That lawless man—to guard and bind,
At safety's risk, that iron hand,
And from its terrors rid the land.

Behold he sleeps! the veriest child
Might sport beside that ruffian wild;
So still, so fix'd, so moveless now,
The marble of that fearful brow.
No passion stirs his fluttering breath,
He sleeps the long cold sleep of death.

He sleeps! but who the tale shall tell
Of that lone robber's last farewell?
When earth, and sky, and sea, and air,
And all they held of rich or fair;
When all his greedy hands had gained,
And all his hold would have retained,
Were passing swiftly, surely by,
And fading from his drooping eye;
While nought but horror, guilt, and gloom,
Remained beside his opening tomb.
Yes; then, even then, that holy book,
With trembling hand the robber took;
And such the lessons learned in youth,
And such the force of heavenly truth,
That while condemned, the page he read,
Some hope of mercy o'er it shed
A ray more bright than earth could yield;
And feeling, all too long concealed,
Burst forth, o'ermastered by his fate.
But hark! that call,—'One moment wait,'
He drops the book—it is too late!'

The frontispiece of the *Drawing-room Scrap Book* furnishes a well executed engraving of the unfortunate Duke of Orleans, Ferdinand Philippe, *vis-a-vis* to a vignette of his consort Helene, Duchess of Orleans. The elegant volume contains thirty-four other beautiful plates, consisting of some Scripture illustrations, a few portraits of persons of distinction, with a variety of landscapes, some of which are executed with considerable skill.

The following stanza, accompanying an engraving of the vast and magnificent Mosque of Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, is of a different character from our former extract:—

'THE MOSQUE OF SANTA SOPHIA.

THE COMMON DOOM.

'Poor child of grief, thou bringest,
Beneath the stately dome,
Thy weakness and thy weariness,
Thy care for days to come.
Beneath the sculptured column
Thou bendest with thy fears,
Thine incense, no vain offering,—
Thy penitence—thy tears.

What ails thee? Art thou lonely?
Have death, or deadlier sin
Broke down thy bower of beauty,
And let their terrors in?

What ails thee, child of sorrow?
Why droops thine eye of gloom?
'Ask not; there needs no answer;
Mine is a common doom.

'I am a pilgrim, weary,
Yet hastening on my way;
I would not here be wholly blest,
For here I cannot stay.
I would not ask this fickle world
To give me of its mirth;
'Tis meet that I am sorrowful,
Because a child of earth.'

The Rhine, Italy, and Greece.—We have perused with much pleasure the second volume of this highly finished and beautiful work, which combines all the elegance and taste of our best annuals, with much instructive and interesting information. However familiar we may be with the names or general character of the scenery here presented to our view, it is difficult to imagine the magnificence of nature in her endless variety, as displayed in the countries so richly illustrated in these volumes. The stupendous cataract, the lofty mountain, the silvery lake and liquid sunset, the gorgeous temple with its ten thousand relics of ancient times, are here splendidly illustrated in forty plates of first-rate merit, amongst which we may specify *The Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, Fountain and Cross, Carnelo-Athens,* from the banks of the Ilissus *Rheinfels,* above the Goar, and *Genoa* from the heights.

In introducing her *Juvenile Scrap Book* for 1843, Mrs. Ellis reminds her young friends 'that her portion of the work, to which she has still endeavoured to give an historical character, is that of suggesting thoughts for them to dwell upon, rather than that of offering any complete or full account, even of the distinguished individuals who, in the present instance, have principally occupied the pages of the work.' After condemning abridgments of biography or general history for the use of the young, she proceeds to remark that her little work 'pretends to be nothing more than a series of hints, which the editor would gladly render so attractive as to induce her young readers to make themselves further acquainted with the subjects which the engravings submitted to her choice have suggested; and the highest reward her endeavours could meet, would be to know, that in conveying these hints she had succeeded in a still higher aim, that of giving a right bias to the feelings of admiration with which the characters of the great of all ages are regarded.' We feel much pleasure in recommending this little book as a suitable

birthday or Christmas present, in which instruction and recreation are happily and elegantly blended.

Friendship's Offering does not afford us so much pleasure this year as on former occasions. Its contributions are from the pen of the Editor, Leitch Ritchie, Major Calder Campbell, Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, Mrs. Abdy, Miss Camilla Toulmin, &c.; but few of them rise above an average excellence. The poetry is pleasing, and the plates are pretty much as usual. Of the tales we cannot speak highly. They are for the most part poorly conceived and feebly executed, without skill in the development of the plot, or consistency in the narrative. 'Gonzalvo's Daughter' must be excepted from these remarks. It is a spirited sketch, worthy of being filled up.

Of the *Historic Illustrations of the Bible*, which stands last on our list, we have frequently had occasion to speak in terms of commendation. The work is much to our mind, the design and the execution being creditable alike to the publishers and the artists whom they have employed. The names of Raffaelle, Rubens, Rembrandt, and Poussin, are sufficient evidence of the excellency of the class from which the selection has been made. Such a work, executed so creditably, cannot fail to be a favourite with a large class. Its interest is more permanent, as its attractions are far greater than those of an Annual.

Art. VIII. *Exercises: Political and Others.* By Lieutenant-Col. C. Perronet Thompson. In 6 Vols. London: Effingham Wilson. 1842.

It is unquestionable that a very different effect is produced on the mind by the perusal of the entire and collected works of an author and by the study of any of his separate productions. In our imagination we circumscribe the author within his subject; and justly so; inasmuch as, *for the time*, the book is the accurate development of the intellect that produced it. But in perusing the entire works of a voluminous writer, we seem not to be entertaining him at a temporary interview, but to become his acquaintances through life, and to acquire a long standing intimacy with his character in all its phases and varieties. It is certain that this mode of acquainting ourselves with the man affords the clearest views of the extent of his attainments, the multifariousness of his knowledge, and the versatility of his powers of mind. And it is in other instances as certainly fatal to the indiscriminate admiration with which we may have been hastily inspired by the study of but one of an author's produc-

tions. The results of such an examination are frequently not a little humbling to the rash optimist in the study of human nature. They teach us with how much truth, how much error may coexist! How much timid shrinking from the pressure of conviction on one subject may consist with a philosophic fidelity to truth on others, which vaunts to follow her whithersoever she goeth; what 'antres vast and deserts idle' occupy, it may be, a major part of that intellectual, and perhaps of that moral territory, the remainder of which has been so laboriously and successfully tilled!

Some of these reflections, and those the least painful, will be excited in many minds, by the perusal of the singular volumes now before us. The unusual variety of the subjects on which Colonel Thompson has thought and written would not be surprising if he were one of those 'servants of all work' to the public press, who would undertake a treatise on classic antiquities with the same assurance with which they would contract for a report of a dinner of tory landlords, or of the details of a prize-fight; but considered in connexion with the depth of information which he exhibits on almost all of them, it is perfectly wonderful. He reminds us of the man who is said to have written a book '*de omnibus rebus—et quibusdam aliis.*' Corn-Laws and Oriental literature, foreign politics and musical science, established churches, utilitarianism, and Jews' harps—these are but a few of the multitude of subjects, of which he may say, with far more appropriateness than the Roman satirist—'Hoc est *farrago* libelli.'

One is naturally curious to know something of the biography of a man whose intellectual conformation offers so much that is singular. If we are to believe the Patriarchs of the New Moral World, a class who live, we believe, 'within the rules' of Bedlam, the character is wholly determined by the external circumstances of the life. On this shewing, the history of Colonel Thompson might be expected to present some occurrences not a little remarkable. On this point, however, we have received some general information, through the medium of a brief but authentic history of his life—that is, hitherto as we are happy to add,—recently given to the public in the newspaper press. We find that he was born at Hull, in 1783, that his father was a wealthy banker and a local preacher among the Wesleyan methodists, in the foundation of which sect a maternal ancestor of the Colonel was a prominent agent. His education was adapted either to train an energetic leader of the movement party, or to leave him an untrained and passive acquiescent in things as they are. His early studies were pursued under the clerical and thorough-paced tory master of the Hull grammar school; while

his subsequent education was obtained at Queens' College, Cambridge, from which, according to a curious University legend, all the students are turned out 'saints.' This, however, we fear, belongs rather to the mythic history of Alma Mater; the more probable account we take to be, that they come out good orthodox tories. How far our author has been moulded by these early influences, we shall presently be qualified to determine. A curious indication of the wild vigour of his mind in early life, is found in one of his later productions, and, irrespectively of its aptitude as an illustration of the subject he had in hand, will be read with interest by such as are curious to trace, in childhood, the paternal resemblance to the man.

'When I was a little boy and went to school on cold mornings, I remember being much impressed with the phenomenon of certain other boys who carried burning touchwood between two oyster shells; and being at the time engaged in making a perpetual motion on a carriage which was to be moved by means of *a spring resting on its own axle-tree*, I extended my designs to a kind of fiery perpetual motion, which, as I had heard that flower of sulphur was produced by sublimation, was to consist in burning a portion of brimstone, first on one side of my receptacle, and then, after it had passed over by sublimation, on the other. I am afraid the same absence of applicability to practice attaches to the project of your correspondent,' &c.

It is very certain that our author steered unharmed between the dangers of orthodoxy at school, and the more threatening perils of toryism at college. Having no predilection for mercantile business, on the one hand, or, on the other, for those professions to which the years of college life constitute the ordinary avenue, he entered the naval service in 1803, though even then with a preference for military life. Here we find one of the early instances of the versatile energy of his character; for, in spite of his military predilections, his excellent seamanship appears to have obtained for him some important trusts, which he executed with considerable ability. While thus engaged, we find, from the narrative above referred to, that he obtained a kind of promotion, which, occurring under such circumstances, may well give rise to some rather amusing reflections. In the midst of his naval services, he was elected a *Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge!* When we recollect the original design of these venerable institutions, and especially of the fellowships connected with them, we can scarcely repress a smile at this curious appointment. The hero of a hundred fights figuring in a cap and gown as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, may well remind us of Horace's hypothetical monster, and suggest the '*risum teneatis*'? But a young gentleman in active service on board the Pomona frigate, renewing his monastic vows, and

bound under the hard conditions of ecclesiastical celibacy, is a burlesque to which even the merits of the candidate can scarcely reconcile us.

Within two or three years we find him in a position almost equally unlike that of the midshipman and the college fellow, to wit, that of a prisoner in the convent of St. Domingo, captured in an attack on Buenos Ayres. At twenty-five years old, Colonel Thompson was appointed governor of Sierra Leone, in the discharge of which trust he evinced a degree both of physical and moral firmness equally characteristic, inasmuch as, in the first place, he boldly asserted his magisterial power for the protection of the oppressed negro, and against the power of his civilized and Christian tyrants; and, in the second place, he returned to this country *alive*. Even amidst the fatigues and excitements of military service, the Colonel found leisure and inclination for higher and more profitable studies; and composed, while on service in the Peninsula, an able, but unfinished treatise on Morals and Law, now first published, we believe, in the volumes before us. In the middle of the year 1836 he was returned to parliament as the representative of his native town; and, in fulfilment of a destiny almost as rare as that by which his constitution braved the pestilences of Western Africa, he has come out of what we trust is only the commencement of his parliamentary career, with a character of untainted political integrity. During the latter portion of the period we have thus briefly reviewed, Colonel Thompson contracted an intimacy, for which, without doubt, his previous habits of thought had well prepared him, but the influence of which must considerably have modified his subsequent character—we refer to his acquaintance with that prodigy of intellectual power, Jeremy Bentham, and at the same time associated himself with the nearest friend and disciple of Mr. Bentham, Dr. Bowring, in the proprietorship of the Westminster Review, to which Colonel Thompson was one of the most important contributors.

We now proceed to develop the political character of our author as evinced by his writings. We find one general and striking distinction pervading them all. This is, that all his views, theories and plans, are based upon certain fundamental and intelligible principles, to which, as to a standard, they are either constantly referred, or easily referrible. But for the profound and varied knowledge which he incessantly, and, as it would seem, involuntarily displays on subjects of foreign and domestic politics, history, and commerce, one might almost imagine that he was philosophically legislating for a community in its golden age, before convention had sprung up to embarrass

its simple ethics, and to introduce its discords into the harmony of natural justice.

Unhappily for the extended popularity of Colonel Thompson's writings, there is a large class of persons, and those worthy persons too, who have contracted a lazy habit of condemning, under the name, or rather the nickname, of *theory*, all propositions and arguments which are not founded upon those petty facts which sway the deliberations of a parish vestry, or of a board of guardians in a *very* rural district. Now granting these worthy people, just for sake of saving time, the use of their favourite word *theory*, (of the true meaning of which they evidently have not the most distant conception,) we would fain remonstrate with their common sense upon this summary clerical-magistrate-like method of jurisdiction. We would beseech them to consider, that if politics is a science at all, it is a science not of facts, but of principles, and this for a reason which we will try to make obvious. The inferential meaning of facts and events, in other words, the practical inferences which thinking men should draw from them, is solely dependent upon their concomitant circumstances. But these circumstances are infinitely varied. In no two given, or even conceivable cases, will they be perfectly similar; while in most cases (such are the wayward vicissitudes of the world we live in) the concomitant circumstances of any two similar facts will be widely and essentially diverse. This position is so true, even of the *past* as compared with the *present*, that history itself, in the hands of the empirical politician, who timidly seeks his safety in coasting along its irregular outline, is but an old almanack. But the science of politics is necessarily prospective; it has to do not with the connexion between the *past* and the *present*, but with the *future*, so far as human foresight can discern it, by the light of present knowledge. Here then, if anywhere, we need the guidance not of mere facts, varying in their complexion and instructive tendency with different meridians and successive epochs, but of *principles* which comprehend them all, which change with no fluctuation of time and circumstance, which were true ages before we meddled with the interests of men, and which will remain so ages after 'the grave shall have imposed its law of silence upon our pert loquacity.'

But if such considerations fail to impress the minds of those who, with a short-sighted vanity, plume themselves on their reputation as *practical men*, we would point them to the results which have invariably attended that system of legislation in which they imagine that the perfection of human wisdom resides.

We lay down then, as fundamental principles,—First, that all

civil government should, and, if free, must be constituted by the people, and maintained by them for their benefit; and, secondly, that its sole function is the protection of the life, liberty, and property, of the governed; and that this function must, in all cases, be impartially exercised. This, we say, is the simplest theory of political freedom; and if any should regard it as a doubtful postulate, let them remark how essentially it is involved in the foundation of our own, and of every other free constitution. This may be sufficiently seen, to go no further, in the very notion of representation, in the system of the trial by jury, and in the peculiar powers of the Commons House of Parliament; those of originating all measures of finance, and by consequence, of withholding supplies from the executive government. Nor, indeed, would it be possible to draw any definite and ascertainable line between this sacred limit of the province of government and the extremes of lawless tyranny. Let us notice, then, a few capital instances in which this prohibitory principle has been violated in our own national history, and the results which have uniformly followed from such violations.

1. The first principle, then, that all legitimate government must be constituted by the people and maintained by them for their own benefit, has been violated in all cases in which those have been compelled to obey and support a legislature in which they are neither directly nor virtually represented. The infraction of the principle, which we regard as the essence of the wrong, will, by many, be viewed as a trivial matter. Such persons are welcome to all the comfort they can derive from a contemplation of the practical consequences of such a course of policy. That course was pursued, it will be recollected, in our quarrel with our American colonies, and it was the unyielding maintenance of the principle thus infringed, which gave dignity to the opposition of America, and glory to her success. The results of that contest need hardly be recapitulated—a frightful expenditure of human life, aggravated, as to its natural horrors, by the almost civil character of the war; a serious accumulation of national burdens, and the indelible stain of merited discomfiture and disgrace. A view of the subsequent political history of this country, and of its present condition, is calculated to teach the same sad and humiliating lesson. The violation of the same principle, in the withholding of political rights from the immense majority of the British people, is, at this moment, distracting them with disaffection and convulsion; the charities, no less than the commerce of life, are unnaturally suspended, and the resources which might be so effectually employed for the common good are expended in bitter and mutually destructive animosities.

2. The same principle is equally violated when governments, instead of confining themselves to the duty of protection, arm themselves for the purpose of extra-national interference, or of territorial aggrandizement. If, in such cases, it should seem to any a light matter that a political theory is infringed, it may become them to recollect how large a proportion of the misery which has ever afflicted the civilized world is traceable to this violation. It would be impossible to comprehend, by any cumulative process of thought, the moral and physical horrors which have attended this single deviation from the line of political rectitude. The atrocities, the agonies, the wrongs perpetrated by professedly Christian governments, render the pages of history more loathsome than instructive, and threatened to engender in the human mind the very misanthropy which they evince.

Nor are the more indirect effects of this grand evil (an evil, let it be borne in mind, purely theoretic in its origin,) less painful, though they may be less disgusting. We could almost forget the national impoverishment which it occasions, the paralysis of the energies and the closing of the markets of industry, in the contemplation of the more moral effects which attend it. Its necessary tendency is to destroy, in the public mind, the sense of justice and the sentiments of humanity; to generate a wide-spread and blighting selfishness; to lower the standard of real greatness, to throw an atmosphere of glory around the most degrading passions and the basest crimes, and to suggest, and in a certain degree to sanctify to the popular mind, an appeal to physical force, under circumstances of real or imagined wrong. What, we may well ask, has this or any other country ever gained by thus abandoning one of the great principles of political justice? The empty name of national honour, military and naval heroes expensively quartered upon the resources which they have instrumentally impoverished, and remote disaffected dependencies constituting not accessories to, but ruinous mortgages upon, the national rent-roll.

3. A still more obvious deviation from what we have laid down as the simple, and only functions of civil government, is when any attempt is made on the part of the government to interfere with the mental or moral interests of the subject. We say, to *attempt* such interference, for so slow are communities, especially when placed under the bias of class interest, to admit truths which are obvious to the reflections of a thoughtful individual, that it seems still necessary to assert the essential independence of the human mind of all extrinsic and coercive power whatever. The proscription of opinions, enforced with pains and penalties, may, indeed, produce uniformity of profession and extended hypocrisy; but to attempt to legislate effectually for the opinions of men is

as obviously absurd, as to enact the changes of the wind, the weather, and the tide. The folly and the wickedness of such a course is seen in the necessary absence of any relation between the object contemplated and the instrumentality employed, and in the design which it implies to fetter with legal restraints what God has constituted independent in its nature, and sacredly responsible to himself alone. But if, for the conviction of any, it is necessary to turn aside from such considerations, and to indicate the practical results of such interferences, we point them (to go no further back) to the history of the last thirteen centuries, and indeed to the existing condition of the whole civilized world. Individual persecutions, sufferings, and martyrdoms, may perhaps be sophistically attributed by some to local circumstances, and to the temper of the times; but we beseech them to learn, from the moral history of nations, at least one incontrovertible lesson, namely, that in exact proportion to the degree of stringency with which such enactments have been brought into operation, has been the density of popular ignorance, the rankness of vice, the prevalence of formality, and the absence of genuine religion. Nor does the aspect of religious society in the present day belie the testimony of past history. Still, in proportion as this futile effort is put forth, do we find prevalent disaffection and heart-burning, priestly insolence on the one hand, and public wrong, with the worse alternative of personal treachery, on the other. The cure of souls, as we term it, in our sad irony, is a matter of daily traffic; livings and the *reversions* of livings, (*proh pudor!*) an ordinary article in the commercial market, a secular bench of bishops, an ignorant and presumptuous clergy, and a dark and deluded people.

It is still further remarkable, that those whom reason and reflection fail to convince should not be weaned from this system by its notorious inefficiency. No fact is more indisputably taught by the records of ecclesiastical history, from the age of the Apostles to our own, than that modes of worship and belief have deepened and vitalized their influence upon the minds of men, in the direct ratio of the hostility which they have encountered from the secular power. 'So mightily grew the word of God' under the Cæsars of Rome; so ripened the Reformation under the persecution of the popes; so was the blood of the martyrs the seed of the church; and so, by the same divine and all-pervading law of compensation, in proportion to the spirit of secular rapacity and ecclesiastical bitterness of the Anglican church, there spreads among the pious of its own and every other communion, a deep-toned and dignified piety, before which that spirit 'stands abashed.' 'It is glorious' (as an eloquent writer of the last century exclaims on a similar

review,)—'it is glorious to see how nature triumphs over art. The artificial religion of creeds and rituals withers in the hands of the most absolute monarchy and of the most subtle priesthood, while the simple practice of piety and virtue lives with the poor through successive generations. Penal statutes to repress it are like penal statutes to cleanse the world of violets. Fashion may banish them from the burgomaster's garden, but the heavens will conspire to nourish them in the shade of a nettle, or at the foot of an oak.'*

4. The last of the very many cases to which we shall here refer, in which the principle we have laid down is mischievously violated, is that in which the influence of the secular power is brought to bear upon the commercial affairs of the people. In this case, the theoretical error seems to lie here, that the protection thus afforded, if by a forced interpretation of the term we may call it protection, is not extended over the life, the liberty, or the property of any individual: and to these simple functions a generally admitted definition restricts the province of the legislator. If the policy which is hostile to a system of unrestricted commerce protects anything, that protection is afforded neither to life, liberty, nor to property; but to a conventional arrangement professedly devised for the temporary benefit of a class, and obviously hostile to the welfare of the community in general. Now here, in accordance with the ancient maxim of wisdom, '*Principiis obsta*,' we should merely enter our protest against the abandonment of the simple line of political principle which this policy involves; but if for the sake of those empirics (in the worst sense of the term) who draw their notion solely from the limited range of facts, which, in the recesses of society, they can command with their naked eye, it is necessary to sketch out the results of this unauthorized interference, that is unhappily a most easy task.

We have to contemplate a country the most abundant in resources, the most eminent for civilization, intelligence, enterprise, and everything which can contribute to national greatness, that exists upon the face of the globe. We find the majority of its population in a condition of helpless indigence; its commerce withering and stagnant; its machinery—the very muscles and sinews of its strength—in process of exportation to other shores; and its most industrious and valuable artisans gradually banished, not, indeed, by a judicial, but by a political sentence, just as, in ancient days, the ornaments of the commonwealth were *ostracized* when their conspicuous excellence became distasteful to the depravity of the age. We have the singular spectacle of starva-

* Robert Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.

tion in the midst of plenty; and of machinery, which might supply the civilized world with manufactures, rotting with disuse. Worst of all, we have that intercourse suspended between this and foreign nations which the God of nations seems to have contemplated for the benefit of the whole human race, by the local, providential, and spiritual advantages by which he has distinguished this remote province of his empire.

It is easy to specify the proximate cause of all this. All history confirms the testimony of common observation in teaching us that a country which is contracted in space, and thickly populated, is, for reasons which we might satisfactorily work out, did our space permit, designated to manufacture and export; and that the opposite law applies to extended and thinly populated districts,—namely, that the wide-spread population should subsist by the wealth of the land, and draw their manufactures from crowded cities. This law is not only physical but providential, since it encourages that pacific and kindly intercourse between nations which would realize the angelic benediction, 'Peace on earth, good-will towards men.' In slighting this benign law of nature and providence, it is too evident that we have 'forsaken our own mercies.' In virtually prohibiting the industry of our own population, we have induced an unnatural competition abroad; and as one injustice naturally leads to others, we have punished our *disemployed* artisans with the rigours of a penal Poor Law.

We have endeavoured thus much at large to indicate the necessary results of a deviation from the principles of justice in the economy of political government. Innumerable illustrations might have been adduced for the same purpose. Happy if such considerations could convince those who discard principles which they never seek to comprehend, and guide themselves by facts with which they are most partially acquainted, that, with communities, as with individuals, 'Honesty is the best policy;' that what they reject under the name of theory is the concentrated element of truth expressed from universal reflection and experience;—that 'justice is the standing policy of all civil society, and that any departure from it under any circumstances is no policy at all.'

The highest panegyric, then, which we can bestow on the works of Colonel Thompson before us is, that they evince throughout a spirit of implicit obedience to the great principles of justice in every subject to which they relate. Their tendency, as far as their political aspect is concerned, may be gathered with tolerable accuracy from the opinions developed in the foregoing pages. We shall now proceed to give our readers some particular information as to the opinions of Colonel Thompson

and the genius of his voluminous writings, by allowing him to speak for himself. It is difficult, amidst the never failing raciness of these volumes, to know where to make our selection. The most prominent character, however, in which the Colonel is known to the majority of his countrymen,—namely, that of the advocate of free trade,—shall determine our first choice. The following *map* of the protection question is a happy specimen of his peculiar method of treating subjects, and will supply a fair illustration of the remarks which we have yet to make on the style of our author. It commences an article on the speech of the late Michael Sadler, M.P., on occasion of a dinner given to him by the merchants and ship-owners of Whitby:—

'"The monkeys in Exeter Change used to be confined in a row of narrow cages, each of which had a pan in the centre of its front for the tenant's food. When all the monkeys were supplied with their messes, it was observable that scarcely one of them ate of his own pan. Each thrust his arm through the bars, and robbed his right or left hand neighbour. Half what was so seized was spilt and lost in the conveyance; and while one monkey was so unprofitably engaged in plundering, his own pan was exposed to similar depredation. The mingled knavery and absurdity was shockingly human."*

'Take now the case which the opponents of free trade would put forward as most favourable to their cause, and see if it amounts to anything but this monkey policy in the end. Assume, for instance, the case of the glove-maker. Gloves may be had, it shall be supposed, from a French maker, for the value of two shillings a pair. An Englishman stands up and says that he can make gloves of the same kind for three shillings; and therefore, for the sake of encouraging British commerce, it is expedient to pass a law to prohibit the introduction of French gloves at two shillings, in order that those who choose to wear gloves may be obliged to take them from the Englishman at three.

'Never mind what quantity of flourishes the supporters of the legerdemain may take to cover the performance. Let it be utterly indifferent to you what names, sacred or profane, they invoke, to give gravity to their proceedings. If they are poetical, think of the Rule of Three. If they quote Scripture, take care of your pockets. Your money, which is your life, is at stake, therefore keep a cool head and a clear eye. The army of thimblemen from Doncaster is upon you, and there is no yeomanry at hand to clear the course. Trust no man that looks like a conjurer; be upon your guard also against those that do not. Beware of the quack doctors, who make long speeches, they will 'ravish you if they get you into their net.' Say, like Mr. Sadler, that 'all men are liars,' and you will not be very far from being right. Believe nobody, nothing, except that two and two make four. If an angel or an archbishop preach anything contrary to this, give them no

* Examiner, October 4, 1829.

heed. If judges on the bench contradict it, tell them they sit there to make law, and not arithmetic. You have money, and therefore everybody is in a plot against you. There is something in your pockets, and you will be beset right and left till they are cleaned out.

'When you buy a pair of French gloves, it is clear that they are paid for in something. You have the substantial evidence that *you* did not get them for nothing, and so has everybody else. They must have been paid for either with goods of English produce, or with goods of some kind, (gold and silver included,) which have been brought from abroad with goods of English produce, or with bills which are only an order for payment, in one of the other ways, a few days hence instead of to-day. Unless an Englishman has the art of getting anything for nothing, in one or other of these ways must they infallibly have been paid for. Here, then, are at all events two shillings accounted for out of the three, which are as fairly expended for the benefit of British producers and manufacturers of some kind, as they would be if the gloves were bought from a British glove maker at the same price. They are paid for to the Frenchman in, it may be, Sheffield goods. But if the glove maker procures a law that gloves shall not be brought from France, it is plain that Sheffield goods must stop. The glove-maker may gain employment and trade to the amount of two shillings, but it is equally plain that the Sheffield man must lose it.

So much for the part which consists of the *two* shillings. Next for the part which consists of the other one. And this, says the glove-maker, is to be a clear gain to British commerce, and it is a horrible wrong if it is to be deprived of it. Now mark the juggle; look sharply to the shuffling of the balls. If the wearer of gloves is to be forced to expend a shilling more upon the glove-maker, he must expend a shilling less upon somebody else. It may be that he would not have expended it at Sheffield, but at Birmingham; or that it would have been divided among fifty other places which it is impossible to assign by name. But it is still as clear as ever, that the shilling which it is proposed to make him expend *nolens volens* upon the glove-maker, must be taken from the custom of some other British manufacturers somehow and somewhere. There is no deception arising from the payments being made in money; if instead of money they were made in pecks of wheat, it would be just as true that the third peck which the glove-maker demands a law to put into his own pot, must be taken from the pudding of some British manufacturer, to whom it must otherwise have gone. Sift this—turn it over—see if it be true or not. Do not allow yourself to be tamely taken in, because the men who try to do it wear good clothes. Either it is true, or it is not. If it is not true, let somebody show where it is false. Till then, take leave to account it correct.

'Here, then, are the whole three shillings perfectly accounted for. It is shown to be a hocus-pocus and a fraud that states that any gain arises to British commerce, or production in the aggregate, from the prohibition of the commerce in French gloves, or that any aggregate

loss is induced by its absence. The whole amounts only to a plan for robbing a Sheffield man, or a Birmingham, who can make what people will voluntarily buy, for the benefit of the glover who cannot; for clipping the commerce of some individual who has ingenuity and skill enough to command a market, to add it to him who is without.

'But this is not all; there is another count in the indictment. The consumer, the unfortunate who is in the habit of wearing gloves, is to be the gratuitous loser of a shilling besides. If the shilling was to go to the benefit of commerce, he might wrap himself up in his patriotism and be consoled. If it was really to cause any increase in the safety or strength of the community of which he is a member—if the thousandth part of a farthing of it was to appear in the shape of natural wealth, security, or splendour, he might lay aside the feelings of an injured purchaser of mittens, and exalt in his fractional portion of the glory of those who have suffered for their country. But when it is to be taken from him with no object, no prospect, no hope, but that a clumsy and inefficient artisan shall be enabled to appropriate the custom of an intelligent and effective one, his situation presents itself in all its nakedness, his courage sinks under the view, the feelings of humanity prevail, he drops a tear and wipes it on his three-shilling gloves, and sits down a melancholy monument of what it is to be 'the envy of surrounding nations and the wonder of the world.'"—Vol. i., pp. 191—194.

Let it only be considered that the above argument is as applicable to every other item of foreign produce, as it is to French gloves, and the question of commercial protection is fairly turned inside out. We are satisfied that no man of the present age more fully understands the subject of commercial politics than Colonel Thompson; and if the principle of compulsory education, of which the Tories are so fond, could be admitted for a special occasion, we could wish that Sir Robert Peel could be compelled to go to school every day, with his satchel on his shoulder, to the Colonel, to learn the lessons of free trade, with only his half holidays allowed him twice a week for Downing-street, to solve the enigmas of his Income Tax Bill, and to correct the blunders of his Tariff.

The parable by which our author exposes the corn law notions of Mr. Sadler, expressed in his postprandial oration, is too ingenious to be omitted.

'The eaters,' says he, 'of the Whitby dinner are next informed that 'thousands of the people in Lancashire are subsisting on fifteenpence a head per week, and even that pittance is earned by extreme and long protracted labour,' and that thousands in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield are in the same condition. And how should it be otherwise, when the speaker and his friends have passed a law against foreign commerce, and forbidden the starving manufacturer to exchange his produce for food! A dinner was an ill chosen time to be mellifluous on such a subject.

'Suppose now that a hundred rats, instead of being mercifully killed in five minutes by the dog Billy, were caged up and supplied with a limited quantity of food, and encouraged to multiply till they starved each other by the subdivision of the allowance, and say whether this picture, ugly and disgusting as it is, is not a representation of the condition in which the country has been placed by the influence of the monopolists. Imagine, next, a well-dressed young man, with all the ensigns of respectability and good fellowship about him, declaiming on the misery of the sufferers with the remains of a tartlet in his mouth, and pointing out to the spectators the different forms and aspects of the process. 'See that individual of the softer sex with thirteen helpless young ones dependent on it for support. Their whole allowance is but fifteen grains a day, and there are people who would ruin the whole rat-trap by letting in foreign corn. Observe the 'father of the cottage' with his ribs clinging together, and no fur upon his back, brooding over the fate of his suffering family, over whom his heart is yearning and breaking; that poor creature with his ear bitten off is from Congleton; the insurrectionary cocktail in the middle is from Macclesfield; the Coventry rats are in a corner by themselves; from Rochdale, Manchester, and Barnsley, they are all alike, there is not a pin to choose. Would to God my voice could reach them, and be listened to. [Here quote sundry texts of Scripture and finish the tartlet.] Why do not they agitate for bread? Why do they not turn tooth and nail upon the wretches who would murder them by letting in foreign produce? The application may not be complimentary; but till it is shown in what way a starving people are to be fed by shutting out supplies, and taking from each other, it is an exact representation of the politics of the Whitby speech.'—Ib., pp. 205, 206.

We will now take a sample of our author's politics, in distinction from his political economy, and we will select an argument which involves in a few paragraphs the whole logic of representation. If the respondent has any confidence in the truth of his principle, he will find it a most profitable exercise to reply to it in the same brief compass, and setting before him at once its perspicuity and its honesty as a fitting example:—

'If the people are to be represented at all, they ought to choose their representatives. If they do not choose their representatives, they are not represented at all. If some do and some do not, then some are represented, and some not represented at all. And the grand query is, Why some are to be not represented at all?

'If a number of men were invited to form a joint-stock company for some common purpose, it would be an odd species of invitation which should begin by stating that nine-tenths of the subscribers were to have no voice, either in directing or inquiring into the application of the common stock. It would be tantamount to the advertisement, 'Wanted, a number of gulls, who having no other way of losing their money, may be accommodated here.' It would bear fraud and fallacy

upon the face of it; and scarcely any man would be found hardy enough to put forward such a scheme, and assuredly, none foolish enough to enter into it. Now if nobody would voluntarily enter into such a scheme, those who habitually live under the operation of such a one must do it involuntarily. It must be because they cannot help themselves, or in other words, because force is put upon them by those who have the luck to play the winning game.

If it was urged that in such an association it was necessary that those who held the larger stakes should have the larger share of direction, and that the way to compass this *was, that those who held the smaller stakes should have no share at all;* it is clear that such a proposition would be hooted off with general contempt. There may be reasons why there should be a difference; and if there is no naturally existing cause why the larger stakes carry with them a proportionate influence over the holders of the smaller, it may be right to produce the effect by artificial means. But whatever might be the necessity for such means, they could never go the length of determining that the holders of the small stakes should have no influence at all. This is to make the difference infinite; and whatever the difference in the just proportion may be, it is clear it never can be infinite.

'Now as no comparison holds good beyond certain limits, so it happens in the present case that there are two striking points in which the great joint-stock company, called a state or political community, differs from the others to which it may have been compared. And these are,—first, that the sacrifices demanded of the holders of the smaller stakes are absolutely greater than those demanded from the larger; and secondly, that on the supposition that each individual had a vote alike, there are naturally existing causes why the influence of the holders of the great stakes over the others, or in other words, of the rich over the poor, if not greater than was desirable for any good effect it would have on the common interest would at all events not be less.

'Compare now the sacrifices which a poor man is continually called upon to make to what is stated (and perhaps justly) to be for the welfare of the community. Weigh, for example, the loss and suffering to which every poor man of certain years is liable, from being called on to serve in the militia, with the loss and suffering the rich man encounters from seeing the price of a substitute charged against his rental. Take the case of any other tax, and compare the relative effect of what falls on the possessor of the single ewe lamb, with what falls on the owner of the flocks on the thousand hills. Thence collect the evidence and the proof that the poor have in reality a much more urgent personal stake in the management of the common stock than the rich; add to it the testimony of history that the rich, by hook or by crook, have always contrived to take care of themselves, and see if the resulting conclusion is not, that the goodness of a government is measured by the degree in which the poor, and not the rich, have the power to take care of themselves, in the same manner as the goodness of a crutch is measured by its fitting the lame side and not the sound.

'Next, that the rich ought to be too happy to allow an equality of

suffrage to be as much as they can demand, if other people will only refrain from asking if it is not too much. And here it is plain, that, by possessing the wealth, they possess a power of influencing other men exactly proportioned to that wealth. The equality of representation is only like the equality of right to go in at the door of a market; it does not imply the power of having equal influences when men are there. The demand, therefore, of the rich, to have not only the influence of their wealth, but to cut off the poor from the right of representation besides, is like the assertion that they cannot enjoy their just privileges in the market unless they can pass a law to have the poor kept out in addition. It is clear the poor do as much as can be expected from them if they see the rich enjoying the benefit of their riches in the market, and put up quietly with the contrast of their own inferiority; if they content themselves with the tripe and the offal, and lovingly aid in securing to the wealthy the sirloin and the haunch. If they do this at all, it is evidently because they are aware that the same security of property which gives the rich man his sirloin, is what ensures themselves their tripe; but it by no means follows that they should extend the argument to shutting themselves out of their homely portion besides.'—Ib., pp. 220—222.

The writings of Colonel Thompson abound with fragments of truth, angular and infrangible, and far too numerous to be cited within the limits of the present review. In noticing to his constituents the discussion on the new Houses of Parliament, he breaks out, as if instinctively, into the following train of political moralizing.

'I have held architecture in suspicion ever since I saw the pyramids. It is always a proof that there were one set of men who planned and amused themselves, and another set who paid. Examine any country or age, and in proportion to the servility or corruption of the people will be the splendour of the public buildings; sometimes the presiding power has been religious, sometimes political; but it is always manifest there has been a *caste* which has had the faculty of taking the people's money and giving them a stone.'

Again, with reference to the baneful law of primogeniture, we have the following aphorism:—

'The whole theory of primogeniture lies in a nut-shell; its object is to keep the existing property of a family together in a single hand, that this hand may employ it vigorously in effecting the maintenance of the remaining branches at the public expense.'

We might fill many pages with a code of political proverbs, drawn from the multifarious writings of Colonel Thompson, but we hasten to conclude this somewhat extended article with a few observations on their style and temper.

We cannot better define the peculiarities of Colonel Thompson,

as a political writer, than by stating that he is, as nearly as possible, a perfectly mingled compound of William Cobbett and Sydney Smith. He possesses the steam power of the one, without his egotism, his brutality, and his lamentable ignorance of the distinction between *Meum* and *Tuum*. He has all the wit of the other, with far more of native independence and comprehensive rectitude of principle.

The style of Colonel Thompson involves in it the very element of persuasion. While its geological character, if we may so express ourselves, is purely argumentative, its botanical history forms a perfect Flora of variegated allusion and illustration. It is impossible for a thoughtful mind to lounge along his pages without catching the infection of his right-minded frankness—of the gay and careless vivacity of the '*mens conscia recti*.' Like a traveller in a wild and romantic district, the reader rides along with a perfect confidence in his guide, regaling his senses and his fancy, at every turn, with new and pungent charms, and naturalizing himself, with an undisturbed sense of security, amidst the newest and the boldest scenery.

If, amidst so much to admire, we must intimate some defects, we should notice a freedom of style, which not unfrequently degenerates into coarseness and relaxity, in the treatment of sacred subjects—which not only violates the conventional orthodoxy of *alma mater*, but sometimes intrudes, with a sort of offensive rudeness, within more sacred precincts. These defects we venture, with all frankness and freedom, to rebuke; and not the less so because we can trace their origin to a noble and indomitable boldness of inquiry, fostered by the notorious licence of a naval and military career.

With this abatement, we cannot refuse the tribute of our admiration to the writings of the author, nor can we help rejoicing that they are presented to the public in so inexpensive a form as must ensure their transmission to the humblest classes of society. To him belongs the rare merit of basing the most comprehensive and instructive of dissertations upon the most familiar, obvious, and home-felt principles, of carrying these principles in his heart, into all the regions of thought and study, which in his eccentric course he has pervaded, and of having maintained, amidst all temptation from within and without, with a chaste and fond fidelity. The cynic may snarl at his humour, and the bigot of facts may sneer at his logic, but the honest and upright lover of truth and freedom will hail in his writings the exhibition of those great principles which, if in the inscrutable designs of God they are ever to be reconciled, must eventually harmonize the conflict of human selfishness and passion.

Brief Notices.

The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac, 1843. pp. 132. Published for the Congregational Union, by Jackson and Walford.

This is a most useful book. Besides all the usual information contained in such periodicals, which seems to have been collected with great care, and to be excellently arranged, it abounds with intelligence upon many subjects interesting to the general reader, and especially to the congregational dissenter. Its information respecting ecclesiastical and general statistics, the congregational churches, and miscellaneous matters, is not only worthy of being possessed, but, we do not hesitate to say, ought to be possessed in this day of religious zeal and polemical excitement. As the almanac is exceedingly cheap, we do hope it will be liberally supported by our churches, with the elucidation of whose principles, and the record of whose proceedings, it is more especially connected. We would suggest that it might be mentioned with no impropriety, and with good effect, at church meetings.

Sermons adapted to the celebration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. By the Rev. Charles Bradley. 8vo. London: Hamilton.

Mr. Bradley is well known as a sermonizer, and ranks deservedly high. His discourses are distinguished by simplicity of construction, an inartificial style, evangelical sentiments, and a warm-hearted and experimental piety. The present volume contains twenty-three such discourses, and will be found to be as suitable as its predecessors for family reading, or private seasons of devotion.

A Review of the Bishop of London's 'Three Sermons on the Church.' By John Howard Hinton, M.A. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1842. pp. 62.

Having recently given so large a space in this journal to the sermons of the Bishop of London, we cannot now return to the subject further than to recommend Mr. Hinton's pamphlet to general attention. The reader will find that the topic of the first discourse, 'the Church,' is taken up at great length; indeed, we regret that Mr. Hinton has not given larger space to the second and third discourses, which seem to us to call for more severe rebuke than even the first.

While the reader will find many things in the pamphlet well worthy of his attention, he cannot fail to be struck by the very courteous tone and manner in which Mr. Hinton has written—a tone and a manner, which, considering the flagrant nature of the offence, are most exemplary, and which, if suavity and moderation *could* be misplaced, we should certainly think were so in the present instance. Our author

even compliments the bishop on his 'blandness,' but though the words of the bishop are 'bland' enough, grosser insults were never offered to any religious community than his lordship has, in these discourses, heaped upon dissenters.

Advice to the Bilious; or, Treatise on Disease of the Liver; its Causes, its Nature, and its Cure. By Rowland East, Member of the Faculty of Physicians, &c. London: Jackson and Walford. pp. 81.

It is not our wont to review medical books. We feel that they lie beyond our province. We feel that a work like the present, however, may justly be made an exception, as it is addressed rather to the public than to the profession. While we say this, however, we must not let our readers run away with the notion that Mr. East is one of those who would foolishly attempt to make 'Every man his own Doctor.' It is very possible to have such a general knowledge of the nature and symptoms of disease, as may be highly serviceable, although we may not attempt to prescribe for our own maladies when they become serious, or tamper with them while they are becoming so. Such a knowledge, properly imparted, would tend to prevent both these abuses, by showing us the necessity of timely repairing to proper professional assistance, from the neglect of which it is that so many diseases, especially chronic ones, reach a stage which baffles all medical skill. Such knowledge might also be turned to another account not less important. It would show each man what are his *weak* points, and what regulations in diet and regimen, in which half the secret of health consists, it becomes him to adopt. This general, but still very valuable knowledge, may, we think, be gained from Mr. East's little work, in relation to the important classes of disease of which it treats, and we therefore recommend it to the diligent perusal of those whom it may concern; they will meet with many sensible and useful suggestions, perspicuously expressed. The contents are as follow — Introduction—Nature and Functions of the Liver—Diseases of the Liver—Causes of Disease of the Liver—Use of Alcohol—Nature of Diseases to which the Liver is liable—Jaundice—Diagnosis—Prognosis—Prognosis of Chronic Inflammation—Treatment—Treatment of Inflammation of the Liver in its active state—Chronic Disease of the Liver—General Treatment of Chronic Disease of the Liver—Dietetical Treatment of Chronic Disease of the Liver—Advice on Change of Air.

Letters from Hofwyl, by a Parent, on the Educational Institutions of De Fellenberg. With an Appendix containing Woodbridge's Sketches of Hofwyl, reprinted from the Annals of Education. 8vo. 1842.

We have long been familiar with Mr. Woodbridge's admirable 'Sketches of Hofwyl,' and we are glad to see them now rendered generally accessible to English readers. We observe a misprint in relation both to the name and designation of this devoted friend to

education, which it may be as well to correct. The Rev. William C. (not M. C.) Woodbridge is a minister of the presbyterian, and not, as here stated, of the episcopal church. He is, we believe, a nephew of Dr. Channing, but of orthodox sentiments, and of sincere and unaffected piety. His testimony in relation to the institutions of De Fellenberg is of great value, and may in all respects be relied upon.

The present volume is a lively and detailed account of a visit to this celebrated establishment. It furnishes us with the impressions produced day by day on the mind of the writer by what she (for the book is the production of a lady) saw and heard; and it records in a simple and familiar manner the observations made as the various branches of the institution were successively brought under review.

It would be impossible in the brief space which must be devoted to this notice, to present, in any intelligible form, an account of Hofwyl, with its schools, farms, and workshops; or to examine minutely into the soundness of the moral and religious principles on which the establishment is conducted. 'The spirit of toleration is practically inculcated at Hofwyl. The protestant and catholic clergymen dwell together in peace, each instructing his own flock. There has not been a single instance of conversion to either mode of belief during the whole period of the existence of the institution, nor is there any evidence of bigotry or dissension.' 'At dinner,' we are told, 'M. de Fellenberg sat in the middle of the cross table—the protestant clergyman on his right, the catholic on his left hand. One of the clergymen said grace.' We cannot understand how this blending together of popery and protestantism can accord with any earnest love of truth. To us, the religious tone of the establishment is altogether unsatisfactory. Still much may be learned from the book. And on the whole, although we should not be disposed to send a child to be educated at Hofwyl, we can cordially recommend the volume as containing much valuable information, and many practical hints on domestic training and discipline.

The Works of William Jay, collected and revised by himself. Vol. IV. *Morning and Evening Exercises. October to December.* London: C. A. Bartlett.

The present volume completes the Morning and Evening Exercises, and is prefaced by a short but characteristic advertisement. 'It may not be uninteresting,' Mr. Jay remarks, 'to some of his friends and readers, if the author should remark briefly how a work which has had such an extensive circulation was commenced and completed.' In this he judged rightly; and we are sorry that he has not entered more fully into the history of the work. The greater part of it, we are informed, was written at Lynmouth, where the author was accustomed, for several years, to spend a few weeks annually, for relaxation from his more stated engagements. In this village he occupied a cottage, which has since, he tells us, 'been spoilt by improvements, and is now a kind

of tawdry little mansion.' Here he composed two, and sometimes three, of the *Exercises* in the course of a day, availing himself of every circumstance which occurred to give fixedness and direction to his thoughts. Several of them were written in the course of his occasional journeyings, and are strikingly appropriate to the occasion which suggested them. At the Plume of Feathers, Minehead, he composed 'The Pious Excursion,' and at the same inn, on his return, 'The Call to Depart.'

Of the work, as a whole, we need scarcely repeat our often expressed opinion. It is one of the best devotional books we know, and as such, has met with an unwonted acceptance at the hands of the public. The present edition is considerably reduced in price, and is executed with great neatness.

The Anatomy of Sleep; or, the Art of Procuring Sound and Refreshing Slumber at Will. By Edward Binns, M.D., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, &c. London: Churchill.

'The Anatomy of Sleep.' Is this the nomenclature of science? Does it convey to the philosophical reader anything definite, and what? Does the volume answer to the title? The work consists of three hundred and ninety-four rather closely printed pages; but it treats on all imaginable topics, save the one which it pompously announces as its principal subject. All that has any relation to 'the art of procuring sound and refreshing slumber at will,' is comprised in a few pages in the last chapter, and one short paragraph discloses the entire secret. If a person feels that the 'demon of unrest' is upon him, and resolves in spite of him to sleep, what is he to do?

'Let him,' says Dr. Binns, 'turn on his right side, place his head comfortably on the pillow, so that it exactly occupies the angle a line drawn from the head to the shoulder would form, and then slightly closing his lips, take rather a full inspiration, breathing as much as he can through the nostrils. This, however, is not absolutely necessary, as some persons breathe always through their mouths during sleep, and rest as sound as those who do not. Having taken a full inspiration, the lungs are then to be left to their own action—that is, the respiration is neither to be accelerated nor retarded. The attention must now be fixed upon the action in which the patient is engaged. He must depict to himself that he sees the breath passing from his nostrils in a continuous stream, and the very instant that he brings his mind to conceive this, apart from all other ideas, consciousness and memory depart, imagination slumbers, fancy becomes dormant, thought subdued, the sentient faculties lose their susceptibility, the vital or ganglionic system assumes the sovereignty, and, as we before remarked, he no longer wakes but sleeps.'

Whether Dr. Binns is himself credulous, or desires to subject his readers to the debasing influence of credulity, we are not able to determine. For the credit of his profession, we are willing to believe

that he is the dupe of his own fallacies. But for ourselves we can have no faith in the sound understanding and perfect moral sanity of a man who swears by Dr. Elliotson, details his mesmeric tricks as veritable facts, and because Dr. Elliotson played skilfully upon the phrenological organs of a head well tutored to his hand, draws the sapient inference that mesmerism supplies a beautiful and irrefragable proof of the truth of that conclusive science — namely, Phrenology. Not only does Dr. Binns republish the Earl of Shrewsbury's strange account of the ESTATICA of Caldero, and the ADDOLORATA of Capriana, but he credits the whole stigmata, flowing blood and all. Nor is this enough. These puppets of Romish knavery are graphically represented on a plate, engraved especially as an illustration for the present work— *Credat Judæus!*

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

In the press, and will appear early in January—The Advancement of Religion, the Claim of the Times. By Rev. A. Reed, D.D.

Just Published.

Library Edition of Shakspere—The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspere. Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. II.

The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol. I. Part II.

Leaves from Eusebius, selected from his celebrated work, the Evangelical Preparation, and translated from the Original Greek. By Rev. Henry Street, M.A.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere—William Shakspere. A Biography. No. V.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. No. XXXVII. The University and Town.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Part XVIII.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part XVII.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part XXVII.

A Catechism of Geology, or Natural History of the Earth. By James Nicol.

Edinburgh Cabinet Library—Polynesia; or, an Historical Account of the Principal Islands in the South Sea, including New Zealand. By the Right Rev. M. Russell, LL.D. and D.C.L. Oxford.

The Psalmist. By Vincent Novello. Part IV.

Lays of Ancient Rome. By Thomas Babington Macaulay.

The Neighbours: a Story of Every Day Life. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols.

Baptist Mission in Jamaica, a Review of the Rev. W. G. Barrett's Pamphlet. By Samuel Green, Walworth.

The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James, in Jerusalem. By the Rev. W. O. Hoffman, Inspector of the Missionary Seminary at Basle. Translated from the German.

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Sabbath School Lectures on the Names, Titles, and Similitudes of the Lord Jesus Christ, with a Preface. By Rev. J. Sherman.

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The Christian Philosopher; or, the Connexion of Science and Philosophy with Religion. Illustrated by Engravings. By Thomas Dick, LL.D. Eighth Edition. Revised, Corrected, and greatly Enlarged.

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Popular Conchology; or, the Shell Cabinet Arranged; being an Introduction to the Modern System of Conchology, &c. By Agnes Catlow.

Steill's Pictorial Spelling Book: a Series of Easy and Progressive Lessons on Facts and Objects.

Sabbath Evening Readings. By the Rev. Denis Kelly, M.A.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay; Author of Evelina, Cecilia, &c. Edited by her Niece. Vol. V. 1789—1793.

The Age of Great Cities; or, Modern Society Viewed in its Relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion. By Robert Vaughan, D.D.

Modern Immersion directly opposed to Scriptural Baptism, in Reply to Alexander Carson, M.A. By John Munro, of Knockando.

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END OF VOL. XII.

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CORN LAWS.

SELECTIONS

FROM THE WORKS* OF

COL. T. PERRONET THOMPSON,

AUTHOR OF THE "CATECHISM ON THE CORN LAWS."

"So long as the necessities of the state can be supplied without any remarkable alteration in the present mode of collection, the Corn Laws may have a chance to stand. But the first necessity for any change, will probably bring them in ruins upon the heads of the monopolists. For instance, the first proposal of a Property Tax—which is a thing already whispered as possible—would set all who have property, on the discovery, that the Property Tax was only a subscription to maintain the landlords in an unjust gain. It is in fact totally incredible that any nation would acquiesce in the imposition of a Property Tax, when the whole necessity and demand for such an infliction arose out of the determination of the dominant party to lay restraints upon the industry of the community."—Vol. I., p. 94. *Westminster Review*, 1 *July*, 1829.

"Suppose now, that a hundred rats, instead of being mercifully killed in five minutes by the celebrated dog Billy, were caged up and supplied with a limited quantity of food, and encouraged to multiply till they starved each other by the subdivision of the allowance;—and say whether this picture, ugly and disgusting as it is, is not a representation of the condition in which the country has been placed by the influence of the monopolists. Imagine next a well-dressed man, with all the ensigns of respectability and good-fellowship about him, declaiming on the misery of the sufferers with the remains of a tartlet in his mouth, and pointing out to the spectators the different forms and aspects of the process. 'See that individual of the softer sex, with thirteen helpless young ones dependent on it for support. Their whole allowance is but fifteen grains a day; and there are people who would ruin the whole rat-trap by letting in foreign corn. Observe the 'father of the cottage,' with his ribs clinging together and no fur upon his back, brooding over the fate of his suffering family, over whom his heart is yearning and breaking. That poor creature with his ear bitten off, is from Congleton. The insurrectionary cock-tail in the middle is from Macclesfield. The Coventry rats are in a corner by themselves. From Rochdale, Manchester, and Barnsley, they are all alike; there is not a pin to chuse. Would to God my voice could reach them and be listened to [here quote sundry texts of Scripture and swallow the remains of the tartlet]. Why do not they agitate for bread? Why do not they turn tooth and nail upon the wretches who would murder them by letting in foreign produce?' The application may not be complimentary; but till it is shown in what way a starving people are to be fed by shutting out supplies and taking from each other, it is an exact representation of the politics of the monopolists."—Vol. I., p. 206. *W. R.*, 1 *Jan.* 1830.

"The proper business of every man and every hour, is to know as much as he can of political economy. Not but it may also be desirable that he should learn something of arithmetic and book-keeping by double entry, be acquainted with the properties of

* Exercises, Political and others, by Lieut. Colonel T. Perronet Thompson, in 6 volumes. Effingham Wilson, London

the lever and inclined plane, and have a portion of information touching the nature of the planetary motions and the divisions of the surface of the terraqueous globe. But all these acquirements may only render him a useful slave; and the other is the education which must enable him to keep the benefit of his labours for himself. It has indeed long been declared to be the science of preventing our betters from defrauding us; which is sufficient to account for it's being eagerly patronized on one hand, and vilified on the other."—Vol. II., p. 107. *W. R.*, 1 *July*, 1832.

"The lamentable circumstance for the supporters of the corn law is, that little by little all their friends will be picked away from under them. The most forcible fable in the world, when information has taken a very few strides more, will be to convince the farmers and agricultural labourers, or an efficient portion of them, that they have at all events no urgent interest in the continuance of the public wrong. They gained for a season when the mischief was wrought on, but their share in the general suffering has long since eaten up the benefits. By the converse of the case, it may be undeniable that the return to justice will be attended with some present exacerbation of their condition, but with the prospect of overpowering improvement at no very remote period. This is not the most favourable position imaginable to invite men to resort to; but it is a position which there is no reason to despair of inducing a great number of intelligent individuals to resort to in the end. There will be a desertion, or at least a slackness, first among the farmers and agricultural labourers, next among those descriptions of landlords who are obliged to provide for their children in the world themselves, and have no hopes of quartering them on the public purse; and the end will be, that the remaining class of landlords with their few adherents, will have the honour of going to the bottom in a minority together."—Vol. II., p. 191. *W. R.*, 1 *July*, 1832.

"One word of advice may be not unseasonable. Take care not to be deceived by the stratagems of the enemy. Let no man, for instance, unless he has a tail or some other asinine appendage, be taken in by such a raw jest as the Factory Bill. A Tory club have cut us off from our trade,—made laws that we shall not sell the labour of our hands,—reduced us and ours to the bare possibility of keeping soul and body together by labour the most excessive and toil the most extravagant; and these very men shall come forward and tell us, *that if we will send them to parliament* to support all this abuse,—to maintain the Corn Laws, and keep down all chance of being allowed to sell our goods abroad,—they will do *what?*—pass a bill to prevent us from working our own children more than ten hours a-day. This is kind; this is benevolent; this is worth a man's going on his knees in the mud to turn a mangle for. Get liberty to buy and sell, ye Israelites, ye asses couching between two burdens; and then your children may live by your labour, without leave from those who starve you. If negro slaves did anything so absurd, the world would say, how debasing the effects of slavery! Feel every man for a tail, who talks of such a thing. Time was, a Yorkshireman might walk abroad, with some consciousness of being supposed as knowing as his neighbours. If fooleries of this kind go on, Gotham will be put in Schedule A, and the representation of unreason transferred into the West Riding."—Vol. II., p. 236. *W. R.*, 1 *July*, 1832.

"There certainly has been no instance in history, where two-thirds of a population, not avowedly slaves and under physical restraint accordingly, have submitted to such an infliction, to please the remaining third. The process will be brief, and ought to be. Either the fundholders and the church will join with the commercial interests and the rest of the public in putting down the enormity by legislation; or their possessions will be taken in the first instance either by the operation of legislation or otherwise, and afterwards will begin the attack on all property, hard enough upon the innocent, but the inevitable consequence of the prodigious provocation. The outrageous injustice of the landlords is the key to the public danger, the spigot that confines the fermenting contents of the national beer-barrel, which must speedily burst if not relieved. If this were taken away, not all at once but by a moderately rapid progression, the debt and taxation would be made a flea-bite, not by removing them, but by increasing the ability to bear them, which comes to the same thing. The public irritation would fall, as the fierceness of a den of hungry savages might be lulled by the application of joints of meat; and there would be a great calm. It seems impossible that before the mischief goes much further, a government should not arise, possessing about as much prudence and decision as might be competent to the regulation of a regimental hospital, and, by speaking the truth and rallying the parties

concerned, cut off the progress of the evil by cutting off its source."—Vol. II., p. 274, *W. R.*, 1 *Oct.*, 1832.

"The Corn Laws got up a spirt of prosperity for farmers at their neighbours' expense, in the same manner as a spirt of prosperity for linen-drapers might be got up by an Act of Parliament that should prohibit the wearing of woollen coats. But that was seventeen years ago. The only consequence now left is, that there are perhaps five farmers where there would have been four, and that the five are much worse off than the four. If the five were as well off as the four, the farmers might plead that it would be all clear loss to go back again. But they are not; they suffer under all the difference that arises from the general state of the country being incomparably worse than formerly. Their children cannot all be farmers; and the Corn Laws have brought on a state of things where they can be nothing else. So sure as there is a Providence above, is it written that there shall be always ways in which those who wrong and defraud their neighbours shall in the end find out that they have made a rueful bargain."—Vol. II., p. 319. *W. R.*, 1 *Oct.*, 1832.

"'Protection' is forcing people to buy the work of a man with one arm. It is saying to other people, 'You shall not have the thing in the way you might have it best and cheapest, but it shall be artificially produced in some way that is worse. I am a man with one arm, in comparison of others you might have it from; and you shall pay me for working with one arm; and if we had one arm all round, it would be so much the better for us all.'"—Vol. II., p. 362. *W. R.*, 1 *Jan.*, 1833.

"Our commercial policy is a mass of confluent frauds; by which everybody robs everybody, and throws half the booty into the sea. But they all yield in individual importance to the master pustule, which is the *Corn* fraud. By this, a gross sum of twelve millions and a half per annum is thrown away, in order that a certain other sum, amounting probably to five millions, may be taken from the men who work for it, and given to the landlords whose first principle of law, physic, and divinity, is not to work at all. In other words, *seventeen millions* a-year are torn from the mouths of the suffering manufacturer and his starving children, in order that *five* millions of it may find their way into the pockets of a dishonest and tyrannical class who have got a law that nobody but a landowner shall be in parliament. When pressed upon the point, they bully and appeal to their humanity and charity. The charity is easily defined;—they take with a bucket and give with a spoon. They take seventeen millions a-year out of the pockets of the industrious and the poor, and urge in return that they sometimes give a crown to an old woman at Christmas."—Vol. II., p. 398. *W. R.*, 1 *April*, 1833.

"The appeal to 'humane and Christian feeling,' and all the tropes therewith connected, may be disposed of by the statement that the appealers created, and at this hour sustain, the evils they complain of. They have interdicted the industry of the poor; and then attach the consequences to those who oppose the attempt to relieve one sufferer by the privation of another. If a shipmaster had conveyed his crew and passengers to a month's sail from any land, with a week's provision left on board, and then instead of steering towards any port, should 'do the pathetic' on the scrrows of one part of his inmates and the cruelty of not assisting them by taking from the portions of some other,—he would present the express image of such humanity and such Christianity. It would not be that there was not suffering, and that humanity did not desire to relieve it; but that the mode proposed was, like the Factory Bill, a fraud got up by the authors of the general misery, having in view the preservation and increase of that misery, through the instrumentality of the dupes who should be induced to cry out for the removal of the minor evil to the perpetuation of the greater."—Vol. II., p. 472. *W. R.*, 1 *Oct.*, 1833.

"The Poor Rates are God and nature's judgment on the dishonesty of the landed interest in shutting up the ndustry of the country by Act of Parliamen ; '*the eighteen penny children are eating them up.*' Every poor man, agricultural or other, that is brought upon the poor-rates for relief, is brought there by the immediate act of the men who lord it over him at quarter sessions and parish vestries, as much as if they had made an Act of Parliament saying, 'Be it enacted, that Hob Carter and Giles Ploughman, shall never have a shilling in their pockets without the squire of the parish taking sixpence of it to keep his coach-horses.' The rural population will be long before they see this; but all things are found out in time. The object of the squirearchy now, is to preserve the wrong and get rid of the penalty. The whole system of Poor Rate economizing, *if not combined with taking off*

the restrictions that create the poor, is only improving the machinery for making the poor die quietly, and with the least disturbance to those who live sumptuously by grinding them down."—Vol. III., p. 69. *Progr. to W. R.*, 1 *April*, 1834.

"The time is not far off when the public will discover, that the true criterion of the general happiness, the real measure of a home statesman's talent, is in the degree in which he provides for the honest gratification of the master passion, the tyrant instinct, which alone sustains the tragedy of life, and prevents its comedy from being contemptible. To put the proposition in mathematical terms, *the fluxion of the population* is the measure of the public happiness. What a hateful world would this have been, if in addition to all the other ills of life, it had been really true, that man was sent here only to wink and nod at lovely woman through the grate of the preventive check. For moderate prudence, decent foresight, there must under all possible states of society be an incessant call. But the blunder that plays into the hands of squire-made law, and cuts off all the poetry and all the charities of life, to gratify the public enemy with wealth which after all turns only to dust and ashes in his grasp,—can last no longer than till warm hearts and cool heads apply themselves to crush the public feud by showing to all classes the folly of the whole."—Vol. III., p. 164. *W. R.*, 1 *Jan.*, 1835.

"Yes,—the tithe is to be commuted, not into a permanent payment in money, but into a permanent payment of so many quarters of corn or the value thereof. And what is the effect of this? Manifestly to attach the interests of the clergy for ever and for ever to the conservation of the Corn Laws. A clergyman is to receive annually the value of, say 100 quarters of corn. If corn is at 80s. a quarter, he is to have £400 a year; and if at 20s., he is to have £100. But perhaps somebody will say, this is only making the substantial value of the clergyman's income permanent, or the same under all variations of the price of corn. No, simpleton, it is not; it is giving him a great deal more when corn is dear, and a great deal less when it is cheap. It makes it all the same to him, *with respect to that portion of his income which he expends on corn*; but with respect to all the rest, it makes him partake in the great plot to pillage every industry in the country for the benefit of the owners of the rent of land. If the clergyman when he has £400 a-year spends £100 of it upon bread or agricultural produce, he gets exactly the same bread which he would for £25 when corn was a quarter the price and his income £100. But for the remaining £300, does he get no more than he would get under the other circumstances for the £75? Is it not plain that he receives just the same advantage as any other corn lord?—in other words, that he has the same interest in keeping up the pillage of the commercial and manufacturing community? Do the wages of industry and the price of manufactured goods rise fourfold when corn rises fourfold? If they did, what temptation would there be to the landlords to maintain the Corn Laws? It is because they do *not* rise in the same proportion, that the landlords persist in their iniquity, and that Hull must be half a Hull, till we can muster sense, and spirit, and union, to bring them to a composition."—Vol. IV., p. 61. *Letters of a Representative*, 10 *Feb.*, 1836.

"If it should be urged, that there must always come a time when population will press against food, and therefore there is no use in attempting to escape it; this would be like urging, that there is no use in a man's escaping from being murdered now, because he will not be immortal afterwards. There is all the difference in the world, between enduring an evil by the will of Providence, and by the act of man. Human life in the whole, is but the procrastination of death; but that is no reason why men should be killed just now, for other men's convenience. There may come a time when there will be no coal to burn, no iron to make tools, and perhaps no salt left in the sea; but this is no reason why something should not be made of the interval which must intervene. The time when population will press irremediably against food, must to a great manufacturing and naval people, be almost as remote as the time when there will be no salt left in the sea. And come when it may, it must always come gradually; which is by itself no small diminution of the mischief. The maximum of contingent evil in prospect, is only equal to what it is proposed to bring on at once now; and all the world must be cleared and peopled, before the evil can arrive."—Vol. IV., p. 477. *Catechism on the Corn Laws. Feb.*, 1827.

"When a manufacturer produces goods and exchanges them abroad for corn, he may as truly be said to produce the corn, as if it came out of his loom or his flatting-mill. And if he is prohibited from doing this, it is *his* production that in reality is stopped."—Vol. IV., p. 481. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

Reciprocity is having two good things, ad of one. But if we cannot have both good things, it is no reason why we ld reject the one we may have. The l of '*reciprocity*,' therefore, is like say- 'Don't take the half-crown you may, ss somebody will give you another for ng it.'

The first government that will fearlessly ounce that it is not to be fooled by the acy of 'reciprocity,' will pull down com- cial restrictions all over the world."— . IV., p. 495. *Catechism on the Corn ws.*

If Noah had shut himself up in his ark, l let his family eat nothing but what ld be grown upon his decks, he would n have had an outcry against population, l an Emigration Committee; and Shem, m, and Japhet would have been 'dis- ssed manufacturers.' And instead of ding lectures on not multiplying, his edy would have been to let in foreign n.

'A commercial and manufacturing nation s or ought to have, like Noah, no limit the world. What *he* was to do by dig- g, *it* can do by spinning and inducing er men to dig. The steppes of Tartary l prairies of America, are so many pledges t it need be yet but in the youth of its stence. What is to come next, when the rld is filled up, it does not seem necessary determine in this present parliament. at is clear is, that the felicity of the ex- ng generation depends upon progression, it did with Noah. It can make no differ- e, except in the size of the experiment, ether men are confined to the corn of an or of an island.

'There is no doubt of the general truth, t men may multiply faster than the means support. But they have a right to de- nd a fair field for finding their support. ey are not bound to exercise the *Mal- sian* continence, upon an artificial limi- on to please the landlords."

'Mr. Malthus has described to a hair's adth the consequences of a population reasing beyond the limits of its food; and man has been able to gainsay a word of discoveries. He has demonstrated rything relating to the caged birds, ex- t one thing—*why there should be a cage.* has omitted to point out, that when d said 'Increase and multiply,' it was not led 'And let there be landlords upon the th, to make corn laws for them that dwell rein;'—that manufactures and commerce God's solution of the difficulty, and were en to be a dispensing and equalizing power, whereby the inhabitants of old countries should be partakers in His design of universal replenishment, with as much comfort as the more immediate actors in the process. And truly a fearful thing it is, that any men or set of men should be allowed to stand between us and God's mercies, saying to us and to God, 'Hitherto shall ye go, and no further; and here shall ye be stayed for our unjust gain.'"

"All the evils produced among us by the pressure of population, are of Corn-Law formation. The landlords said Be, and it was so."—Vol. IV., p. 505. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"There would be no suffering from machinery, if the trade in food was free; but on the contrary great benefit. The cause of the suffering, therefore, is not machinery, but the refusal to allow the produce to be exchanged for food.

"That the use of machinery is detrimental in the long run to the manufacturing labourers, is an error which they ought to out-grow. Compare, for example, the extent of the stocking trade in the time of Queen Elizabeth,—when silk stockings were made with men's fingers and sold for their weight in gold,—with its present state; and ask the five thousand labouring silk stocking weavers, whether they would wish to see the trade reduced to what it was then. All the difference has been caused by machinery.

"Experience has proved, that when the production of any commodity is facilitated by machinery, the increase of consumption consequent on the reduction of price, in a state of freedom and under the existing circumstances of the world in respect of the desire to consume, is such as in the end to increase the demand for labour in the production *of that particular commodity*. If power looms could bring down the price of broad cloth to a shilling a yard, and the corn of foreigners might be taken from them in return,—so many people in different parts of the world would wear broad cloth who now do not, that there would be more employment for makers of broad cloth in the end than ever. If men cannot exchange the cloth because the agriculturists will not let them, the case is certainly altered. But then the fault is not in the machinery."—Vol. IV., p. 508. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"The origin and foundation of property, is labour. The proposal to keep up rent by restrictions virtually includes the essence of personal slavery; which consists in obliging one man to labour for the benefit of another

without an equivalent. The landlords may have a property in their honest rent; but they have not a property in the power of adding to it by violence."—Vol. IV., p. 514. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"Suppose, for argument's sake, that corn could be obtained for positively nothing, like water. There would be no more reason why the price of corn should be kept up for the advantage of the landlords, than why the price of water should be kept up for the advantage of men calling themselves water-lords,—by prohibiting streams and rivers, and forcing the public to buy the water of wells, from which, by dint of digging, water was obtained for half as many people as there otherwise might have been. If such an abuse was in existence, there might be reasons why it should be reduced gradually, but none why a fragment of it should finally be left.

"All the fallacies advanced in the case of corn might be repeated in such a case of water. The diligence of the water-lords to grub for the last pint, they would call improvement and zeal for the multiplication of water. They would descant on the capital they employed, and the industry they set in motion; and be pathetic on the fate of the well digging population, if the government should restore the liberty of drink. They would assert that it was clear the country had been supplied; and if any complained that they were dying from want of water, they would tell them they were a superabundant population, and ought not to exist. They would declare that it would all be easy, if it was not for taxation; but as long as taxes were to be paid, it was impossible that water should be free."—Vol. IV., p. 515. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"Two things are necessary to the completion of an act of commerce; first, that we should have what others want; secondly, that we should be at liberty to receive what they can afford to pay in, and it will be worth our while to take.

"A merchant in the actual state of things can afford to sell a piece of Leeds or Manchester goods in Prussia or Poland for a hundred crowns. If he could afford to take eighty, he might sell two pieces where he now sells one. If he was allowed to lay out the eighty crowns in corn, and bring it to England to a free market, he could sell the corn for as much as would give him a profit on the whole; and consequently he would accept the eighty crowns, and sell two pieces instead of one, and get two profits for himself, and give two profits to the manufacturers. He is restrained from selling the corn; and therefore he is restrained from doing all the rest.—Vol. IV, p. 523. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"Bankruptcy is the check to the indefinite multiplication of traders, as the evils arising from diminished food are the check to that of the inferior classes of labourers. Both take place where they do, in consequence of the limitation of commerce; and the engine of the limitation is the Corn laws. He that was in the *Gazette* yesterday, came there by the Corn Laws."—*Ibid.*

"It is certain the weakest will fail; but whether they were weak or not, somebody must fail. The case is like that of a hundred prisoners, among whom there should be thrown half enough for their daily food. The weakest will be those who starve; but whether they were weak or not, somebody must starve."—*Ibid.*

"The poor ought to have corn at the cheapest for which it can be got; and if they have not, they are to blame if they *are* satisfied.

"If the poor were to tell the rich, that they ought to have a 'reasonable' income, as, for instance, one or two hundred a year, and if they had this they ought to be satisfied,—and they, the poor, would take the difference; it would be pronounced to be clean *jacobinism* and spoliation. The poor have as much right to do this, as the rich man has to tell the poor that sixty shillings is a 'reasonable' price for his quarter of corn, and therefore the rich will take the difference. Much has been said of the jacobinism of the poor against the rich, but very little of the jacobinism of the rich against the poor;—though one is only matter of speculation and alarm, and the other meets every man three times a-day when he sits down to eat."—Vol. IV., p. 527. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"The price of corn ought to be, what men will voluntarily give for it in the absence of restrictions. No trader has a right to say his goods shall be bought from him at a certain price whether the buyer wants them or not. If one trader has the right, another has; and where would be the end?

"A fair remunerating price is what other men will voluntarily give. It is the dealer's business to see that the supply is accommodated to the demand; not to use violence to make the demand equal to the supply." *Ibid.*

"To say that the removal of restrictions would *reduce* the incomes of the land-owners, is at most only saying it would take away from them what they ought never to have had. And there still remains the question, of whether they would be any real losers in the end. *Is this clear enough to them, to go to war with the rest of the community?* It may be very possible for them to draw money from the public loss, and be no gainers after all; just as a pond may draw water from another pond, and lose more at some other end than it takes in. And this other end, is found in the impossibility of finding profitable employments for their sons, or marrying their daughters to the sons of other people who can do the same. A landlord is no gainer, though in spite of poor rates, he has £600 a year instead of £500, if the consequence is that he has eight sons and as many daughters to keep as miserable annuitants. This reason therefore applies to all except those who calculate on quartering their children on the public."—Vol. IV., p. 543. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"When Prussia wants no more manufactures, we must try Tartary; and so on till the world is filled up. As to what may take place then, it is like saying to Noah, 'Never think of going out of your ark. You have no notion how soon the world will be filled up. Show some prudence and economy, and stay where you are.'"—Vol. IV., p. 566. *Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

"There will always be working men desiring to have more than they get, and masters desiring to pay less than they do; and between these there may always be a sort of contest going on, and it is very likely that no way will ever be hit upon, for reducing the matter to a settled rule which shall equally satisfy all parties. But this is no excuse for anybody's overlooking the truth, that there are great and common interests in seeing the general concern go on with as much of success as it is possible to give it. The working men may be always interested in receiving a shilling more, and the master in paying a shilling less, and yet this not at all affect the fact, that the prosperity of the concern at large is what all must stand by, and that this is the thing which will settle all disputes, by making the master as glad to pay higher wages, as he now is to pay smaller. If any man says, the master is a keen hand, and will never pay the higher wages if the smaller ones will do; answer, that it is just because the smaller will not do, that he will pay the higher. An improved trade brings better profits, and more of them to the master; and the first thing this puts him upon, is bidding for more and better hands, for the sake of what he shall get by it; and so he serves out one portion of his increased profits in increased wages, to secure the other."—Vol. V., p. 234.

"The strength of the oppressors of industry at the present hour, lies in the tendency of men to look for what the Spanish proverb calls 'better bread than is made of wheat.' They are gazing after some great change they expect from the heavens, and all the time the little earthly pickpockets are ridding them of their substance. To have good trade where it can be got, and with it good wages and good profits, is really all there is in trade, and ever will be.—Vol. V., p. 452.

"The truth is that we must wait till hunger brings our people to their colours, and some time or other we shall have a fair stand-up fight to know whether we are to continue to be the born thralls of the owners of the soil or not. Our Saxon ancestors wore it written on a ring about their necks; we wear it in an Act of Parliament. But we are a long way from the time yet; there must be thousands more of bankruptcies, and myriads of the wives and children of the working classes must die of hunger or overwork in factories, that a greater quantity of the produce of their industry may be given to the landlords for a bushel of corn. We are in the state of raising statues to any Tory man who will offer to limit our working hours if we on our parts will assist him to keep up the oppression that creates the inducement to over-work; and half our people might be persuaded to turn against the individual who should tell them it was an invention of the enemy. But this will mend; misery and the progress of information will alter it. I look to the last, however, most. The working classes, at least in these southern parts, have proved themselves unequal to the question. It will be when the capitalists and employers find out where they are hurt, that the real resistance will begin."—Vol. IV., p. 288. *Letters of a Representative, 1 July*, 1837.

"Machinery then, like the rain of heaven, is a present blessing to all concerned, provided it comes down by drops, and not by tons together; and anything which prevents its free and expanded operation, has an effect of the same kind as would be produced if the rain should be collected into water-spouts. It remains

therefore to be seen, what laws and human institutions have done towards securing the free diffusion of the advantages derivable from God's gift of ingenuity to man. And here the first thing apparent in our own country is, that the aristocracy have made a law, that no use shall be derived from it at all. They have determined by Act of Parliament, that men may invent as many machines as they think proper, but shall not be allowed to sell the produce; or which comes to the same thing, shall not be allowed to sell for what is wanted in return. The whole misery about machinery,—every atom and fragment of suffering, alarm, and wretchedness directly or indirectly consequent thereon,—is the pure and necessary result of the gross fraud and half-witted idiotic cruelty perpetrated by the majority of the landlords upon the rest of their own order and of the community."—Vol. I., p. 356. *Westminster Review*, 1 *Jan.*, 1831.

"The palliative proposed at present, is to colonize; in other words, to force the people of England to breed, as is done by the negroes in some of the West Indian islands, for exportation. To which the direct answer is, that nobody has a right to make laws which shall force the people of England to transport themselves. They love their own country; and will not have it made uninhabitable, to please the aristocracy. The plan of the landed aristocracy is this; that England shall have no more corn than *they* shall sell, and then the competition for it will insure high prices; but to diminish the danger of resistance that might ensue, the people shall be taxed to pay for sending one another abroad. The transportation is to be the landlord's *valve;* which shall prevent the machine from blowing up, but leave the owners as much pressure as without danger can be enjoyed."—Vol. I., p. 368. *Westminster Review*. 1 *Jan.*, 1831.

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GREAT LEAGUE FUND.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

We have again to invite your assistance in the prosecution of our great work. Our cause requires your pecuniary support, as well as your active co-operation. But we should be ashamed to solicit your contributions, were it not that in helping us you help yourselves, and hasten the time that shall stay the plunder of your property, arrest the downfal of commerce, free the springs of industry, untax your children's food, and mitigate the sufferings and privations of the poor.

The League originated in the conviction that restrictions on the importation of foreign grain is a policy not less unwise and suicidal than unjust and oppressive. To this policy they refer the closing against us, in rapid succession, of the world's markets, and the consequent depression of that manufacturing system which has furnished the means of subsistence to labouring millions, more than trebled the value of their land to the proprietors of the soil, augmented the national resources notwithstanding the pressure of unprecedented taxation, allied itself in the past with the most extraordinary progress of a people that history records, and held out for the future the secret, or the only prospect, of providing for the wants of a rapidly-multiplying population, and sustaining the position of our country in a peaceful supremacy among the nations of the earth.

The restrictive policy lays the axe to the root of our national prosperity. It increases not merely temporary embarrassment in commercial relations, but a continuous depression tending to utter ruin. Hence the warfare, for life or death, which the League has waged against it. We have had to contend with the ignorance and prejudices of the many, and the sinister interest of the few. Success was only to be attained through the formation of a public opinion so clear, decided, and general, as to be irresistible. And towards that point we have advanced; more slowly, indeed, than the impoverishment of the industrious and the sufferings of the multitude rendered desirable; but still with a progress which testifies that we are in the right path, and stimulates us to redoubled exertion.

Our aim has been to have no one individual destitute of the means of perceiving how injurious the taxation on food is to himself and the community. To the influence by which it is supported, we have opposed the power of reason and the claims of justice; and we have met by facts the sophisms by which it is palliated. For this end not fewer than two thousand Lectures have been delivered on the subject of the Corn Laws; more than five millions of Tracts have been printed and circulated; Petitions have been presented to the Legislature with millions of signatures, praying for the redress of the great wrong under which the country groans; our Conference, formed by deputations from various parts of the kingdom, has five times met in the metropolis to remonstrate with the Executive Government and the Legislature; the Ministers of Religion have met, in large numbers, in Manchester, Edinburgh, and Carnarvon, protesting against the demoralizing influences (which they had witnessed) of that policy which interferes betwixt man and the bounties of Providence. In combination with an extent of personal exertion such as no merely political agitation could have called forth, an expenditure has been incurred, and defrayed, of not less than one hundred thousand pounds. And still, though much has been accomplished; though the principles of free trade are rapidly extending themselves from our cities and large towns into remote agricultural districts; though we have seen the necessity of change, from being sturdily and contemptuously denied, become generally admitted; though the emergency has made it so obvious that the defeat of the late administration for its proposition of a fixed duty, has been followed by the Tariff and modified Corn Law of the present administration; still how much remains to be done before the monster Monopoly sinks under death-blow, and before the words of the minister selected for its champion, that "the nation's *policy* undoubtedly is to sell in the dearest, and buy in the cheapest *market*," *become a legal reality and a practical blessing.*

Further and increasingly strenuous exertions, then, are necessary.

of final success upon the past. The very ground we have gained demands and inspirits to redoubled effort. The pressure beneath which industry sinks is not yet heaved off; but the force applied has made it move, and perseverance will accomplish all. There must be more lectures, more tracts, more conferences, more agitation. Every county and borough elector in the kingdom must be personally visited, and a condensed library of evidence and reasoning against the Corn Law placed in his hands. Monopoly will not yield without such efforts; and it shall have them. We are entering on the fifth year of this struggle for truth, for justice, for existence. We ask of you to replenish our pecuniary means for sustaining it. Our appeal is made confidently, for the character of the agitation is sanctioned by its progress; and what is any outlay to the object to be gained? We have reported the amount already expended; and we now appeal to you to create confidence in our cause, and dismay in its selfish opponents, by enabling us to commence the ensuing year of Anti-Corn-Law agitation with a disposable Fund of FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS.

We are confident we shall not ask in vain. It would be a large sum were the object unimportant: to repeal the Corn Law it is as nothing. There is not a town in the kingdom which would not cheaply purchase the repeal of that blasting and iniquitous law by a contribution equal to the whole sum. It is but one million shillings—it is but four hundred thousand half crowns—it is but two hundred thousand crowns—it is less than a halfpenny per head from the whole population! The two millions that petitioned Parliament for repeal can easily raise this sum; and since they last signed a petition, hundreds of thousands have become repealers. The fifty thousand pounds, then, will be obtained; but it is desirable that all parts of the kingdom should contribute. We propose the following mode of rendering the collection general and in some degree equal. In every town a Committee must be formed, consisting of Ladies and Gentlemen, having a Secretary and Treasurer, whose names are to be forwarded to the Chairman of the Council in Manchester. A beautifully-engraved Subscription Card and a Duplicate Card will be furnished to every Collector, each card to represent a certain sum which the Collector undertakes or will endeavour to obtain; the Duplicate to be forwarded to Manchester when the card is filled up. An account of the sums collected is to be sent weekly to the Council. In the villages and more retired districts, where it may not be convenient or practicable to form Committees, the friends of the great cause will be provided with cards, and they can correspond directly with the Chairman of the Council. It is intended that the League Fund shall be closed in January, 1843, when a great aggregate meeting of the National Anti-Corn-Law League will be held in Manchester, at which the amount of subscriptions from each district, town, and village, will be announced. To this great meeting all the Members of the House of Commons and Peers, who have voted for a repeal of the Corn Laws, with many other eminent individuals, will be invited, together with Ministers of Religion of all denominations, Deputies, and Members of the League from all parts of the kingdom.

The above is a brief sketch of the plan which the League intends to pursue; and we are now engaged in arranging the details of our future operations.

Circumstances have placed the League in the van of this great battle; and from the post which Providence seems to have assigned them they will neither retire in weariness nor be driven by obloquy. But it is with a feeling of deep responsibility that they apply themselves to their task. The condition of honest industry, the food of famishing multitudes, the well-being of millions, and the future of a great nation, are at stake. In the prolonged delay of redress we can only perceive the symptoms of impending calamity and of sure destruction. Our cause is that of humanity itself; and it is sanctioned by the religion which teaches mankind to pray for the daily bread which Heaven has provided, but monopoly withholds. In a spirit worthy of such a cause would we pursue it to the end, seeking the success which must eventually be achieved, from peaceful, legal, and honourable endeavour; from enlightened conviction; from compassion for human suffering and the recognition of eternal justice; from the submission of a sordid class interest to the common good; from the wisdom of legislation, though slow and late in its reflection of public opinion; and from the blessing of Heaven, never withheld from righteous and beneficent endeavour.

By order of the Council,

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

Manchester, Oct. 20, 1842.

J. Gadsby, Printer, Newall's Buildings, Market-street, Manchester.

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upon the face of it; and scarcely any man would be found hardy enough to put forward such a scheme, and assuredly, none foolish enough to enter into it. Now if nobody would voluntarily enter into such a scheme, those who habitually live under the operation of such a one must do it involuntarily. It must be because they cannot help themselves, or in other words, because force is put upon them by those who have the luck to play the winning game.

If it was urged that in such an association it was necessary that those who held the larger stakes should have the larger share of direction, and that the way to compass this *was, that those who held the smaller stakes should have no share at all*; it is clear that such a proposition would be hooted off with general contempt. There may be reasons why there should be a difference; and if there is no naturally existing cause why the larger stakes carry with them a proportionat influence over the holders of the smaller, it may be right to produc the effect by artificial means. But whatever might be the necessi for such means, they could never go the length of determining th the holders of the small stakes should have no influence at all. T is to make the difference infinite; and whatever the difference in just proportion may be, it is clear it never can be infinite.

'Now as no comparison holds good beyond certain limits, so it pens in the present case that there are two striking points in whic great joint-stock company, called a state or political community, d from the others to which it may have been compared. And these a first, that the sacrifices demanded of the holders of the smaller are absolutely greater than those demanded from the larger secondly, that on the supposition that each individual had a vote there are naturally existing causes why the influence of the hol the great stakes over the others, or in other words, of the ri the poor, if not greater than was desirable for any good effect i have on the common interest would at all events not be less.

'Compare now the sacrifices which a poor man is continual upon to make to what is stated (and perhaps justly) to be for fare of the community. Weigh, for example, the loss and to which every poor man of certain years is liable, from bei on to serve in the militia, with the loss and suffering the encounters from seeing the price of a substitute charged a rental. Take the case of any other tax, and compare th effect of what falls on the possessor of the single ewe lamb, falls on the owner of the flocks on the thousand hills. Th the evidence and the proof that the poor have in reality a urgent personal stake in the management of the commo the rich; add to it the testimony of history that the rich, by crook, have always contrived to take care of themselv the resulting conclusion is not, that the goodness of a g measured by the degree in which the poor, and not the r power to take care of themselves, in the same manner as of a crutch is measured by its fitting the lame side and n

'Next, that the rich ought to be too happy to allow